

Introduction to Political Theory
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Lecture – 16
Power – I: Introduction; Power and Authority

Hello and welcome friends. Today, in this lecture, we are going to start a new concept called power. We are going to have three lectures on this concept which is one of the essentially, contested concepts in political theory, as we have discussed while discussing the concepts of liberty, justice, equality, and rights. Power is something, which is very central in theorization, understanding or for those who are participating in the politics. So, the politics is seen or understood as a power game. It is about a location of power and who gets what, and how, under what circumstances.

Power is very central to politics. However, the understanding or conceptualization of power is essentially, contested. In today's lecture, we are going to discuss this essentially, contested nature of power and we will also try to have some understanding of power, itself. While concluding this topic in the coming lectures, we will discuss it in a detailed manner and try to understand the most radical understanding of power through Foucault.

However, usually, power and its different understandings will see it as an introduction to this topic. We will try to see the relationship between power and authority which we often, use in our conversations, interchangeably. There is a deep difference between the concept of power and authority, but there is also some overlapping between the uses of these two terms.

We will try to understand first, what is power and introduction to it. Then, to understand what is authority and finally, in the last part of today's lecture, we will understand the relationships between power and authority.

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Introduction

- The concept of power is understood in political theory as an 'essentially contested concept'. Its meanings are varied and often contested. It is also simultaneously used with authority.
- Power is seen as capacity or ability to do something. It is also understood as 'hegemony', a term coined by Antonio Gramsci. It is not coercive but power prevails through the use of ideology of powerful or dominant classes and it proliferates in society among the subordinate classes. Michel Foucault talks about 'power as productive' and 'knowledge as power'. He put forward two specific kinds of power as disciplinary power and governmental power. His understanding of power will be discussed in the next lecture while dealing with the theories of knowledge-power.
- Modern state makes explicit the use of power and its exercise through various institutions. It also describes the use of physical coercion or punishments to maintain law and order or rule of law in democratic states. Abuse and misuse of power and position lead to authoritarian, autocratic or dictatorship form of

government

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The concept of power is understood in political theory as an essentially, contested concept. As I have argued, power is very central to politics or to the understanding of politics and yet the concept of power is essentially, a contested concept. Its meanings are varied and often contested. It is simultaneously, or interchangeably, used with authority as well. In usual or normal day to day conversations, we see power as some kind of ability or capacity to do something, or to act upon, something.

So, power in general sense, understood as the ability or capacity to do something. It is also, understood in theory as hegemony. It is a term coined by Antonio Gramsci. We will discuss it in details, when we will discuss about different conceptions of power.

There are ways through which power is exercised. Power is usually, seen as a kind of having coercive dimension to it. That means, somebody has the capacity to do something, or to get something done by others, even against their will. Here, the coercive dimension of power is quite obvious.

In contrast, to this coercive dimension of power or understanding of power, we have the conceptualization of power as hegemony. Gramsci, argues that power also, prevails through the use of ideology, particularly, of those who are powerful and dominant. And it proliferates in the society among the subordinate classes.

The Gramscian conceptualization of power as hegemony is about getting the consent of those over whom the dominant class or the ruling class exercises their rule. So, that consent is acquired not through the use of coercive power, but through the use of ideological power. That is the one kind of understanding of power which we will discuss in detail.

Michel Foucault, talks about power as productive and knowledge as power. For him, this relationship between knowledge and power is productive or there is a creative dimension of power. We will discuss in details about it. He put forward these two specific kinds of power which is called disciplinary power and governmental power.

Power has hegemony which we have discussed through Gramsci. His understanding of power will be discussed in the next lecture, while dealing with the theories of knowledge and power which determines what is it, or the knowledge which enables or gives the individual or those who have knowledge on the power or it is the other way round or power which determines what constitute knowledge in the first place.

On these inter-relationships between knowledge and power, we will discuss in the next lectures, where we will discuss about Michel Foucault's conceptualization of power. However, the modern state has monopoly of legitimate violence. Now, we understand, this power or the monopoly of violence is exercised by the state. It can, by following the procedure established by law that takes away life of its citizens, that is, death penalty in many countries are given by lawfully, legitimately, abiding through following judicial procedures. However, the state has the legitimate right to take away one's life, also.

It exercises the legitimate violence or monopolizes violence. So, the violence that is exercised by state is only regarded as legitimate violence, and all other forms of violence are regarded as violation of laws or as opposition to the state. Modern state makes explicit the use of power and its exercise through various institutions. It describes the use of physical coercion or punishment to maintain law and order or the rule of law in a democratic state.

The role of police, army, paramilitary forces, prison and other coercive apparatuses of state are examples of this kind of explicit use of coercive power by the state. However, the abuse and misuse of power and position lead to an authoritarian, autocratic or dictatorship forms of government. The state, we will discuss, when we discuss this topic

on state and sovereignty which monopolizes the legitimate means of violence, and it leads to become an undemocratic or totalitarian or completely, authoritarian dictatorship.

Therefore, in the power and authority dichotomy, we will see that authority is something, which is seen as legitimate, but the exercise of authority requires power and so the relationship between these two terms, that is, power and authority is not clear or separate or independent from each other. They are overlapping terms.

The modern state exercises monopoly of violence, the chances are those who are in the authority of power or in the position of authority, they may use and abuse the power of the state and turn a democratic state with its legitimate means of violence, to some kind of an authoritarian, autocratic or dictatorship forms of government. The history of modern world is full of such examples, where the power of the state was concentrated in the hands of a few individuals or one individual and they turned the democratic state into a form of military junta or authoritarian, or an undemocratic state.

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- Power is understood as the ability to perform actions or do something or conduct someone else's life through social interactions or communications. At the most basic level Robert Dahl defines power in the following words: 'A has power over B to the extent that A can get B to do something that B would not have otherwise do'.
- It explains two specific things about power. a) One, power is seen as an individual attribute or feature that defines how individuals exercise power over other individuals; and b) power is seen as domination over others, that is, power is used to make others do what one wants against their own will.
- In contrast to this many theorists have argued about the structural and societal attributes of power. Hannah Arendt talks about power as attributes of collective that is enabled through communication among people. She viewed power in a slightly positive sense that power makes an individual act like a responsible or accountable or moral human being in society. In this sense power is not always understand as 'power over' but also as 'power to' which explains power as generated through collective actions or mass actions.

Let us come back to the idea of power which is understood as the ability to perform actions or to do something, or conduct someone else's life through social interactions and communications. So, power in society, operates through interactions between more than one individual. One can identify power and its effects, when there are more than two or atleast, two people interacts.

In their interaction, one who tries to control whom under what conditions or on what grounds is the reflection of power, and power is something, much deeper in the structures of society, in its interactions or communications. For example, the relationship between son and father, or teacher and student, or patient and the doctor explains the relationships of power.

So, the interactions and the communications between two and more people are examples, where we can see, the exercise or effects of power. The most basic definition of power is provided by Robert Dahl, who defines power as 'A, that means, an individual has power over B, the other individual to the extent that A can get B to do something, that B would not have otherwise do'.

This definition, of Robert Dahl, defines power as domination of one person over the other, where a particular person can be regarded as exercising power over another person, to the extent that this person can get that person to do something, which that person would not do otherwise. This definition of power explains two specific things about power. First, power is seen as an individual attribute. That means one individual exercises power over another individual.

So, power has individual attributes or features which defines, how individual exercises power over other individuals. Second, power is seen as domination, as some kind of control or domination or subordination of one over the other. So, power is seen mostly, in a negative domination, in the sense of domination that is power is used to make others do what one wants against their own will. The consent over whom the power is exercised does not matter, when power is exercised and power is seen as domination. The subordinates and what they feel hardly matters, when the superior want them to get something done, even if, they willingly, are not in favor of doing that thing.

Power in the most basic sense is seen as domination. In contrast, to this understanding of power as domination, many theorists have argued about the structural or societal attributes of power. And there, we need to understand that power does not rest with the individual, when we see the relationship between a doctor and a patient or a teacher and the student, or father and a son. That particular moment, when power is exercised is the effect of power. Power is already, and always there in this structure. It is a part of social structure and it has societal attributes. So, power does not rest in the individuals as many

theorists have argued, where they see power as structural with societal dimensions or attributes to it.

Hannah Arendt is one such example. She talks about power as attributes of collective that is enabled through communication among or between people. She viewed power in a slightly, positive sense and not merely, as negative. For her, power also, enable and strengthen the groups or collectivities to do something, or to get something done.

It is not just about domination of one over the other, but also, it has some positive attributes through which it enables the groups or collectivities to do something, to ensure a rule of law, to ensure justice, to ensure social equity or any good that particular collectivities decides for themselves. She viewed power in a slightly, more positive sense that power makes an individual acts like a responsible or accountable or moral being in the society.

So, power has a positive dimension to it. In this sense, power is not always as 'power over', whether it is an individual over another individual or groups of individual, or over another individual or a group over another group. Power is not always, thus, understood as 'power over', but also, 'power to'. That group or individual or groups of individual comes together not to dominate others or to establish itself. It is domination over the other, but also, to achieve something, to do something, that is creative or noble, or to ensure peace or justice or social equity in the society. Thus, power has both negative or positive attributes to it.

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➤ Talcott Parsons defines political power through two dimensions. First, 'facilitative form of power'; and the another is the 'systemic form of power'. He pointed out that 'power is something that circulates in society like money in the economy'. Moreover, he argued that acquisition of power enhances human capacity or ability to secure political obligations.

➤ Regarding power as essentially contested concept, Steven Lukes provides a comprehensive and radical understanding of power. He provided three dimensional views on power. They are-

a) power at the most explicit level, where it prevails or exercised to ensure that a more authoritative, powerful or dominant interests prevails over other.

b) power at less obvious level where some ideas or issues are kept out of the agenda of discussions and debates.

c) the most radical view of power is power at grassroot level. Here power is structural in nature and works in different ways to shape the perception of people. People's real interests are kept hidden from them. And, it is here that power is exercised in the most effective manner.

Talcott Parsons defines power or political power through two dimensions. He equates, power in political system or in society as like performing the role of money, as it does in the sphere of economy. So, he defines political power through these two dimensions. First, the facilitative form of power. Those who yield power or who enjoys power, they get certain things done in the political system. And, another is the systemic form of power. Power is already, structured. It is systemic and those who like in the economic sphere, or who have money, they get to buy more, and also get to participate in the economic sphere and money and ownership of money, possession of money enables or facilitate certain services in the economic sphere as well. Similarly, those who yields power or own power get certain things done in the systemic form of power in the society.

He pointed out that power is something, that circulates in society like money in the economy, somewhat similar, but of course, radically, there is a different interpretation of power, which we will discuss while studying Michel Foucault. Talcott Parsons talks about power in a systemic sense, which operates just like money operates in the economy. He argued that acquisition of power enhances the human capacity or ability to secure political obligations.

So, the power is something, which provides same functions or it has same attributes as money has in the sphere of economy. We will move on to discuss, Steven Lukes three dimensional view of power. Steven Lukes, acknowledged and argued about the

essentially, contested conception of power. He provides the most comprehensive and a radical understanding of power. This understanding of power is regarded as a three dimensional view of power.

Here, power operates at three levels. First, at the top, where power is most explicit. So, power at the top is most explicit, where one will find that there are two groups who fight with each other and those who become the winner get the say or prevails over the other. So, the exercise of power is most explicit and visible at the top level, when there are two groups which fight each other and one of them prevails over the other. For example, hypothetically, let us take the BJP or Congress fighting with each other in the election and we know, after the election which party wins. So, it is like very explicit level. That is the hypothetical example. But in other circumstances or conditions also, power at the top is most visible or explicit, when we have two groups fighting with each other and one of them prevails over the other.

Power at the most explicit level, or at the top level, prevails or it is exercised, to ensure a more authoritative, powerful or dominant interests to prevail over the other. So, one group is clearly, the winner and the other group is clearly, the loser. That is mostly, explicit at the top level. Power is most visible only at the top. In the second level, where power is less obvious, that means, it operates, but it is not that visible, as it is at the top level.

How it operates? Power at the less obvious level that is, at the second level, operates when some ideas or issues are kept out of the agenda of discussions and debates. So, power also operates here. But here, it is less visible, or less explicit than it is at the top. Thus, some ideas or issues are kept outside the agenda of discussions and debates.

The government wants the media that they will not discuss certain issues. What we often, see on media are debates or channels is already a structure, in a way. So, power operates, while setting the agenda of discussions itself and on some agendas, which the party or the government may like us to discuss, view, debate and all are already, set by them. Therefore, power operates here, but it is less visible, or less explicit than it is at the top level. Power is exercised while setting the agenda itself, and some issues or ideas will be kept outside the agenda of discussion. For example, for a very long time, farmers issue is not debated as some like other issues are debated or other pressing issues. For example,

let us take, LGBT communities and their rights and demands for a very long time, it was suppressed or kept outside the mainstream media.

Many documentary filmmakers might be doing it, but in the large public mainstream media, some issues, ideas, or basic points will be kept outside the agenda of discussions and debates. Now, power, at the third level is the most radical form of power and yet it is that power which is most effective. That is called the radical view of power which is power at the grassroots level. Here, power is structural in nature and it works in different ways, to save the perception of people. These people are those over whom power is exercised or ruled and the dominant class or the ruling class gets the legitimacy from these people by making themselves, subject of the dominant ideology or supporter of their ruling classes policies and programmes.

So, power at the grassroots level is very diverse and structural which ensures or saves the perception of the people. At this level, power is most effective and it shows the real interest of the people. The large masses of the people or common masses, what they think or they mobilize, their opinions, they exercise their views or thoughts. But most of the time, the real interest of these people are kept hidden, though they discuss, debate and express their opinions on the issues set for them by the dominant or the ruling class.

So, power at this grassroots level is most effective and yet most invisible, at the same time. People feel, they are free to express their opinions, to choose their parties or to express their opinions on any particular social, political and economic issues, but here, they are the subjects of power in the most invisible sense.

The way, power operates at the grassroots level are very varied, and structural. But it shapes the perception of people about a party or a group or an ideology. Power at the third level, is most structural, effective and yet least visible. It is almost, invisible and people feel that they are free or autonomous, yet they are shaped by the power relation of the dominant ruling class.

These are the three dimensional view of power, where you see, power is most visible at the top and less visible at the second level, where some issues are kept outside the agenda, though most effective and yet it is least visible at the grassroots level which shapes the perception of people through different ways in the structural sense. Thus, power is most effective at the third level.

These are the three levels of power explained by Steven Lukes or his understanding of power which helps to understand the power relationships or power structure in any society or country in a radical way.

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Authority

- Power and Authority are often used interchangeably. However, there is a great deal of difference between the two. Authority is generally understood as power which has legal basis. In other words orders, commands or guidelines which have legal sanction are regarded as authority.
- Max Weber pointed out three different kinds of authority. They are
 - a. rational-bureaucratic;
 - b. traditional;
 - c. and charismatic.
- *hwy* The rational-bureaucratic authority refers to a modern bureaucratic state. It describes how power is exercised through different institutions of government through impersonal rules which is justified on rational grounds.
- Traditional authority has its basis in historical and cultural ways of a society. For instance, the authority of a tribal chief.
- The charismatic authority rests on the personal attributes and characteristics of the leaders without having any official position or being traditional or cultural. The authority of Jesus, Mohammad, Gandhi are examples of charismatic authority.
- However, Weber regarded these three types of authority as ideal types helpful for analytical purposes. In reality society may have a mix of two or more types of these ideal types of authority.

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Now, to move on this idea of authority which we often, see to be used in the ordinary discourse, interchangeably. That means, power and authority is seen as one and the same thing. However, there is a great deal of difference between the two. Authority, generally, is understood as power which has legal basis. In contrast, to power which is about the capability or strength, to do something, or things to be done. In contrast, authority is seen as that power which has some legal basis.

For example, police or judge or army, they all exercises power, where the exercise of power is backed up by some legal basis. In contrast, let us take the example of, robbers or those who are anti-socials or who are overthrowing the state through violence, they also, exercises their power but their power do not have the sanction of the law or the legal basis.

In other words, orders, commands or guidelines have legal sanctions and they are regarded as authority. So, authority is the legitimate power. Let us put it that way. Power which is legitimate is regarded as the authority, but however, power can be of different nature, also. To understand authority in modern times, Max Weber, a German sociologist

has pointed out three different kinds of authority. One is rational bureaucratic authority, the traditional authority and the charismatic authority.

Let us discuss about these forms of authority or kinds of authority. The rational bureaucratic authority refers, to the modern bureaucratic state. The bureaucracy, in the modern state is the representative of this rational bureaucratic authority. Here, it describes, how power is exercised through different institutions of government, through two things, impersonal rules on rational grounds.

So, the power in bureaucracy is exercised based on the rules, which is impersonal unlike, monarchy, where the rule power and authority is very much personalized or seen as an extension of the personhood of the king. Here, in the rational bureaucratic model, the rule is impersonal. That means the bureaucrat, is the one who actually, exercises the power. Again, the power which he exercises is not because of his own personhood but he represents legality or laws or rule of the state.

The nature of power that is exercised by a bureaucrat, in the modern bureaucratic or rational bureaucratic authority is impersonal and it must satisfy the rational grounds. The traditional authorities have their base in the historical and cultural ways of society. For example, the authority of a tribal chief is based on the historical or cultural base of the society.

That is the traditional form of authority. The third is about the charismatic authority which rests on the personal attributes and characteristics of the leaders, who may or may not have the official position or being traditional or culture. They do not have any traditional or cultural backup or neither, they have any official position. And yet, because of their personal characteristics or attributes, they enjoy enormous popularity or enormous authority in their country and society.

People like, Jesus, Mohammad, Gandhi, and Hitler or many such leaders are the examples of charismatic authority who may not have exercised any official position or they may not have any historical or cultural legacy, and yet they were able to enjoy enormous authority over people. These are the three kinds of authority. Rational bureaucratic which is reflected in modern bureaucratic state is based on the impersonal rules and rational grounds.

Traditional authority is based on the historical and the cultural ways of the society. And charismatic authority is based on the attributes and characteristics of an individual leader. However, Weber regarded these three types of authority as ideal types or helpful for the analytical purpose.

So, it is not real that we may have only one type of authority in a society. It is quite possible, that in reality, society may have a mix of two or more and all these three kinds of authority. We may have a person who is very charismatic, yet, he has certain cultural and historical legacy, or he or she may also, enjoy certain official positions or a bureaucratic position. We may find in the real situation that these three kinds of authorities are only, ideal type that is used by Weber, to analyze or study authority in a particular society. But in the real society, we may find the combination of two forms of authority or maybe all forms of authority within a society.

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➤ Authority makes claims of power and exercise it through persuasion. It is based on both legitimacy and consent. Authority is also understood as of two kind - *de-facto* and *de-jure*. *De-jure* authority is a form of authority that has legal basis. *De-facto* authority refers to an authority which actually exercise power, like establishment of military coup or military rule.

Power and Authority

➤ It is considered that power and authority are contradictory in nature. Power is often identified with constraint, force, dependence or subordination that explains relationship of domination and subjection, whereas authority is about seeking consent and it is based on righteousness of actions.

➤ However, some political thinkers believed that both power and authority are nearly impossible to separate. Because it is seen that in any kind of state or institutions, both power and authority exist and they support each other.

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Authority makes claim of power and exercise it through persuasion. That is the way, authority functions. It takes resort to coercive means as the last resort. The very definition or understanding of authority is based on thus, some form of legitimacy.

The authority is equal to legitimate power. So, it is based on both legitimacy and consent. Authorities also understood as of two kinds. They are- de facto and de jure. Now, de jure authority is a form of authority that has legal basis. However, the de facto

authority refers, to an authority which actually, exercises power like the establishment of military coup or military rule over the democratically, elected government.

In a society or in a country, where we have a situation that the elected government is replaced by a military coup, in that situation, we have the elected government which is the de jure authority. But the actual exercise of power and authorities, is in the hands of military or those who replaces the democratically, elected government. We have then this differentiation between the de facto or the de jure forms of authority. Now, let us discuss about this relationship between power and authority.

It is considered that power and authority are contradictory in nature. So, many people argue that power is something, that is, about the relationships between or among individuals shaped by the structural nature of that society. The relationship between the upper caste or lower caste, men or women, teacher or student, doctor or patient are all shaped through the structural nature of power.

Authority on the other hand is seen as something, which has legitimate power or which exercises legitimate power. Therefore, it is often, seen as contradictory to each other. Power is often identified with constraint. When we invoke the term power, we often, refer to some kind of constraint, control, regulation or force or dependence or subordinations, that explains, the relationship of domination and subjugation or subjection.

Whereas, authorities are about seeking consent and it is based on the righteousness of action. So, the legitimacy and the consent are something, which defines the existence of authority or the power in authority or the legitimate authority it exercise. However, some political thinkers, believes that both power and authority are nearly, impossible to separate because it is seen that in any kind of state or institutions, both power and authority is exercised.

Again, an authority is effective only when it has the means to back up its policies and plan, or to implement it, effectively. So, the simultaneous presence of power and authority, therefore, is necessary, for the proper or effective working of any institutions of state. Thus, power and authority in that sense, complements each other in the effective functioning of state and its institutions.

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- A. Carter in her work *Authority and Democracy* pointed out that 'authority rarely exists in its pure form. She also said 'even a constitutional government acting in a liberal manner would still lack 'pure authority' since such government 'relies ultimately upon coercion'.
- C. J. Friedrich argued that authority involves reasoning. He said 'this is not the reasoning of mathematics and logic but reasoning which relates actions to opinions and beliefs to values, however defined'. It can thus argued to be in contrast to analysis of power.
- Some theorists have argued that authority is philosophical concept and power is sociological concept that is based on observation of power relationships and the way it operates in society.
- Social scientists basically focuses on the empirical studies of political decision making and the way state functions. It emphasized on the roles of power elites that dominate over people through their policies or decisions on varied socio-economic issues in society.

For example A. Carter, in her work, *Authority and Democracy* pointed out that authority rarely, exists in its pure form, that means, no authority exercises or duly performs its functions in the purest form. She also said that even constitutional government acting in the most liberal manner would still lack pure authority, since such governments are realized ultimately, upon coercion.

The coercive nature of the state and its institutions defies this idea of authority as devoid of power or a kind of pure form of authority based on legitimacy and consent and therefore, there is no need of coercive arrangement. Modern state, by design has some coercive apparatus in the forms of police or army or paramilitary forces or the prison, to coerce people or to implement its law, when it is opposed by some groups or the community.

The most liberal or constitutional government may also have coercive element to it. So, it is impossible, to have authority as understood as legitimate institution based on the consent of the people and therefore, it does not require any coercive means and it is merely, ideal. In the real world, we need to have simultaneous presence of authority and power. Carl J. Friedrich, argued that authority, involves reasoning and this is not the reasoning of mathematics and logic, but the reasoning which relates actions to opinions, beliefs, and to values, however, it defines.

It can, thus argue, to be in contrast to the analysis of power. So, the basis or legitimacy of authority, rests on the reasoning which is different from the reasoning in mathematics and logic, where the beliefs and the opinions are diverse, and the reasons for contest in any society, and yet these beliefs or opinions forms the basis for legitimacy of any authority.

Some theorists have argued that authorities philosophical concept and power is something, which is a sociological concept. We observe the exercise of power or the functioning of power or what we can also, be the effect of power in the society, where authority is something, more philosophical or analytical in nature.

So, power in contrast to, authority is seen as a philosophical concept. It is also seen as a sociological concept based on observations of power relationship and the ways, it operates in the society. The social scientists involved in the study of power will look at the structure of society and try to understand or observe its exercise, whereas, the authority is something, which requires, some philosophical or analytical approaches to the exercise of an authority or existence or to have legitimacy of an authority. The social scientist basically, focuses on the empirical studies or political decision-making and the ways, a state functions.

It emphasis on the of power elites who dominates over other people through their policies or decisions on varied social or economic issues in the society.

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- Authority is dependent on reasoning, rules and rightfulness. It cannot be based simply on coercion or command and obedience relationship like that exists in power relationship. So, in contrast to power, authority describes rightfulness and legitimacy and at the same time, it talks about loss of liberty or freedom because under an authoritative state the free choices of individuals are reduced or limited to a great extent.
- There are rules or laws that authorizes or give authority to certain individuals to make decisions regarding socio-economic or moral issues. For instance, officials of the legal system i.e. - judge, lawyers, police, military officials, ministers etc. These individuals have legitimate authority and they exercise power on the basis of the rules of the state.
- Thus, rightfulness is considered as the basis of authority unlike power, which can be exercised or operated in society by force or coercion. However, it is very difficult to ascertain the difference between power and authority and there are critics who believed that there is no agreement on the concept of power and therefore it is regarded as an 'essentially contested concept'.

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Thus, authority is dependent on the reasoning, rules and rightfulness. It cannot be based simply, on coercion or command and obedience relationships, like which exists in the power relationship. Power relationship is always about command or order or some forms of obedience that is 'a priori' decided. For example, the relationships between father and a son or a teacher, and a student or husband and a wife. This relationship of power assumes certain obedience or command beforehand. Authority is thus, different from that field. It is dependent on reasoning, rules and rightfulness.

In contrast, to power, authority describes rightfulness and legitimacy. And at the same time, it talks about loss of liberty or freedom because under an authoritative state, the free choices of individual are reduced to or limited to a great extent. Many liberals have argued, authority is something, which curbs the individual freedom.

So, it is better to have minimum authority or authority which is weak and therefore, they argue, if the authorities are weak or we know minimum, then individual enjoys maximum freedom. Thus, the relationship between the scope of freedom that an individual enjoys is in direct proportion to the existence of power that an authority exercises.

The relationship between authority and freedom is seen as a kind of contradictory to each other. However, many republicans and others have argued that authorities are some institutions which provide the conditions for the exercise of individual freedom. The liberals, argued that authorities are actually, some institutions which curbs or limits the freedom one exercises.

No matter, how unable or how rightful, the existence of authorities are, it is seen in the classical, liberal philosophy, at least as a limit to individual free will or freedom. So, there are rules or laws which authorizes or give authority to certain individuals, to make decisions regarding socio-economic or moral issues. For example, officials of the legal system like judges, lawyers, police, military officials, and ministers etc, these individuals have legitimate authority and they exercise power on the basis of the rule of the state.

Their exercise of power is based or guided or sanctioned by the rule of the state and therefore, the exercise of power, by the police or the judge or the militaries are seen as legitimate power or authority. Thus, the rightfulness is considered as the basis of

authority, unlike, power which can be exercised or operated in society, by force or coercion.

The relationship between authority and power can be also, seen as authority which is legitimate or based on the consent of people, but power in contrast to is about force or coercion. However, it is very difficult to ascertain the differences between power and authority. There are critics who believe that there is no agreement on the concept of power. Therefore, it is regarded as an essentially, contested concept.

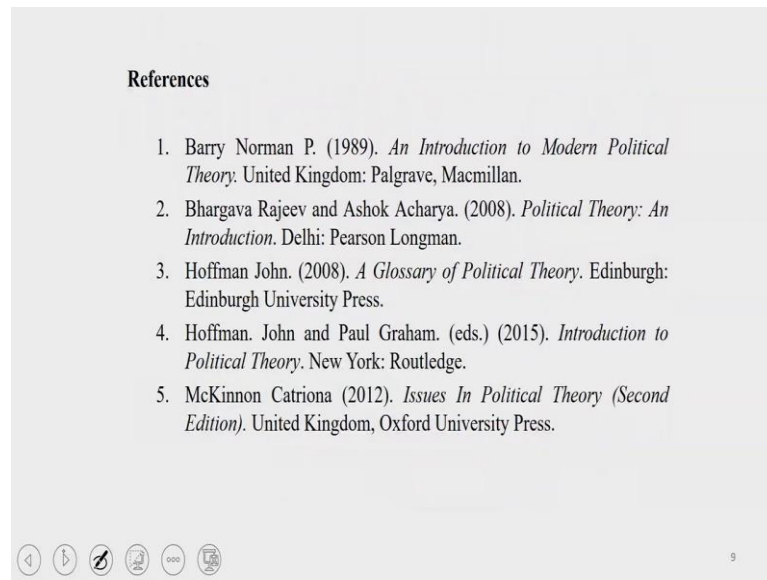
So, authority without the back of power or without having the capacity or means to implement its decisions is not beneficial for the country or society. It requires the exercise of power or coercive nature of state which are examples of such requirements where state and its legitimacy is backed up by the coercive dimension of modern state or its monopoly of violence.

One cannot separate power and authority. Both go at times, hand in hand and some forms of power may destabilize the authority, which requires, we know some kind of transfer. For example, the nationalist movement, the national, popular will represented by congress party or led by many of its leaders, including, some leaders from other parties, they all question the authority of the British imperial rule in India.

Now, after the replacement of that rule, these national popular will is to be represented by the congress party and many other parties became the de facto authority or de jure authority as well after the enactment of the constitution.

Those kinds of struggle between power and authority, we may often, find or observe in the society, yet there is some analytical distinction between authority and power which we have discussed in this lecture. Nonetheless, the very understanding or definition of power is far from getting settled. That means, it is essentially, a contested concept which we will take up in the next two lectures while discussing about the different conceptions of power.

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The themes which I have discussed today, in this lecture, you can refer to some of these books like Norman Barry's, *An Introduction to Modern Political Theory*. This text will give you detailed description about the relationships between power and authority. Similarly, you can refer to Nivedita Menon's chapter on power in Rajeev Bhargav and Ashok Acharya's book as mentioned in the above slide. Similarly, you can refer to some other books as put in the reference list to understand the topic, we have discussed today. Thanks for listening. That is all for today.

Thank you all.