

4. Certain conditions are responsible for the emergence of leadership which include complexity, crisis, instability within the group as well as failure of the leader and wants of the leader himself. There are two theories regarding the emergence of leadership. The 'great man' theory presumes that leaders are born and not made. The other is time or situational theory according to which it is time or situation which makes a person a leader.
5. Leadership training means educating the leader to perform his role in a more effective and successful manner. It is very much important to educate a leader for the successful functioning of democratic setup. Moreover leadership training is also important for business, educational field, government sector, army sector etc. There are several techniques and methods for leadership training which include : lecture method, discussion or conference method, case discussion method and role playing method.
6. Different investigators have described different traits of leader. Keeping in view all such traits we find that some important ones include physique, intelligence, self-confidence, verbosity, dominance, adjustment, sociability, industriousness, imagination, charisma, will power, activity, non-conformity, social distance etc.
7. There are several types of leadership. They are classified on the basis of origin. These are of three kinds (i) executive appointed, (ii) group appointed, (iii) self appointed. The other is classified on the basis of purpose. It is also of three kinds—intellectual, artistic and executive. The third classification is based on nature. It is of two types : authoritarian and democratic. The fourth classification is made on the basis of the nature of leader's relation to followers : It is of four kinds—Institutional, Dominant, Expert and Persuasive. Moreover, individual scholars have also classified leadership among which Lippitt's classification is important.

### **Lippitt's Classification :**

- (i) Democratic
  - (ii) Authoritarian
  - (iii) Laissez-faire leadership.
8. There are several functions of a leader. They act as executive, planner, expert, external group representative, controller of inter conflict, giver of reward and punishment, exemplar, symbol, ideologist, father figure, scapegoat etc.

### 7.10 Key words used in the Lesson

Attribute, manifest, endeavour, crisis, complexity, traits, psychoanalysts, inferiority, compensate, instability, equilibrium, authoritarian, executive, persuasive, introvert, extrovert, imperturbability, optimism, theorist, charismatic, coercive.

### 7.11 Questions for Exercise

#### (a) Short Answer Questions

1. Define leadership discuss its meaning.

Ans. — See 7.1

2. What is the importance of leadership ?

Ans. — See 7.2

3. Discuss the nature of leadership.

Ans. — See 7.3

4. What are the qualities or constituents of a leader ?

Ans. — See 7.6

5. What is leadership training ?

Ans. — See 7.8

6. Explain the importance of leadership training.

Ans. — See 7.8.1

7. What are the techniques used in leadership training ?

Ans. — See 7.8.2

8. What are the personal traits of a leader ?

Ans. — See 7.6.1

#### (b) Long Answer Questions

1. Define leadership and discuss its nature and importance.

Ans. — See 7.1, 7.2, 7.3

2. Under what conditions does leadership emerge ? Discuss the theories of emergence of leadership.

Ans. — See 7.4

3. Discuss the main types of leadership.

Ans. — See 7.5

4. Discuss the functions of a leader.

Ans. — See 7.7

5. Distinguish between Authoritarian and Democratic leadership.

Ans. — See Lippitt's classification of leadership.

6. Describe the importance of leadership training and discuss the various techniques involved in leadership training.

Ans. — See 7.,8, 7.8.1, 7.8.2

7. "Leadership is relative to the situation in which it takes place." Discuss.

Ans. — See 7.4.2 The situational theory.

### 7.12 Suggested Readings

1. Spratt, W.G.H. : Social Psychology
2. Lapiere & Fransworth : Social Psychology
3. Maclver & Page : Society
4. Rastogi : Adhunik Samaj Manovigyan
5. Sulaiman, M. : Adhunik Samaj Manovigyan
6. Srivastava, Pandey : Adhunik Samaj Manovigyan  
& Singh



**Propaganda****Lesson Structure**

- 8.0 Objective
- 8.1 Meaning and Definition of Propaganda
- 8.2 Characteristics of Propaganda
- 8.3 Propaganda and Education
- 8.4 Psychological bases of the appeal of Propaganda
- 8.5 Essential Elements in effective Propaganda
- 8.6 Principles of Propaganda
- 8.7 Techniques of Propaganda
- 8.8 Media and Means of Propaganda
- 8.9 Propaganda Prophylaxis
- 8.10 Summary
- 8.11 Key words used in the Lesson
- 8.12 Questions for Exercise
  - (a) Short Answer Questions
  - (b) Long Answer Questions
- 8.13 Suggested Readings

*Delit***8.0 Objective**

The present lesson on propaganda has been prepared with certain objectives. One major objective is to make the learners acquainted with the meaning, nature, psychological bases, principles, techniques, and media of effective propaganda. Propaganda prophylaxis will also be described in detail. In the end a summary of the lesson, key words used, Questions for exercise and suggestions for reading will also be given.

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**Public Opinion****Lesson Structure**

- 9.0 Objective
- 9.1 Meaning of Public Opinion
- 9.2 Nature of Public Opinion
- 9.3 Characteristics of Public Opinion
- 9.4 Important factors behind Public Opinion formation
- 9.5 Agencies or Media of Public Opinion formation
- 9.6 Role of Public Opinion in Democracy
- 9.7 Summary
- 9.8 Key words used in the Lesson
- 9.9 Questions for Exercise
  - (a) Short Answer Questions
  - (b) Long Answer Questions
- 9.10 Suggested Readings

**9.0 Objective**

The main aim of the present lesson is to explain the meaning, nature, characteristics, factors and media of Public Opinion. Another important objective is to analyse the conception about the role of public opinion in democracy. Finally a summary, key words used and probable important questions have been provided. Suggestions for further study have also been given. It is hoped that learners will be benefitted by the lesson and would resolve the problems relating to different aspects of public opinion.

**9.1 Meaning of Public Opinion**

In order to understand clearly the definition of public opinion, two words should be defined i.e. 'public' and 'opinion.'

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The word 'public' is sometimes confused with 'crowd.' Though both public and crowd are unorganized groups, the public is much different from the crowd. The public has the following characteristics :

1. The word 'public' has been derived from the Latin word 'publicus.' The 'publicus' means the people. The 'public' is now used for a psychological group in which people are not in face to face contact, but each lives independently and is quite apart from each other.

2. The public is not confined to a particular place or time. It has a vast dimension. It may include people of village, town, state, country or world as a whole. The most important characteristic which determines public is the mental relationship between various members who are to form a psychological group. The people in order to form a 'public' must be bound together by common opinion and desire.

Thus, Ginsberg has defined public in the following words; "The public may be described as an organized and amorphous aggregation of individuals who are bound together by common opinion and desires, but are too numerous to mention personal relationship with the other."

Kimball Young has pointed out public as a group in which people are not in direct contact, but they may react to common stimulations provided to them by indirect means. From this point of view, K. Young has defined it : "The public is not held together by face to face or shoulder to shoulder contacts; a number of people scattered in space react to common stimulus which is provided by indirect and mechanical means."

Again in his revised edition in 1957 K. Young had defined 'public' 'As a noun the word public refers to a rather loosely organized and conjoined grouping of people with a common interest.'

Now, let us define the word 'opinion'. We usually take the word 'opinion' in the context of some particular issue. Thus, if I say, "Kashmir is the integral part of India" it means I am expressing my opinion about Kashmir issue. In other words, opinion can be expressed according to a number of objects, ideas and thoughts.

After defining the term 'public' and opinion', we shall now define the term 'public opinion'. In simple words we say, "It is the opinion of the public." But this simple explanation of the term 'public opinion' does not reveal the main explanation involved in the term.

The term 'public opinion' has been defined in different ways by different psychologists. We will discuss some important definitions of public opinion which reflects its nature.

1. In the words of Doole, "Public opinion refers to people's attitude on issue when there are members of the same social group." This definition throws light on people's attitude on any issue, but this does not mean that attitude and public opinion are the same. The attitudes are more stable than opinion.

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2. Kimball Young has defined public opinion in this way : "Public opinion consists of opinion held by a public at a certain time."

3. In the words of James. T. Young, "Public opinion is the social judgement of a self-conscious community on a question of general importance rational public discussion." This definition reflects three ideas , e.g.

- (i) Social judgement
- (ii) Self-conscious community
- (iii) Public discussion.

Thus, public opinion is a judgement arrived at by discussions of the people which are reasonable and community which has developed a consciousness of its existence. Public opinion is always related to a certain issue before a self-conscious community which affects a large number of its members, when the community forms certain opinions about them after arriving at a particular judgement on the basis of mutual discussions, it is called the "Public Opinion."

4. Deweys has also defined public opinion in a similar way. According to him, "Public opinion is a judgement which is formed and entertained by those who 'constitute the public and is about public affairs."

5. Reuter has defined Public opinion as a consensus or judgement arrived at through conflict and discussion on the basis of facts."

6. In the words of Akolkar. "Public opinion simply refers to that mass of ideas which people have or express on a given issue."

7. In the words of Lippman : "The picture inside the heads of the human beings, the picture of themselves of their need, purpose and relationship are their public opinion."

From the above definitions it can be gathered that public opinion is nothing but the opinion of the public, etymologically speaking, it is a combination of two terms 'public' and 'opinion.' General views, convictions and ideas about an object or an individual are called public opinion. It is also clear from these definitions that public opinion arises with respect to some issue. Further there are difference of opinion regarding issues. If the whole group has one opinion about the problem there is no question of public opinion. Public opinion implies that there is controversy, some holding one view, and some holding another. It also implies that these two or more groups mobilize the whole group or, their majority so that some definite action may be taken with respect to the problem. This discussion on controversial problem gives rise to public opinion. The recent Kargil issue is a burning example of public opinion which has become an issue of discussion at international level.

## 9.2 Nature of the Public Opinion

From the foregoing definition of public opinion, it is evident that in public opinion are assimilated the opinions of individuals concerning various specific problems in addition to their judgements, ideas and notions. Here it is not necessary that every individual should possess identical views and ideas. In fact, public opinion represents the opinions of the majority and the views of the powerful groups. There are always some individuals who are opposed to the public opinion but this does not have the effect of changing it. It is further not necessary that public opinion should be the opinion of a great many individuals. Actually, as Lowell has indicated, public opinion shows not the preponderance of numbers but that of influence. Public opinion concerning some subject shows that viewpoint which is the most powerful. In McDougall's opinion, "public opinion is the moral conception of the people." But, as is evident in practice, public opinion is concerned not only with moral and ethical considerations but is also addressed to political and even administrative problems. For example, a democratic government is believed to be the representative of public opinion.

## 9.3 Characteristics of Public Opinion

The following are the characteristics of public opinion :

1. It involves public.
2. Every member of the public has equal right to express his opinion about a particular issue.
3. The issue must be of general importance or must involve the welfare of the public in general.
4. The members of the public should be allowed to express their opinion and belief freely.
5. Public opinion lacks stability. It can be easily changed by means of persuasion and propaganda. Public opinion is very flexible in nature. It can abruptly change by a slight puff of propaganda and rumour. Thus its nature is instable and transitory.
6. Public opinion is different from individual opinion. Individual himself accepts and rejects public opinion; opinion of the individual becomes public opinion once it has been combined together.
7. Generally public opinion is acceptable to all. Only that opinion which is in accordance with the interest of the group is acceptable.
8. Generally public opinion is the combined opinion of the public or individuals. In fact, it is assimilated and combined opinion of the members of the group and is formed by common acceptance.



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9. Public opinion can be formed only when there is unity of any form—cultural, social and economic.

10. Sometimes the firm belief of the public is also called "Public opinion". Lord Bryce has pointed out that, "The term public opinion is commonly used to denote the aggregate of the views men hold regarding matters that concern their interest or the interest of the community as a whole."

11. Sometimes public opinion roots from the beliefs and ideas of the privileged class of people.

12. It is not a fact that public opinion is the monopoly of the majority. It emerges out of competition between the opinion of the majority and minority. Majority and public opinion sometimes go together and sometimes they are poles apart. Thus the basic element in public opinion is the common interest or the welfare of the people at large.

### **Formation of Public Opinion**

Public opinion is not the result of quick and abrupt decision of the individuals. It cannot be formed in a day just as Rome was not built in a day. It is a complex process. According to Kimball Young the following are the four steps in the formation of public opinion :

**1. Presence of some problem or issue :** For the formation of public opinion the first requisite is that there must be some problem or issue. This problem or issue should be such that in it a large number of public are involved. The issue must be common for a large section of people. The public should be conscious to locate the means and ways to solve the issue in a proper direction. For example, the Muslims are interested in solving certain points of contradictions. In the first stage of the formation of public opinion towards any issue, it is essential to define the problem or issue so that the public may become conscious to find proper solution of it. For example, the issue of divorce, dowry, unemployment, co-education are most important social problems. Such problems must be clearly defined so that the public may find adequate ways and means to solve them.

**2. Primary and exploratory state :** At this stage people find out some means to locate and define the problem. They explore means to understand the problems and attempt to understand its complex aspect. In this connection views of various specialists are invited for discussions and debates. Some problems or issues are sometimes solved through different media like radio, television, newspapers etc. This helps in the formation of public opinion in the problem of divorce among Hindus; it is necessary to find out the extent of the seriousness of the problem, and also to locate the type of solution of such problems. Whether there is need of reform, if yes, then how these reforms should be brought up etc. Different individuals give their own opinion, and smaller groups

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comprising some associations or institutions of specialists in the field of sociology and psychology, propagate their views through private conversation press or radio etc. to give a proper shape to the formation of public opinion.

**3. Structured Stage :** After the preliminary stage comes the stage of discussion and exchange of views. The people now have the views for and against solutions which have been offered. Those views are discussed and arguments are presented. The divorce problem is now revised, put in a definite form, and placed before the Parliament. In Parliament the ruling party and the oppositions discuss it out. Usually in a democracy, the Government puts it in the form of bill. After proper discussion and debate, the Government makes amendments in the issue. Sometimes the issue does not go to the Parliament or Assembly. They may be discussed outside among the people in a smaller or big groups through various associations, meetings, conferences, press etc.

**4. The Stage of Consensus :** The last stage in the formation of public opinion is the stage of consensus. At this stage opinion is formed. The opinion of the majority is called the 'public opinion'. The divorce bill passed by the Parliament can be said to be based on public opinion, since the majority must have voted in its favour. But the majority which has opposed it still continue to oppose it. Sometimes they make it an issue for election.

### 9.4 Important Factors in the Formation of Public Opinion

Factors playing important role in the formation of public opinion can be divided into two categories—personal and social.

**(a) Personal Individual factors :** It is generally believed that the social circumstances influence social processes and are more significant than other factors in the case of formation of public opinion. In its formation some personal factors are also of importance, especially the opinion of influential individuals. The great men become the ideals of men and women in society.

**(b) Social factors :** The following are the main social factors influencing the formation of public opinion :

**1. Cross Pressures :** In society the beliefs and assumptions of the individuals are influenced by cross pressures from different institutions and different directions. Public opinion is formed by these beliefs and assumptions. It is apparent that the process of formation of public opinion is rendered more complex by these cross pressures and it is difficult to say which institution has a greater hand in one or the other particular pressure.

**2. Economic and Professional Institutions :** Economic and professional institutions are also of some importance in the formation of public opinion. It is because of differences in them that there appear differences between the opinions of the various economic groups and classes. Economic interests are important in the formation of public opinion. It is seen that different classes or groups collectively possess different opinions concerning the same problems because of the different economic and professional interests that are current in their particular groups.

**3. Caste and Religion :** Among the factors that influence public opinion formation caste and religion are also important. Religion is a social matter and not a private affair as most people are prone to consider it. Even though most states today are secular, religion does influence social life and in particular rural social life. For example, in India public opinion is considerably influenced by religious considerations in connection with most social and political problems. The influence of religion is further strengthened by caste and together they put considerable influence upon public opinion. Hence caste, too, is an important factor in the formation of public opinion. Although, caste system is being continuously modified, casteism is increasing in India and is being encouraged because of the vested interest. Both in the political as well as the social spheres one can see difference in public opinion, the difference being caused by various caste interests in the consideration of different problems. It needs hardly be pointed out that such conditions are most undesirable for a healthy democracy.

**4. Effect of particular social phenomena :** The formation of public opinion is further amenable to the influence of some specific social phenomena in addition to the forementioned factors of a social nature. In this connection, Kimball Young has mentioned the following seven kinds of phenomena—

- (1) Specific economic phenomena
- (2) Other specific incidents
- (3) Incidents influencing the international situation
- (4) Change of the individual's direction of action by specific incidents
- (5) Social phenomena related to the intellectual viewpoint
- (6) Delusive phenomena related to rationalisation
- (7) Phenomena introducing stability.

All these phenomena have considerable influence upon the formation of public opinion.

**5. Education :** Education plays an important part in the formation of public opinion. It helps both the formation as well as the modification of public opinion. As a general rule, the urban population is generally more educated than the rural population

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in a country. Hence, one finds difference in the public opinion of rural area and that of the urban area. Generally speaking, rural public opinion is dogmatic whereas public opinion in the urban areas is progressive.

### 9.5 Agencies or Media of Public Opinion Formation

The means that are essential to the formation of public opinion have particular importance for a democratic society since here before any change can be introduced in any particular direction it is necessary to create public opinion in its favour as a preliminary step to the modification. The major means to the formation of public opinion are the following :

**1. Newspapers :** The most popular means of the formation of public opinion is the newspaper. Through the medium of the newspaper the government and the leaders transmit their views to the general public. In order that the opportunity supplied by the papers should be fully utilized it is necessary for the published news to be valid and true. The different newspapers consider the same problem from different points of view. The collective result of this is that the various notions are put before the public and all the different aspects of the problem are examined. The newspapers can both guide public opinion as well as mislead it. Hence impartial newspapers ought to be encouraged and the newspapers that represent different vested interests should be kept under close check.

**2. Radio :** The second important means for the formation of public opinion is the radio. It is a psychological fact that what is heard is more effective than what is read. Hence, the radio is more effective than the newspapers. Many scientific studies of propaganda through the radio have been made in connection with psychological effect upon the public. In their book 'The Psychology of Radio', Cantril and Allport have mentioned the following important facts concerning the radio :

(a) Greater amount of broadcasting should be done by female announcers because their voices are more pleasant and liked by the public.

(b) The speeches of the practice speaker are liked over the radio.

(c) It is necessary to stress the importance of clear pronunciation.

(d) The general description of any subject should also be accompanied by a specific analysis.

(e) Repetition should be indulged in to some extent because it is effective.

(f) The sentences should be shortened or lengthened to suit the subject matter; generally the shorter sentences are better but they can also be made longer if the subject is an interesting one.

(g) The speed of talking should not be too great. It is proper to speak between 115 and 160 words per minute.

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(h) On an average the programme should not be longer than 15 minutes although it can be longer if it is a dramatic programme.

It seems frivolous to point out that if the above principles are adhered to the entire power of the radio in the field of the creation of public opinion can be utilized to its fullest extent. Radio influences not only the ideas, opinions, beliefs and tendencies of the audience but also the existing social values.

**3. Television :** In modern times, television has emerged as a powerful medium of public opinion. It combines the effects of the movies with broadcasts and so it is considered a more powerful media. In television we can directly see the programmes of Parliament the speeches of different leaders, and the comments of the opposition parties can be seen on the screen of T. V. Recently different channels have been provided in T. V., such as Zee, Star, Discovery, B. B. C. London etc. through which we gather the news from different parts of the world in different languages. Thus T. V. is the most important and effective media of public opinion today.

**4. Motion Pictures :** The cinema is another powerful media of mass communication. Like the newspapers and radio, the film also influences, public opinion, and is influenced by public opinion. Film is also used for propaganda purpose in order to change public opinion. For example, in a non-democratic country film industry is under the direct control of the state. They produce films deliberately designed as propaganda vehicles. For example, Russian films' great emphasis is on the glorification of their country.

In every country films are censored by Censor Board. It recommends cutting some parts which in their opinion are not ethical or which may disturb communal harmony. In our country many films are produced to develop ethical, moral and communal harmony among public. Many films are based on caste, untouchability and intercaste marriage.

However, according to some studies there is a general notion that cinema increases the incidence of juvenile delinquency. It has also been admitted that those who are juvenile delinquents visit cinema more than other young people. At the same time there is no doubt that some films help formation of immoral habits among young children. Sometimes the film producers try to exploit the social problems in order to make their films successful.

In this way films dealing with current social problems influence public opinion.

**5. Telephone and telegraph :** Through telephone and telegraph it is possible for us to circulate news to different parts of the country within a short time. Through

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this media it is possible to influence the views of other people. Telegraph is also a medium which carries news to different parts of the country quickly. Recently, the technique of fax and E-mail has also become very important to carry detailed news within no time to different parts of the country and the world.

**6. Public Speech :** The leaders in public meetings try to change the existing opinion of the public towards a particular issue. The leader of any political party expresses his opinion before the public and tries to bring change in their opinion through verbal exchange. He attempts to convince the public by exposing the defects and demerits of any issue in order to bring change in their opinion. A good orator can easily impress and convince the public through his speech, gestures and postures. The illiterate group of people are more benefitted by public speech. But the greatest limitation of public speech is that the size of the group should be small. It is a difficult task for a leader or speaker to convince a large gathering. Even then public speech is sometimes more effective than their other media like newspapers, radio, T. V. etc. It is only because the leader tries to evoke the emotion of the public, and through suggestions tries to fish out of muddy water he tries to bring people under one banner. Thus public speech is also an important medium for changing public opinion.

**7. Religious, Cultural and Educational Institutions :** These institutions play an important role in the formation and communication of public opinion. These institutions influence the views of the people. In religious institutions the students develop feeling of devotion towards religious beliefs and ideas. In these institutions the religious leaders and reformers discuss the different problems relating to religion and explain its utility and benefits to their students. They perform group prayers and also explain the meaning and importance of religious books. Even today in all Christian Institutions, the teachers explain the meaning of the different verses of Bible to their students. Muslim institutions like Madrasas and Khankahs do the same job where the Maulanas try to develop religious attitude in their students. Thus religious institutions are powerful cradle for changing the opinion of the public.

It is said that schools transmit the cultural heritage to students. In school the students learn the social and cultural norms. As discussed above school is also a very fertile ground for the change of opinion and belief of children. Through discussion and debate on different topics, the opinion of the students regarding several social issues and problems is changed and modified. However the scope of religious institutions is very limited regarding the formation of public opinion because only those persons go to such institutions who are religious minded and have a stereotyped attitude towards religion.

**8. Political parties :** Political parties particularly in a democratic set up influence the formation of public opinion. They also carry views and ideas from one place to

another. Generally, they convey the public opinion in their own interest. In all the democratic countries the political parties are divided into two parts—political party in absolute majority or power and the opposition party. The political party in power tries to evoke public opinion in favour of Government, while opposition parties try to create public opinion against the ruling party or Government. It tries to unveil the defects of the ruling party and attempts to defame it, such as on account of its failure to tackle a problem of poverty, unemployment, education etc. The opposition party also highlights such problems in Parliament and Assembly. Thus political parties play an important role in the formation of public opinion.

Thus it can be concluded that public opinion is not something which is determined by just one incident or one medium of communication. There are so many influences which impinge on an individual at a given time, and we cannot say whether the given opinion by an individual is based exclusively on one or another experience.

The actual extent of life, the daily struggles, our contacts with other people, all these affect us much more than politician's speech, newspapers, radio, television and cinema.

### 9.6 Role of Public Opinion in Democracy

In a democratic set-up public opinion plays an important role. It is said that democracy is a Government 'by the people' 'of the people' and 'for the people'. Thus, in a democratic country democracy flourishes when the public opinion is healthy and sound. Giddings has also pointed out that "Democracy is nothing but a combination of the administration, society or the public and the democratic Government." In this system of Government representatives of the people rule over the people and this administration is carried out in the interest of the people. As such public opinion plays an important role in a democratic set-up. It has also been found that in a democracy it is assumed that all responsible citizens have a part to play in formulation and answer to the public issues. The principle of "Righty implies duty" is the core of democratic set-up. In democracy people have the right to discuss the issue which affects the welfare of the public or community. This discussion may be held in Assembly and outside among the groups of public who decide the issue and as such some consensus may arise which becomes the basis of public opinion. This opinion supported by the majority of the people takes the form of public opinion. As such public opinion may be called the corner stone of democracy.

Public opinion bears a sharp effect on the functioning of administration. As a result the mode of administration is changed. Public opinion is a continued process which affects the administration in a democratic country. The public opinion changes from time to time.

The process of formation of public opinion is just the reverse in a totalitarian state. In such a state the whole power is vested in few hands. The few heads form the policy which the public accepts. In such set-up the state has its own media of formulation of public opinion. But the situation in democracy is different. It is public and the representatives of the public who after proper discussion and debate reach some consensus and then decide the issue. In other words public opinion plays a dominant role in the formation of some policy and issues by the Government. Thus, the formulation of public opinion in democracy takes place in a manner which is quite different from a totalitarian set-up.

It has already been pointed out that in a democratic set-up, public opinion has its affect on the Government and the administration. If public opinion is against the administration and the Government some change takes place and the administration faces obstacle in conducting its smooth functioning. But mere opposition's slogans, dharna, hunger strike against the policies of Government do not yield positive result or any type of reform. Public opinion should be healthy and should be of a nature which may help the administration in executing its policies in right direction. Thus democracy needs healthy and enlightened public opinion. To achieve this end the public should take interest to bring reform in the state and society. Then only healthy and enlightened public opinion can be formed. In a democratic set up the mass media should also play a healthy role. The public opinion should be impartial. It should not arise only to meet the selfis end. If the mass media presents news and views in a distorted manner, public opinion will be adversely affected, and may damage the true spirit of democracy. The political leader should also help the people to develop a positive opinion towards Government and administration to make the foundation of democracy sound and stable.

Public opinion is also affected by propaganda and rumour. But the public should be alert against false and misleading propoganda which affects their opinion against the issues in question. In order to save the democratic set-up of the country, public opinion should be based on reasoning and consensus.

Thus we conclude that public opinion plays an important role in a democracy. It is the price of internal vigilance. It can help democracy to flourish. It can bring reform in the functioning of the administration and Government.

### 9.7 Summary

1. The term public opinion has been defined by different scholars in different ways. Keeping in view all these definitions it can be said that public opinion is the opinion of public. General views, convictions and ideas about an object or an individual are known as public opinion. Public opinion arises with respect to some issues



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regarding which preference of opinion is observed. If a group holds one view about an issue then there is no question of public opinion. The fact is that some people of the group hold one view and some another. That is, there is a need for public opinion.

2. There are several characteristics of public opinion. It involves public which are free to express their opinions regarding particular issue of general importance. It is different from individual opinion. Public opinion is the opinion of the public acceptable to all. It lacks stability.

3. Formation of public opinion is a complex process which involves four steps i.e. presence of some problem of issue, primary or exploratory step, structured stage in the stage of consensus.

4. There are several factors involved in the formation of public opinion. They can be divided into two classes : Personal / individual and social factors. Social factors includes cross pressures, academic and professional institutions, caste or religion, effect of particular social phenomenon and education.

5. There are several media of public opinion. They are newspaper, radio, television, motion picture, telephone, telegraph, public speech, religious, cultural and educational institutions and political parties. Besides, there are some other factors as well which influence public opinion.

6. Public opinion plays a vital role in democracy. It bears a significant effect on the functioning of administration. If public opinion is against the government or administration, smooth functioning of government is just impossible. Therefore it plays a vital role for the successful functioning of democratic government.

### **9.8 Key words used in the Lesson**

Conception, amorphous, aggregation, stimulus, conception, preponderance, propoganda, exploratory, consensus, dogmatic, vested, tackle, totalitarian, stereotyped, unveil, gestures, contradiction.

### **9.9 Questions for Exercise**

#### **(a) Short Answer Questions**

1. What do you mean by Public opinion ?

Ans. — See 9.1

2. Discuss the nature of Public Opinion.

Ans. — See 9.2

3. Discuss the characteristics of Public Opinion.

Ans. — See 9.3

**(b) Long Answer Questions**

**1. Discuss the meaning, nature and characteristics of public opinion.**

**Ans. — See 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3**

**2. Discuss the important factors in the formation of public opinion.**

**Ans. — See 9.4**

**3. What are the media or means or agencies of public opinion ?**

**Ans. — See 9.5**

**4. What is the role of public opinion in democracy ?**

**Ans. — See 9.6**

**9.10 Suggested Readings**

- |                   |   |                                      |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Young, K.      | : | <b>Handbook of Social Psychology</b> |
| 2. Ginsberg, M.   | : | <b>The Psychology of Society</b>     |
| 3. Akolkar, V. V. | : | <b>Social Psychology</b>             |
| 4. Cooley, C. H.  | : | <b>Social Process</b>                |
| 5. Sulaiman, M.   | : | <b>Adhunik Samaj Manovigyan</b>      |



**Social Tension****Lesson Structure**

- 10.0 Objective
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 Meaning of Social Tension
- 10.3 Caste Tension or Casteism
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**10.0 Objective**

Here the meaning, types, causes and remedies of social or group tension will be discussed. Caste tension, Communal tension, Regional tension are the main types of the social tension which will also be discussed in detail. Another important objective

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of the lesson is to provide the conceptual clarity and importance of Attitude Integration. At the end a brief summary, key words used, Questions for exercise and suggested readings are given. It is presumed that you can answer the relevant questions after careful and systematic study of these materials.

### 10.1 Introduction

Tensions may exist in individuals as well as groups just as people who hold mutually contradictory views, opinions and beliefs tend to come into conflict, groups which have mutually contradictory moral ideas, behaviour ideas and modes, etc. Hence, group tension is the psychological tension between two or more groups. In India, for example, one finds feelings of hatred, fear, superiority or inferiority entertained by one communal group for the other in society. One comes across mutual distrust and hatred between brahmins and non-brahmins, brahmins and kayasthas, banyas and brahmins and even between the higher and lower sub-groups within the same group. This casteism is the outcome of caste tension. Despite their having lived in close contiguity for hundreds of years, the morals, ideals, ideas, customs, viewpoints and other things of the Hindus and Muslims show very pronounced difference. As a result of this one may see communal tension existing between Hindus and Muslims. And this sort of difference in respect of opinion or modes of life is to be found even among members of the same nation hailing from different parts of the country. It is seen that the Punjabi will favour the Punjabi while the Bengali would like to benefit the Bengali before he does a good turn to someone else. The Assamese seems to be under the impression that Assam is their property and the Bengalis should be allowed no share in it. This tension has grown to such proportions that some people have utilised the natural differences between the populations of the north and south to advance the demand for a separate nation in the south. The very existence of a group that makes such fantastic demands proves the extent to which regional tensions have grown in India.

### 10.2 Meaning of Social Tension

Tension is a condition of anxiety, unrest and restlessness accompanied by muscular strain. This definition is only related to personal tension, but social tension is somewhat different. Social tension refers to social condition in which all or most of the members of society or group have feelings of anxiety, unrest and restlessness, accompanied by muscular strain. Thus social tension involves and affects the community as a whole. For example, during war or flood the Government warns the public to vacate a certain areas, as such the whole public becomes tense and restless. The wave of tension pervades the whole community.

In other words when tension is a condition of strain and stress between two groups or community it is called communal tension. When it is between two races it is referred to as racial tension. In the same way when the condition of tension occurs between members of different castes, it is called caste tension. Similarly, regional tension is a tension between the people of different regions and provinces.

### 10.3 Caste tension or Casteism

The term caste has been derived from the Portuguese word caste signifying "breed" or "class". In India, the word caste corresponds with "Jat" or "Jati" which means birth or descent. Members of a particular "Jat" or 'Jati' claim a common origin and practice a common tradition. According to Gait, "Caste may be defined as an endogamous group or collection of such groups bearing a common name, and having the same tradition, occupation, and commonly regarded as forming a single homogenous community."

#### 10.3.1 Causes of Development of Caste Tension

Now-a-days casteism is at its height in India, the culmination of many causes. Some of the causes are as below :

**1. Sense of caste prestige :** The most important cause of casteism is the desire of people belonging to a particular caste to enhance the prestige of their caste and in so doing see no wrong in adopting even the most downgraded and deleterious methods. But the prestige of the caste can be maintained only on the ground that every opportunity be availed of in order to improve the social status of members. In order to achieve this objective every caste provides its members with all possible privileges to raise their social status. This tends to increase casteism.

**2. Marriage restrictions—**The second cause that encourages the development of casteism is the restrictions on marriage that prevail in Hindu society. Under the caste system the restrictions that apply to marriage turn every caste into a monogamous group in which each individual looks upon himself as related in some way to all the others and for this reason everyone pays proper attention to the interests of others. Such action encourages casteism.

**3. Urbanization :** With the advent of the tendency to urbanization, it becomes possible for all castes to collect in large numbers in towns. At the same time the lives of members of various castes are beset with problems as a result of which it becomes necessary to provide security on a communal basis. Casteism is spreading because of the necessity to fulfil this need for security.

**4. Increase in the means of transport and paganda :** One factor that has assisted the development of casteism is the increase in the means of both transport and propaganda because this improvement has led to the establishment of relations

between members of a caste who were previously separated because of distance. And the feeling of casteism is being rapidly propagated through the medium of newspapers and communal magazines.

### **10.3.2 Consequences of Casteism or Caste Tension**

On the one hand, casteism serves to foster the interests of a small number of individuals but on the other it is proving harmful to the nation as a whole. Some of the major consequences of casteism are the following :

**1. Hindrance in the development of nationalism :** Casteism hinders the growth and development of nationalism. On the one hand, casteism has divided Indian society into many groups while on the other much tension and conflict between these various parts have been created on the basis of casteism.

**2. Hindrance to democracy :** Many of the professional leaders in the political field exploit casteism and at election time ask people to vote for them on caste considerations and they also succeed in their evil designs. This sometimes results in the election of unscrupulous individuals who do not hesitate in crushing common interests in consideration and promotion of caste interests. In practice, the glories of casteism are sung even behind the scenes where there is professed equality. In this way, casteism is fatal to democracy. According to K. M. Pannikar, "In fact, no organisation or society on the basis of equality is possible so long as the sub-caste and the joint family exist."

**3. Corruption :** People, inspired by the sense of casteism try to provide all kinds of facilities to people who belong to their own castes and in doing so they resort to all kinds of immoral and improper activities. In this way, extreme corruption in the society is increasing.

**4. Hindrance in technological efficiency :** Because the appointment to government and private services is done on the basis of caste, there seems to be a continuing increase in the number of inefficient and worthless people. On the other hand, the efficient and able individuals do not get the opportunity to find employment. Thus great obstacles are placed in the path of the nation's industrial and technological advance.

### **10.3.3 Remedies of Casteism**

The following are some suggestions concerning the solution of the problems arising out of casteism :

**1. Proper education :** The greatest need for a solution of the problem of casteism is proper education. The educational institutions should be able to provide an atmosphere in which caste distinctions are not encouraged. A healthy point of view in the public for casteism can thus be generated. Casteism can be destroyed only by the development of changed attitude behaviour patterns.

**2. Intercaste Marriage :** Another way of combating the continuing increase in casteism is the encouragement of intercaste marriages. Intercaste marriage provides an opportunity for two families belonging to different castes to come together not only for two individuals. In this way, the seed of casteism shall be unable to strike root and even if it does the resulting sapling will be so weak that it will subsequently be wiped out.

**3. Lesser use of the word 'caste' :** One way of solving the problem of casteism is to make less frequent use of the word 'caste' so that there may be no traces of it left in the mind of impressionable children and they should not be imbued with the ideas of caste distinction. In this way, at least it will become possible to destroy the notion of casteism in the coming generations.

**4. Cultural and economic equality :** Another way of facing the problem of casteism is to introduce cultural and economic equality in the minds and the lives of various castes. Inequality in the sphere of cultural and economic welfare between the races promotes jealousy and competition among them which later assumes the form of casteism. Hence, the restoration of cultural and economic equality of the various races is an important step towards the abolition of casteism from society.

**5. Proper and legal steps of state and central government :** Caste tensions may be reduced by implementing proper economic, social, educational and religious strategies. Economic measures include land reform, redistribution of land, more employment opportunities etc. Social measures include camps, common dining, co-operative settlements with no segregation in housing, and group therapy in the form of Kirtans, Bhajans, children's play etc. Educational measures include democratic patterns of education for upper caste and lower caste children. Religious measures include true meaning of religion, faith in it and its correct interpretation. Religion teaches all men as equal and it teaches to avoid the feeling of hatred towards others. Besides abolition of surnames, titles, and also introduction of new common greetings such as 'Jai Hind' instead of 'Jai Ram Ji Ki', 'Pai Lagi' etc.

Thus casteism can be ruled out if the feelings 'Live and let others live', and everyone is the son of the same soil or Dharti Mata be encouraged.

### 10.4 Communal Tension

Tension, anxiety and unrest among the members of two communities are taken as communal tension.

It has been observed and accepted that prejudice lies at the root of communal tension. The religious institution of any community, with certain exceptions, encourage communal feelings among the members of different communities and groups. These groups have often social discrimination, have different clubs, hotels, resorts and the like or educational institutions having separate religious ideologies.

Prejudice is also created through religious education, i.e. Hindus are 'Kafir', or Muslims favour cow killing. Sometimes there is organized movement of the religious groups against the other. For example, Muslim League made communal propaganda against Hindus before independence. In a book "Meet Mr. Jinnah" Jinnah himself said "Give me silver bullet. I can win the battle." Such type of propaganda was counteracted by the Hindu community that led to communal tension in the country. The members of such organizations are often the persons who are affected by current changes.

### 10.4.1 Causes of Communal Tension

**1. Geographical causes :** One of the causes of communalism is geographical. There is much communal tension wherever the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others live in separate sections because the modes of life and conduct of the different religious groups exhibit wide differences.

**2. Psychological causes :** Another cause of communal tension is of a psychological nature. Communal rioting breaks out between the Hindus and the Muslims in the country whenever the hatred and disgust that they have for each other reach fever pitch. There are some deceptive and misleading dogmatic concepts at the root of this mutual hatred. Hindus are prone to believe that the Muslim is a born traitor while the Muslims feel that they are in constant danger from the Hindus. Tension increases because of such fallacious thoughts based on ignorance.

**3. Social causes :** Social factors also promote communal tension. Even today there are many restrictions that hinder any profound relationship between Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims slaughter cows and this injures the religious sentiments of the Hindus while Hindus find it objectionable to form too close a relationship with the Muslims because they profess a different religion. Many of the customs respected by the two stand in complete contradiction. Hindus grow their religious tuft of hair which the Muslims do not. Their respective dresses differ widely. In washing hands the Hindu pours the water so that it proceeds from the direction of the elbow to the wrist while the Muslim pours it so that it flows from the wrist to the elbow. These things are well nigh insignificant but because of them the two are prone to look at each other as slightly unnatural. At present inter-caste marriages are exceptions in the country and it is impossible for the people to think in terms of marriages between different religious groups.

**4. Surface causes :** Sometimes the cause of communal tension is based on personal likes and dislikes. Both Hindu and Muslims have their own way and style of life. Thus such differences are on the surface and become less significant. Such difference is sometimes related to dress, food (vegetarian or non-vegetarian), manners etc. As such, likes and dislikes on these grounds may create social distance rather than communal tension.



**5. Reciprocal danger :** Sometimes hatred against each other creates communal tension between two communities. From the experiences and facts of history both community doubts each other, and the danger of enmity always persists between them. The Muslim community feels that Hindus are a danger to their existence; the Hindus also develop the same attitude towards Muslims. Thus reciprocal danger is also a cause of communal tension.

**6. Provocation of historical events :** Sometimes the cause of communal tensions is some event of the past recorded in history. Such events of history evoke emotional feelings of both the communities. Specially when the feelings and sentiments of the privileged group is damaged through historical facts, it may lead to communal tension. Sometimes in history the historians present the facts in a very exaggerated manner simply to evoke emotional and communal feelings in Hindu community. The oppressions and cruelty shown by the Muslim rulers are presented in a very colourful manner. Such facts contaminate the minds of Hindu or Muslims community which cause communal tension.

**7. Antagonistic religious belief :** The antagonistic religious belief of Hindu and Muslims is also an important cause of communal tension. Hindus believe that mandir is an abode of God, Muslims take it in the form of an ordinary or common house. Hindus consider cow as mother and also an animal to be worshiped. But the Muslim take cow as simply an animal. Such diversity of belief leads to communal tension.

**8. Power motive :** The lust for power and domination between two communities also inculcated the feeling of communal tension. We should not forget that it was the lust for power which divided our country. Thus attitude of domination of majority i.e. Hindus towards Muslims also creates communal tension.

**9. Partition of the Country :** The partition of our country is also an important cause of communal tension among members of different communities. After partition a big bulk of population migrated to East and West Pakistan. The rest who did not leave India are now minority community. The effect of oppressions, carnages and cruelty on Hindus in different parts of Pakistan evoked the feeling of communal tension against the Muslims living in India. Thus a sense of revenge developed in the mind of majority communities, i.e. Hindus that led to several communal riots and arson in different parts of India.

**10. Political factors :** There are many political factors which are responsible for communal tension. From the time of Britishers till today the policy of 'divide and rule' is alive. There are a good number of leaders who instigate the public through their speeches, and misinterpretation of Holy Books which is responsible for communal tension and riots in our country. Even some of the leaders misinterpreted the verses

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of 'Quran' in order to inculcate communal feelings in the minds of majority community. The political leaders sometimes do such activities to defame the ruling party. Thus political factor is also responsible for communal tension.

**11. Ignorance and religious attitude :** Ignorance is a great evil for any country or community. Ignorance creates a fertile ground to flourish the communal feelings among people. Both Hindus and Muslims are not aware of the true spirit of their religion. They believe blindly what their religious leaders convey to them. This ignorance leads to separation and social distance between the two communities. Even the literate persons seldom read the Holy Bhagvat Geeta and Holy Quran in order to understand the true spirit of their religion. Several leaders have given adverse opinion regarding Quran which has been published in 'Dinman', March 1988. Such statements only poison the mind of the public and destroy the harmony and solidarity of the country.

**12. Defective socialization :** The seed of communalism is sown from the very childhood. At the time of birth a child is neither Hindu nor Muslim. Only through the process of defective socialization he learns prejudice, hatred, and communal feelings toward other community. Thus, teaching and training of communal feeling starts from home. They get motivation from their parents to develop hatred and indifference towards other communities. Thus a healthy process of socialization can save people from the contamination of communalism and communal tension.

**13. Defective educational system :** It has been said that school transmits cultural heritage in children. A child learns different kinds of social and cultural norms from school. But there are a good number of schools in which the teachers pollute the minds of their students and inculcate communal feelings in them. Sometimes in Sanskrit Pathshalas, and Madarsas the teachers infuse communal feelings in the mind of their students against other communities. As such, defective education is also responsible for communal feelings and tension.

### **10.4.2 Remedies for reducing communal tension**

**1. Propagation of national history :** If communal tensions are to be eliminated it is necessary that those aspects and times in history should be emphatically propagated in which the Hindus and Muslims combined to act in the interests of the nation and made sacrifices to this end. The employment of this measure will serve to vitiate the historical causes of communal tensions while it will simultaneously encourage nationalist emotions.

**2. Personal contact :** In order to remove the psychological causes lying at the root of communal tensions, it becomes necessary to improve the mutual contacts between the two communities. Youth organisations should be formed in every village and every town in which the youths of every community should participate and actively

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take part in different programmes. In addition to this other associations of this kind can also be formed in which members of different communities get the opportunity to meet and know each other. In this context enforced contact should be organized for first hand understanding.

**3. Discouraging communal parties :** The government should keep a vigilant and stern eye on the activities of the communal parties while it should progressively try to put an end to these. In India many communal parties promote communalism while acting in the guise of cultural and religious associations. The government should attend to them and if found guilty they should immediately be stopped.

**4. Formation of healthy public opinion :** Newspapers, lectures, radio programmes and the cinema should be utilised in forming a healthy national public opinion and for this the instruments of communal propaganda should be discouraged.

**5. Encouragement to national festivals :** In the country the national festivals and occasions should be encouraged in such a manner as to enable people of all communities to participate to the fullest extent. What can be done in this direction is to declare the important festivals of both communities such as Holi, Diwali, Id, etc. to be national festivals so that Hindus and Muslims may take part. This mutual contact will help to reduce communal tension.

**6. Healthy home atmosphere :** One important remedy to reduce communal tension is to improve the atmosphere prevailing at home, so that the mind of the children may remain free from communal feelings. It is a universal fact that children acquire the feeling of prejudice and communal attitude towards their communities through their parents and other members of their family. Parents should not talk or discuss any such communal topic before their children which may inculcate communal feelings in their mind. Thus parents of Hindu and Muslim family should try to develop healthy attitude in their children towards different communities. They should explain to their children the true spirit of religion, to show love and affection towards other communities. This type of home training can also reduce communal tension.

**7. Ban on provocative processions :** Sometimes the processions of Ramnavmi and Moharrum create communal tension through the use of undesirable slogans. If the attitude of the public following the procession is to disturb the peace and harmony of the community it should be banned. Restriction should be imposed on such processions which attempt to provoke the sentiments and emotions of the public. Even in Muslim community the procession of Moharram in Lucknow and Sunni community, was banned for several years.

**8. Common goal :** Sometimes the common goal of the public is also a means to reduce communal tension. The sense of solidarity and national integration also an important means of reducing communal tension.

**9. Common civil code :** In order to reduce communal tension a common civil code should be adopted. The public and the Government should strictly follow this code. There should not be separate code for Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. This may reduce the social distance between different communities. At the same time the attitude of segregation between different communities also give rise to communal tension. Thus a common civil code for every community may reduce communal tension.

**10. Healthy Politics :** Healthy politics is needed to develop a sense of solidarity, patriotism and national integration in the public of our country. Unhealthy and dirty politics pollute the atmosphere of the country. Politics should not be a platform of casteism and communalism. Thus the leader of the political parties should try to develop healthy attitude in the public. They should not work only to save their chair. Thus all the political parties should join hands and work shoulder to shoulder to reduce communal tension. They should try to develop the sense of solidarity and national integration in public.

**11. Indianization :** Sometimes the term 'Indianization' is confused with the term 'Hinduism'. But it means simply the citizen of India. In his poem Allama Iqbal had said, "Hindi hain hum watan hain, sara jahan hamara." This reflects the deep sense of love and patriotism towards the country. If the people of any community truly feel that they are first Indians, then Hindus and Muslims then the feeling of communal tension from the mind will automatically vanish. Goldsmith had once said, "I am a citizen of the world."

**12. Legislative measure :** To check and reduce or control communal tension the Government should reinforce several legislative measures which are as follows :

- (i) ban on such activities which lead to disturbance of communal harmony.
- (ii) persons responsible for communal riots should be strictly punished.
- (iii) Police and C.R.P. force should be deputed in sensitive areas.
- (iv) collective fine or penalty should be imposed in riot affected areas.
- (v) compensation to the affected community for loss of property and life.

Various methods for eradicating or at least lessening communal tensions are to be used effectively. In this direction, it is necessary to resort to all social, scientific and psychological methods. It is desirable to make a concerted effort. Both the government as well as the NGOs have to co-operate if any success is to be achieved in this direction. The element of communalism has been present in the country for such a long time that great effort will have to be made if this poisonous root is to be removed.

## 10.5 Concept of Regionalism or Regional tension

### What is Regionalism ?

Regionalism is the sense of affection and attachment for people belonging to one's own region and hatred for those who belong to some other region. As a result of this, people of one region in India have started looking at people from some other part of the country in the same light in which they are prone to regard foreigners.

Regionalism is a complex concept. It has been defined in various ways by several social scientists. Some of them have defined regionalism as a "world federation," and intermediate state administrative decentralisation and federation.

Regionalism is related to diversified problems of modern political and cultural life. It is also based on the decentralization of administration, local-self Government and autonomy. The spirit of regionalism echoes the slogan of "son of the soil." Regionalism manifests local patriotism. Some western scholars have identified regionalism as the by-product of modernization" (Duncan B. Forrester).

Regionalism is a mania of patriotism, self-identity and self-fulfilment, lust for power, maintenance and protection of cultural heritage, language, and life style. It is, truly speaking, a 'psyche of alienation from national mainstream'. This feeling of alienation originates from excessive centralisation, attitude of ruling party or elite.

India is a union of States. Hence, the unity of the nation can be maintained only so long as the people regard the entire country as one nation and their own country. If all the people are going to place their faith in their own respective regions without paying attention to the interests of the nation, it will become difficult for the union government to continue functioning. In this way, regionalism has become a serious problem for the interests of the nation.

If we properly analyse the above concept of regionalism, we can very easily trace out the following causes of regional tension.

### 10.5.1 Cause of Regional tension

**(i) Historical factor :** The historical fact reveals social distance among caste and communities of different regions. Even in ancient India the feeling of regionalism was active. The study of history can tell us how people of different regions in India tried to maintain the spirit of their personal, social and cultural identity. Even today in a democratic set-up regionalism is pervading in different parts of India. People of different regions express indifference towards the way of life, manner, food habits, customs of the people of other regions. The cause may be superiority complex, but such attitude of indifference and apathy leads to regional tension.

**(ii) Environmental factor :** Sometimes the environmental factors also play a vital role in regional tension. It has been observed that the environmental complex is one

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of the basic causes of regional tension. The climate, topography, and housing pattern, improved method of cultivation, industrialization, urbanization all combine together for the explicit expression of regional tension.

**(iii) The cultural factor :** The cultural factor may also be accounted for regional tension. Culture is a basic determinant of social distance. The regional groups internalise most of the elements of its own sub-culture, and also demand their own identity. The cultural force which leads to regional tension includes economy, mannerism, values, and various institutional complex. Further, the social, economic and religious factors tend to reinforce the historical memories and determine the distinctive forms of mental set and behavioural pattern of different regional groups which act as motivating force of regional tension.

**(iv) Political Factors :** It is undisputable that since independence all kinds of inter and intra-regional tensions and conflicts are increasing. The leaders and politicians in given political systems have failed to accommodate various regional aspirations of various regions, and hence it has opened doors for regional tensions. In order to provide a positive shape to regionalism much depends upon policy matter and the ruling elites. If they fail to fulfil the demands of public, their frustration and hopes for the recognition of self identity, culture and socio-economic problems take the shape of regional tension. In the context of Pakistan politics has played a pivotal role in regional tension. Though Mr. Jinnah died, he left behind the sense of regional tension among the people of Pakistan. Ironically, it was due to the politics of regionalism that Pakistan became a reality in 1947, and also due to the forces of regionalism that Pakistan disintegrated in December, 1971, with the emergence of Bangladesh, and the so-called "Two-nation" theory lost its rational as was advocated by father founder of Pakistan. It further evoked Punjabi regionalism, Pakhtoon regionalism, Baluchi regionalism etc.

**(v) Linguistic Factors :** The linguistic factor is also responsible for regional tension. We can refer to the demand for separate state on the basis of language. But the Dar Commission appointed by Constituent Assembly expressed views against reconstitution of state on this ground. The demand for separate state on linguistic basis caused violence and riots in different regions.

**(vi) Psychological factors :** Finally, psychological causes have contributed no less to the development and stability of regionalism. It is the wish of most of the persons that it be their area that progresses the most. This idea in itself is neither bad nor detestable but when they disregard the national interest and those of other regions for the attainment of this, then this feeling takes on the form of regionalism. Besides this, there are many individuals encouraging regionalism who express the hatred, jealousy, fear, anger and other feelings contained in them in this manner.

**(vii) Other Causative factors :** There are some other causes besides those mentioned above that promote regionalism. For example, it is only rarely that one comes across married couples among whom one belongs to Bengal and the other to Punjab or to Rajasthan or to Madras for that matter. As a general rule, people belonging to different regions do not marry and hence the occasion for close contact between the two does not arise. In addition to these there are some economic causes of regional tension. In the country there are some regions that are far backward in comparison to some other regions. As a result they are often seen possessed of a sense of inferiority and they become jealous of others. People belonging to some particular sphere are seen to be particularly successful in some vocations. For example, in India, the most successful businessmen are seen to belong to Marwar, Gujarat and Punjab, and in this sphere they have a practical monopoly. In this too they are hated by some people who try to turn them out from their own regions.

**Means for the reduction of regionalism**

The following means can help to end regionalism or at least to dilute it to some extent :

**1. Encouragement to the development of transport and communication :** If regionalism is to be eliminated, the people should be encouraged to indulge in travel and to increase contact with people belonging to different regions of the country. Recently, a train of religious hermits toured the country and similarly many farmers belonging to Rajasthan travelled all over the country. In India, the tradition whereby people are induced to visit places of religious importance is a good one in as much as it helps people to travel all over the country and meet different people. In going to different corners of the country the people realise that India is a large country and regional sentiments can be removed or rendered less effectual by encouraging transport and communication in the country.

**2. Propagation of national history :** The history of the nation should be propagated all over the country so that the people may clearly realise that the history of the individual regions of the country is only a part of the history of the nation to which all the regions have made an important contribution. The propagation of national history will help to eradicate the sense of regionalism.

**3. Prevention of regional political parties :** It is essential for national unity and integration that the political parties propagating regionalism and regional interests should be prevented from doing so. If they indulge in unrestricted campaigns for promoting regional interests they should be declared illegal. Although in a democracy every individual has the right to form a political organisation in order to express his views, it tends to harm the interests of the nation and so this right should be curbed.

**4. Propagation of national sentiment :** Finally, in order to remove the psychological causes at the root of regionalism an effort should be made to propagate the sentiment of nationality in the country. It is necessary to resort to all the various media of propaganda to obtain results in this direction. Efforts should be made to remove the regionalistic tendencies from all spheres such as government service, educational institutions, etc. and the sentiment of nationality should be encouraged.

Regionalism is a complex problem. If it is to be solved it must be attacked from all sides and furthermore such a task requires co-operation from the government and the people. Only then can this problem be solved.

### 10.6 Causes of Social Tension

There are several causes of social tension including physical, social, cultural, religious, economic and political factors which have been already discussed in detail while explaining caste, communal and regional tension.

Finally, the most important and prominent causes lying at the root of social or group tensions are psychological in nature. In fact, they are the direct causes of group tensions. Physical, social, religious, cultural and economic differences cannot inevitably lead to group tensions unless, mutual jealousy, hatred, contradictory beliefs, attitudes of conflicts and prejudices are not implanted in the minds of members of various groups. The presence of these psychological elements tends to accelerate the normal rate of growth of group tensions. Injury to one's self-respect normally leads people to harbour feelings of hatred for the group that is responsible for this injury. The tension between various groups is further increased by the sense of self-expression. Groups that fear each other are naturally always on the look out for opportunities in which they may inflict injury upon the hated group. In this way, psychological causes are the root causes of group tensions.

Moreover, competition, absence of common goals, absence of contacts, mutually contradictory assumptions and beliefs, ignorance and maladjustment are also the predominant factors of social tension.

From the above description of the various causes of social or group conflicts and tensions, it is evident that no one cause is responsible for social tension. There may be various causes that lead to the development of various tensions between sundry groups under all kinds of differing circumstances. In this connection, it is essential to develop an open mind and a Christian attitude. At the same time it must be remembered that usually more than one causative factors are mixed up with any specimen of group tensions. Many different causes and all kinds of circumstances combine to create an atmosphere that is conducive to the growth and development of social tension.



### **10.7 Means of eliminating Social Tension**

Proper education, creation of healthy literature, preparation of healthy public opinion, improvement of social adjustment, reduction of social distance, development of balanced personality, organization of youth, propagation of national objectives, removal of economic disparity, social emancipation, specific studies of group tensions, use of formal or constitutional means are treated as the effective steps for reducing social tension. Steps to remove caste, communal and regional tension are also applicable to reduce social tension as they are the main types of social tension.

### **10.8 Concept of Attitude Integration**

Attitude is more or less a generalized state of readiness. The exact process by which children acquire attitude has not adequately been studied. But attitude follows different stages, and finally they are integrated. In the early stage, attitudes are not sharply differentiated. That is, one favourable attitude is very much alike another, and favourable attitudes are much alike. The favourable attitude represents something "good". The unfavourable refers to something "evil" to be avoided at any cost. But a specific favourable attitude comes to be distinct from others by the process of differentiation and integration. Just as motor behaviour and perception follows the general sequence from modification through differentiation to integration, so attitude also follows the same course for its integration.

Thus, as a result of integration process attitude towards different objects becomes distinctive. For example, a ten year old boy may have favourable attitude towards his mother, his dog, and local football hero but the child is predisposed to become motivated toward these objects in quite different ways : he may be demanding towards his mother, protective towards his dog, and worshipful towards football hero. In this way one's attitude is differentiated from one another. Each attitude becomes more or less interested in the same sense that similar motives are evoked by different situations in which the object of the attitude is involved.

Let us explain the concept of attitude integration by another example. A very young infant does not distinguish among people. He may perceive them all as source of satisfaction. He has a general favourable attitude towards them. A few months later he may distinguish only his mother, and develop a sense of dependence upon her. After few years he may identify nearly everyone as big or little, black or white, authoritative or indulgent. As such, he develops a more or less distinct attitude towards each member of each category. Thus it will take him many years to develop attitude into a few broad patterns.

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When we speak of a person's attitude being integrated or organized, we mean that they are related to one another according to orderly arrangement rather than haphazardly. Of course, this order of interdependence is partial rather than total. Not every one of a person's attitude is systematically related to each of his other attitudes. It is just possible that we may hold many political attitudes that are arranged in an orderly manner, and the same thing may be true of several attitudes towards personal hobbies. Chances are that there are not much systematic arrangement between these two sets of attitudes although they might be nearly developed.

Among the principles of integration of attitude, belongingness is important. It helps the integration of attitude. According to this principle attitudes tend to be integrated or organized on the basis of similar attitude (like in sign) towards objects that he considers to belong together.

Sometimes when two or more attitudes provide mutual support for each other they represent an instance of integration of individual's attitude in which the effects go in both the directions, but in one way means-end relationship also represents integration, because one attitude affects another.

On the other hand, attitudes that tend to become alike and remain alike, so when one of them changes the other tends to change in corresponding ways meet our criteria for psychological integration and interdependence.

An individual's different attitudes are integrated or organized in the form of many systems. Most of a person's attitude systems are inter-connected, directly or indirectly, because different systems activated at different times include the same attitude object as common elements. There is overlap between systems. For example, or high school boy at successive moments may be concerned with father and family car; toward the cost of driving and his own need for money, such an interrelated systems is, of course, almost endless. Under such circumstances the integration of attitude takes a long course.

The total set of attitudes of an individual makes attitude constellation or attitude integration. Just as cognition may differ in degree with other cognition, so is the case with many attitudes. For example, a man may have strong aversive attitude towards personal income-tax, but his attitude may not be connected in any close fashion with other economic attitudes toward private enterprise or inflation. It stands virtually alone, cut off from his other attitudes. In contrast another of the same individual's attitude may be closely interconnected or integrated with a whole body of attitudes, Influencing them and being influenced by them. For example, the attitude toward Roman Catholic church may be connected with a large number of related attitudes about political systems, science, poetry, art, family relationship. His attitude towards these things will tend to be integrated, organised and structured in way highly interconnected with his attitude toward Catholic Church.

But few attitudes can be thought of existing in complete state of isolation. Most of them cluster with other attitudes of a person from a comprehensive and orderly pattern may take as one indication of degree of unity of his personality. Only rarely an individual exhibits that we are justified in saying that he has a single ideology or life philosophy. Most commonly, an individual's political, religious, artistic and scientific ideologies are sometimes separate.

But one should not assume that for every area of human life which we can label with a distinct name there necessarily exists for a given person corresponding to homogenous attitude. It is more likely that for a given person any one cluster of attitudes will include heterogeneous attitude, e.g. some religious, some political and some scientific.

Ferguson (1939) attempted to isolate the primary social attitude and illustrate the concept of attitude cluster and integration. He administered 10 Thurstone attitude scale to a sample of 185 university students. The scales were designed to measure attitudes towards war, the reality of God, patriotism, treatment of criminals, capital punishment, conscription, evolution, birth control, law, and communalism. Ferguson found that three different attitudes cluster would serve. The primary cluster he named "regionalism", "humanitarianism", and "nationalism." Religionism accounts for attitude towards evolution, God, and birth control; humanitarianism accounts for attitude towards capital punishment, treatment of criminals and war; nationalism accounts for attitude towards communalism, according to this approach the attitude towards an object that a person classifies together according to some dimension important to him are functionally interdependent. This is one way in which an individual's attitude is integrated.

Attitude integration has also been explained on the basis of principle of 'balance.'" The problem of how a person's attitudes are integrated is really a problem of stable integration and organization. According to the principle of balanced attitude towards object is viewed as belonging together tend to become congruent. Congruence is a balanced condition, and as long as it is maintained attitude remains organized and integrated. Thus the principle of balance becomes central feature of attitude integration.

### **10.8.1 Importance of Attitude Intergration**

The importance of attitude integration is illustrated as follows :

1. Attitude integration helps attitude holders in organizing and interpreting diverse sets of information (knowledge function).
2. It permits the individual to express the central values or beliefs (self expression or self identity function).

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3. Attitude integrations are important from the point of view of cognitive analysis function. In most cases efforts at persuasion involve the following elements; some source direct some type of message (communication) to those whose attitudes he or she wishes to change (communication; the audience):
4. Attitude integration sometimes helps those who hold them to mention or improve their self esteem (self esteem function) for example comparing themselves favourably with other persons or groups.
5. Through the process of attitude integration we can sharply differentiate between favourable and unfavourable attitude towards a person, object or institution.
6. Through the process of attitude integration the attitude of person becomes stable and well-organized.
7. Through the process of integration some attitude towards certain things 'Swallow up" attitude towards other related things or towards things which seem to him related.
8. Through the process of attitude integration the attitude towards a thing or object becomes vivid, clear and distinct.
9. Through the process of attitude integration different attitudes are related in an orderly and systematic manner.
10. Attitude integration makes our attitude balanced, as such our attitude remains organized and stable.

### 10.9 Summary

1. Social tension is a condition in which all or most of the members of the society or group develop feelings of anxiety, unrest and restlessness, accompanied by muscular strain, when it is between two castes—it is called caste tension or casteism, when it is between two communities, it is communal tension or communalism, when it is between the members of two groups it is called group tension.
2. There are several causes of caste tension which can be put into different categories :
  - (i) sense of caste prestige, marriage restrictions, urbanization, increase in the means of transport and propaganda.

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3. There are several consequences of casteism, such as hindrance in the development of nation, in Democracy, in technological efficiency and in the promotion of corruption.
4. There are several remedies to casteism. They are proper education, intercaste marriage, lesser use of ward caste, cultural and economic equality and legal action.
5. There are several causes of communal tension including geographical, psychological, social, historical and political factors etc. Reciprocal danger, provocation of historical events, antagonistic religious belief, power motive, partition of the country, political factors, ignorance and religious attitude, defective socialization and educational system also constitute main group of contributors.
6. There are several remedies to reduce communal tension which include propagation of national history, mutual contact, discouraging communal parties, formation of healthy public opinion, encouragement to national festivals, healthy home atmosphere, ban on provocative processions, common goal, common civil code, healthy politics, Indianization and legislative measures.
7. Regionalism is the sense of affection and attachment for people belonging to one's own region and hatred for those who belong to some other regions. There are several factors for regionalism. They are historical environmental cultural, political, linguistic and psychological factors etc.
8. There are several means for the reduction of regionalism such as encouragement to transport and communication, propagation of national history, prevention of regional political parties, propagation of national sentiment.
9. There are several general causes of social tension. They are physical, psychological, cultural, economic, political causes etc.
10. There are several means to reduce or eliminate social tension which constitute proper education, creation of healthy literature, preparation of healthy public opinion, improvement of healthy public opinion, improvement of social adjustment, reduction of social distance, development of balanced personality, organization of youth, propagation of national objectives, removal of economic display, social emancipation, specific studies of group tensions, use of formal or constitution means etc.

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11. The total set of attitude of an individual makes attitude integration. Attitude integration has several functions such as knowledge function, self identity function, communication, self esteem function, differentiation between favourable and unfavourable attitude through the process of attitude integration, attitudes of the person becomes vivid, clear, distinct, stable and well organised.

### 10.10 Key Words used in the Lesson

Culmination, monogamous, deleterious, unscrupulous, impediment, agrarian, carnage, span, slaughter, provocation, antagonistic, corporate, cluster, emancipation.

### 10.11 Questions for Exercise

#### (a) Short Answer Questions

1. What is meant by social tension ?

Ans. — See 10.1 & 10.2

2. What is meant by Casteism ?

Ans. — See 10.3

3. What do you mean by communalism ?

Ans. — See 10.4

4. What do you mean by regional tension ?

Ans. — See 10.5

5. What is an attitude integration ? Describe its nature.

Ans. — See 10.8

6. What is the importance of attitude integration ?

Ans. — See 10.8.1

#### (b) Long Answer Questions

1. What do you mean by social tension ? What are its causes and remedies ?

Ans. — See 10.1, 10.2, 10.6, 10.7

2. What is casteism ? What are its causes and remedies ?

Ans. — See 10.3, 10.3.1, 10.3.3, 10.3.4

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3. What do you mean by communal tension ? What are its causes and remedies?

Ans. — See 10.4, 10.4.1, 10.4.2

4. What is regional tension ? Discuss its causes and remedies.

Ans. — See 10.5, 10.5.1, 10.5.2

5. What is attitude integration ? What is its importance ?

Ans. — See 10.8, 10.8.1

6. Write notes on the following :

(a) Consequence of caste tension.

Answer — See 10.3.2

(b) Caste tension in Bihar

Ans. — See 10.3.5

(c) Suggestion for abolition of caste tension

Ans. — See 10.3.5

### 10.12 Suggested Readings

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|--------------------|---|---------------------------------------------|
| 1. Klineberg, Otto | : | <b>Social Psychology</b>                    |
| 2. Lindgren, H.C.  | : | <b>An Introduction to Social Psychology</b> |
| 3. Md. Sulaiman    | : | <b>Adhunik Samaj Manovigyan</b>             |
| 4. Singh, A. K.    | : | <b>Samaj Manovigyan ki Roop-Rekha.</b>      |

