

**A STUDY OF HERBERT MARCUSE'S ONE
DIMENSIONAL MAN IN THE CONTEXT OF MIZO
SOCIETY**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

BY

RUATDIKI HMAR

MZU / M.Phil. / 415 of 22.05.2017

SUPERVISOR

PROFESSOR JANGKHONGAM DOUNGEL



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

MIZORAM UNIVERSITY

AIZAWL-796004

2017



MIZORAM UNIVERSITY
AIZAWL:MIZORAM

www.mzu.edu.in

Post Box No. 190
Gram : MZU
Phone : (0389) 2331610
Fax : 0389 – 2331610

Department of Political Science
Prof. K. V. Reddy, Head

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**A Study of Herbert Marcuse’s One Dimensional Man in the context of Mizo Society**”, submitted by **RUATDIKI HMAR** for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy is a research work, done under my supervision and guidance. The dissertation submitted by her or any other similar title has not formed the basis for the award of any degree to the scholar and it has not been submitted as a dissertation or thesis in any University. I also certify that the dissertation represents the objective study and independent work executed by the scholar.

Place: Aizawl

(Prof. Jangkhongam DOUNGEL)

Date: 5/12/17

SUPERVISOR (JANGKHOANGAM DOUNGEL)
Department of Political Science
Mizoram University
Tanhrii, Aizawl: Mizoram
Pin-791004

DECLARATION

Mizoram University

2017

I, Ruatdiki Hmar, hereby declare that the subject matter of this dissertation done by me, that the contents of this dissertation did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the dissertation has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institute.

This is being submitted to the Mizoram University for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science.

Date: 5/12/17

Rue 5/12/17
(RUATDIKI HMAR)

(Head)

U.S. 5/12/17
विभागाध्यक्ष
Head
राजनीतिक शस्त्र विभाग
Dept. of Political Science
मिज़ोरम विश्वविद्यालय
Mizoram University

(Supervisor)

J. D. D. 5/12/17
(JONGAM DOUNGEL)
Department of Political Science
Mizoram University
Tanhril, Aizawl : Mizoram
Pin-796004

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The study undertaken could not have seen the light of day if not for the assistance, co-operation, guidance and support from a multitude of people. I first of all extend my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Jangkhongam Doungel, Department of Political Science. His patience, guidance and unfailing support at all times has been my saving grace throughout the entire study. I extend my gratitude to Assistant Professor J.C.Zomuanthanga, Department of Political Science for his support and encouragement. I also thank the faculty members and non teaching staff of the Department of Political Science, Mizoram University for all their support.

The information that each respondent willingly shared led to the successful completion of the study. I am thus thankful to all the respondents who participated in the study. I thank my family and friends for their constant encouragement and patience. Last but not the least, I thank the Almighty God for his unfailing blessings and guidance.

Dated: 5/12/17

Place: Aizawl



(RUATDIKI HMAR)

Department of Political Science

Mizoram University

ABBREVIATIONS

AMC	Aizawl Municipal Corporation
CCC	Course on Computer Concepts
CIC	Community Information Centre
CSC	Common Service Centre
E-Governance	Electronic Governance
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IT	Information Technology
MSDC	Mizoram State Data Centre
MSeGS	Mizoram State e-Governance Society
NEGP	National e-Governance Plan
NIC	National Informatics Centre
NIELIT	National Institute of Electronics and Information Technology
SDC	State Data Centre
SWAN	State Wide Area Network

CONTENTS

Certificate

Declaration

Acknowledgement

Abbreviations

CHAPTER	PAGE NO.
Chapter I: Introduction	1-31
Chapter II: Rationality of the individual in a Technological Society	32-56
Chapter III: Freedom in a Technological Society	57-81
Chapter IV: Social Control in a Technological Society	82-116
Chapter V: Conclusion	117-131
Appendices	132-144
Bibliography	145-152

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 MARXISM

Marxism derives its name from Karl Marx (1818-1883), a famous German economist and social philosopher and first appeared in the middle of the nineteenth century in response to the oppressive conditions created by the capitalist system. Marxism as a theoretical system developed out of, and drew inspiration from, the writings of Karl Marx. However, 'Marxism' as a codified body of thought came into existence only after the death of Karl Marx. Marxism seeks to understand the problems of human society through historical analysis and treats history as a process of conflict between antagonistic forces and classes.¹ This conflict arises from the faults in the mode of production in which one class comes to gain ownership and control of the means of social production and compels the other class to work on terms and conditions dictated by itself. This conflict reaches its peak in the age of capitalism when it can be resolved only through a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, placing all means of social production under social ownership and control, enforcing universal labour and ensuring full development of the forces of production.

The cornerstone of Marxist philosophy is what Engels called the 'materialist conception of history'. This highlights the importance of economic life and the conditions under which people produce and reproduce their means of subsistence, reflected in the belief that the economic 'base', consisting essentially of the 'mode of production', or economic system, conditions or determines the ideological and political 'superstructure'. Marxist theory therefore explains social, historical and

¹ O.P.Gauba(2014) *An Introduction to Political Theory*, 7th Ed (Indirapuram : Mayur Paperbacks [1981]), p.39

cultural development in terms of material and class factors.² The basis of the Marxist tradition is Marx's teleological theory of history, which suggests that history is driven forward through a dialectical process in which internal contradictions within each mode of production are reflected in class antagonism.³ Capitalism, then, is only the most technologically advanced of class societies, and is itself destined to be overthrown in a proletarian revolution which will culminate in the establishment of a classless, communist society.

A variety of Marxist traditions can be identified, including 'Classical' Marxism (the Marxism of Marx), 'Orthodox' Marxism or 'Dialectical Materialism'. The mechanistic form of Marxism that served as the basis for Soviet Communism, and 'Western', 'Modern' or 'Neo' Marxism, tends to view Marxism as a humanist philosophy and are sceptical about its scientific and determinist pretensions. Modern Marxists, repelled by the Bolshevik model of Orthodox Communism, sometimes sought to blend Marxism with aspects of liberal democracy, notably political pluralism and electoral democracy. Marxist theories have influenced and provided the basis of socialist feminism, which highlights links between capitalism and patriarchy.⁴ Marxism provided the basis for critical theory which attempted to blend Marxist political economy with Hegelian philosophy and Freudian psychology. Attempts have also been made to fuse Marxism with certain rational choice theories notably in the form of Analytical Marxism.

The intellectual attraction of Marxism has been due to its embodiment of a remarkable breadth of vision, offering to understand and explain virtually all aspects of social and political existence and uncovering the significance of processes that

² Andrew Haywood(2014) *Political Theory: An Introduction*,3rd Ed(New York: Palgrave),p.82

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

conventional theory ignores. Politically, it has attacked exploitation and oppression, and had a particularly strong appeal to disadvantaged groups and people.

1.2 NEO MARXISM

The original tenets of Marxism, as a scientific system of thought are identified as *Classical Marxism*. The chief exponents of *Classical Marxism* include, apart from Marx and Engels themselves, V.I. Lenin (1870-1924), Rosa Luxemborg (1871-1919) and Mao Zadeng (1893-1976). *Classical Marxism* holds that private property divides society into dominant and dependant classes with irreconcilable class interests. It is held together only by the ideological power of the dominant class. Human history moves towards its goal of human freedom through the revolutionary destruction of inherent contradictions in society culminating in the emergence of classless society. The wider implications of Marxism, largely inspired by the humanist thought of the young Marx are broadly identified as *Neo Marxism*. *Neo Marxism* seeks to analyse the subtle aspects of the phenomenon of dominance and dependence, distortions in the contemporary civilization and the possible ways to foster human emancipation.⁵

Contemporary Marxism, better known as *Neo Marxism* has developed in two directions-humanist and scientific.⁶ The humanist strain of Neo Marxism draws particularly on the work of the Young Marx and constitutes the mainstream of critical theory. Its dominant themes are the problems of alienation and ways to foster human emancipation and are a loose term for various twentieth century approaches that amend or extend Marxism and Marxist theory, usually by incorporating elements from other intellectual traditions. Many theorists and groups designated as *Neo*

⁵ O.P.Gauba,op.cit.,p.39

⁶ Ibid.

Marxists have attempted to supplement the perceived deficiencies of Orthodox Marxism or Dialectical Materialism.

The concept arose as a way to explain questions which were not explained in Karl Marx's works. There are different branches of *Neo Marxism* which entail Hegelian Marxism, Marxist Feminism, Ecological Marxism, Post-Marxism, Critical Theories, to name a few. *Neo Marxism* tends to encompass most of the trends of Marxist philosophy arising from the New Left. *Neo Marxism* does not possess a unified ideology in comparison to Orthodox Marxism but seeks to answer questions which traditional or Orthodox Marxism failed to answer, especially in the light of technological advancement along with economic and political developments that Marx and Engels did not foresee.

The first phase of *Neo-Marxism* in political theory asserted three major theses.⁷ *First*, it claimed that political power, even in democratic capitalist societies, was not in the hands of the electorate with its competing parties and interest groups. Instead, power and politics were dominated by a capitalist class, exerting its power through a number of mechanisms and ways. *Second*, Western democratic states were capitalist-bourgeois states in a structural sense. Their organization, internal functioning, and relationship to society were shaped by social and, primarily if not exclusively, class relations of the capitalist societies they governed. *Third*, not only the capitalist class, but also the structural features of bourgeois states posed certain fundamental constraints to what even the best intentioned governments could actually achieve, constraints surmountable only by revolution or by quasi-revolutionary popular mobilization. The first generation brought into focus the stark inequalities of

⁷ Goran Therborn, "Karl Marx Returning: The Welfare State and Neo-Marxist, Corporatist and Statist Theories", *International Political Science Review*, Vol.7, No.2(1986), p.133

power even in liberal democracies and the enduring reality of class even in booming capitalism, phenomena soft pedalled and often denied by liberal theory.⁸ Furthermore, it brought back the state as an institutional-organizational ensemble, broader than "the government" and more differentiated from society than "the political system" onto the stage of theory and investigation. It highlighted the problem of the relationship between the state and the capitalist economy.

In the second phase of *Neo-Marxism* the state has, hitherto, been rather out of focus. The "Post-Marxists" have turned to "new social movements" as topics of discourse and objects of hope. The second phase of *Neo-Marxism* has concentrated even more than the first phase on class. As far as the state is concerned, major efforts have been oriented toward analyzing welfare states. In theorizing, the idiom of classical social theory has largely been replaced by a more formalized language, sometimes with recourse to analytical philosophy or mathematical economics. The usage of game theory more generally in a language of hypothesized variation, "if a, then b"⁹ is also being applied. Explanation, rather than interpretation, has become the central task. It includes a lively, purely theoretical debate on a very high level of abstraction. The second phase of *Neo-Marxism*, in contrast to its immediate predecessor, is resolutely empirical and intimately links theory and empirical research. The second phase of Neo-Marxism is interested in and concerned with variations within capitalism, among advanced capitalist societies and states.¹⁰

Neo Marxism thus, encompasses a group of beliefs that have in common, rejection of economic or class determinism and a belief in the semi autonomy of the social sphere. The most influential among the Neo Marxist thought is the *Frankfurt*

⁸ Ibid., p.134

⁹ Ibid., p.136

¹⁰Ibid., p.137

School, which was founded as the Institute for Social Research in 1923. *The Frankfurt School* is critical of both capitalism and Soviet state communism and sought to rectify the inadequacies of traditional Marxist theory.

1.3 THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL: SCHOOL OF CRITICAL THEORY

1.3.1 CRITICAL THEORY

Critical Theory is associated with 20th Century Marxism leading to the New Left political movement that applied communist theory to culture, psychology, society and economics. Critical Theory was a code word for Marxism, a Marxism which was not identical with any Orthodox brand.¹¹ Developed in the Frankfurt School in Germany in the 1920s, it claimed to be an interdisciplinary application of Karl Marx's dialectic to all aspects of modern life. It made an attack on all structures of order and authority and led to the radical feminist student, workers, gay/lesbian/transsexual and modern art and theatre movements of the 20th Century. Critical Theory appealed to intellectuals rather than proletarian workers and influenced many Western academics, giving the European and American University its radical character after World War II. Critical Theory was a response to the liquidation of history by a deformed Marxism and pseudo-scientific Marxism, depending upon an understanding of the changing conditions of human suffering.¹² Horkheimer's essay, "Traditional and Critical Theory," outlined the Frankfurt School's position when the term "Critical Theory" was coined. Horkheimer considered Critical Theory "part of the development of

11

S.L.Doshi (2003) *Modernity, PostModernity and Neo-Sociological Theories*(New Delhi:Rawat Publications),p.455

12

Robert J.Antonio, "The Origin, Development, and Contemporary Status of Critical Theory", *The Sociological Quarter*, Vol.24, No.3(Summer, 1983), p.331

society" and argued that its critical standpoint (the goals of human activity, especially the idea of a reasonable organization of society that will meet the needs of the whole community) were "immanent in human work". He believed that critiques based upon supposed absolute values or alleged universal scientific laws were reifications that ultimately serve domination. Horkheimer referred to Critical Theory as "the unfolding of a single existential judgment" about progressive developments, contradictions and ultimately the "new barbarism" generated by "the historically given commodity economy."¹³

Critical Theory is concerned with contradictions between ideology and reality. Ideology portrays a false unity of the ideal and real, but the greater this distortion, the deeper its contradictions, and the more vulnerable the system is to criticism. Critical Theory provided an analysis of existing conditions in society, a diagnosis of its faults and recommendations for its radical transformation. The different approaches characteristic of Critical Theory was unified by the influence of Marxist philosophy, finding expression in strong critiques of capitalism and fetishism of technology in modern society. Critical Theory focused on the "domination" of all societies (liberal, capitalist, communist, fascist) and claimed to have a program of "liberation" through dialectical reason, sexual experimentation and alternative economics.

The work of the Frankfurt School has come to be referred to as Critical Theory. Associated with philosophers like Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Jurgen Habermas, Herbert Marcuse and Walter Benjamin, the School of Critical Theory shifted to the United States in the 1930s when the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research was closed in 1935. Early Critical Theory was not a substitute for Marxism, but was a voice within Marxist theory aimed at preventing it from degenerating into a

¹³ Ibid.

stale set of historic assumptions and claims. The early Frankfurt theorists believed that the vitality of Marxism depended upon its ability to correctly address the historical situation of modern capitalism and to counter the transformation of Soviet Marxism into an ideology of state socialist bureaucracy.

1.3.2 FRANKFURT SCHOOL

The members of the *Frankfurt School* were inspired by the writings of Karl Marx. The school was formed in 1923 as part of the University of Frankfurt in Germany, taking the formal name of *Institut für Sozialforschung* (Institute for Social Research). Established by Felix Weil, the first director of the institute was Carl Grünberg. The unique identity of the institute began to take shape after Max Horkheimer assumed the directorship in 1930. Horkheimer recruited a number of leading German intellectuals whose names are now linked permanently with the Frankfurt School, which included Theodor W. Adorno, Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse who despite continued adherence to general Marxist perspective, began to shift from the economy to a critique of culture. Jürgen Habermas is generally considered as a representative of the second generation of the Frankfurt School.

Following the Nazi rise to power, the political situation was extremely dangerous for a predominantly Jewish group of Marxist intellectuals. In 1933, Horkheimer was dismissed from his faculty position at Frankfurt and the institute was forced to leave Germany. From 1933-1935, it was located in Geneva, Switzerland after which it moved to New York City. In 1941, the institute was again relocated to California, eventually returning to the University of Frankfurt in 1953. The early work of the institute focused on the development of authoritarianism and fascism, and studies were conducted to examine the influence of authority in the cultural and political

attitudes of the German working class. These studies lead to the development of the “authoritarian personality” as a feature of individuals in modern society.¹⁴

The Frankfurt School made an interdisciplinary effort to interpret Marxism and psychoanalysis. It aimed at elaborating a theory on the relation between the economy, psychology and culture of contemporary capitalist society within a shared theoretical framework of Marxism. Critical theorists of the Frankfurt School had shown their concern for three major themes: (1) *rationality*, (2) *culture industry*, and (3) *knowledge industry*.¹⁵ The objectives of critical theory may be explained by a statement given by Adorno and Horkheimer (1979): “*We had set ourselves nothing less than the discovery of why mankind, instead of entering into a truly human condition, is sinking into a new kind of barbarism*”.¹⁶ The Frankfurt School theorists argued that individuals become indoctrinated through mechanism of power to desire, conformity and self-repression.¹⁷ The widespread existence of the authoritarian personality was used to account for the popular support of contemporary totalitarian regimes.

The members of the Frankfurt School extensively analyzed the “rationalization” of society. They maintained that, concomitant with rise to dominance of the natural sciences, modern society has become obsessed with instrumental rationality, that is, the function of reason for the purpose of organizing efficient means for a given end. Within modern economic and political systems, efficiency is considered the only lens through which human activity is viewed. This has led to the gradual impoverishment of human existence. Creativity, imagination,

¹⁴ Garren Ward Sheldon (2005) “Freedom”, *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought* (Viva Books Private Limited: New Delhi), p.111

¹⁵ S.L. Doshi, op cit., p.455

¹⁶ Ibid., p.451

¹⁷ Garren Ward Sheldon, op. cit., p.111

pleasure and individual autonomy are now regarded as obstacles to the efficient production of consumer goods and an increasingly inhuman technology. The Frankfurt School also described the nature in which instrumental rationality undermines the role of moral reason in evaluating the goals of human activity¹⁸, as well as the means used to achieve them.

Later work of members of the Frankfurt School continued to explore the various ways where power and authority were utilized to control nearly all aspects of social life. One of the core concerns of the scholars of the Frankfurt School, especially Horkheimer, Adorno, Benjamin, and Marcuse, was the rise of what Horkheimer and Adorno initially called "mass culture". This phrase refers to the way technological developments had newly allowed for distribution of cultural products on a mass scale, reaching all who were connected by the technology in society. Their concern focused on how technology enabled both sameness in production, in the sense that technology shapes content, cultural frameworks create styles and genres, and also, a sameness of cultural experience, in which an unprecedented mass of people would sit passively before cultural content, rather than actively engage with one another for entertainment. They theorized that this experience made people intellectually inactive and politically passive, as they allowed mass produced ideologies and values to wash over them and infiltrate their consciousness. They argued that this process was one of the missing links in Marx's theory of the domination of capitalism, and largely helped to explain why Marx's theory of revolution never came to pass.

The "culture industry" formed by the extension of technology into the mass media constituted an effective system through which capitalism was able to maintain an all-pervasive influence on the individual's opinions, needs, desires. According to

¹⁸ Ibid.

the Frankfurt School, the culture industry has contributed to the entrenchment of the status quo and to the formation of a homogenous, one-dimensional society.¹⁹ Marcuse took this framework and applied it to consumer goods and the new consumer lifestyle that had just become the norm in Western countries at mid-twentieth century, and argued that consumerism functioned in much the same way, through a creation of false needs.

The Frankfurt School of critical theorists were among the first to analyze the new configurations of the state and economy in contemporary capitalist societies²⁰, to criticize the key roles of mass culture and communications, to analyze new modes of technology and forms of social control, to discuss new modes of socialization and the decline of the individual in the mass society. Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* is perhaps the fullest and most concrete development of these themes within the tradition of Frankfurt School.

1.4 HERBERT MARCUSE

1.4.1 LIFE AND WORKS

Herbert Marcuse (19thJuly,1898-29thJuly,1979) was a German American Philosopher, Sociologist and a Political Theorist. He was born in Berlin in a Jewish family. Marcuse studied at the Universities of Berlin and Freiburg. He was an active member of the revolutionary group associated with Rosa Luxembourg, the Frankfurt School of Marxist Sociology. He spent nearly ten years with the office of Intelligence Research, Department of State, Washington. He was also associated with the Russian

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

Research Centre at Harvard University and with Paris University, spending most of his time with the Brandeis University in the USA.

Marcuse was highly influenced by the works of Hegel, Marx, phenomenology, existentialism, German idealism, and the classics of the Western philosophical tradition. While he later broke with Heidegger after the rise of National Socialism in Germany and Heidegger's affiliation with the Nazi party, he was influenced by Heidegger's critique of Western philosophy and his attempts to develop a new philosophy. He followed Heidegger and existentialism in seeking to deal with the concrete problems of the existing individual²¹ and was impressed with the phenomenological method of Husserl and Heidegger which attempted to break with abstract philosophical theorizing and to conceptualize "the things themselves" as they appeared to consciousness.²²In his early works, Marcuse developed the concept of a technological world, similar in some respects to that developed by Heidegger, and, like Husserl and Heidegger, sees technological rationality colonizing everyday life, robbing individuals of freedom and individuality by imposing technological imperatives, rules, and structures upon their thought and behaviour.²³

Marcuse was a staunch opponent of Fascism and totalitarianism and a supporter of freedom against all kinds of oppression. He was among the founders of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory and was celebrated as the Father of the New Left. The New Left owed much to the writings of Herbert Marcuse. Herbert Marcuse's modern classic, *One Dimensional Man* published in 1964 was one of the first books to address the central concerns of the Student and New Left Movements that emerged during the 1960s and 1970s, which later altered the political landscape

²¹Herbert Marcuse(1991)*One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*(London and New York:Routledge[1964]), p.xiii

²² Ibid.,p.xiv

²³ Ibid.,p.xix

of the last third of the twentieth century. Marcuse's major books include: *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the rise of Social Theory* (1941), *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (1955), *One-Dimensional Man* (1964), *An Essay on Liberation* (1969), *Counter Revolution and Revolt* (1972).

Marcuse is known in synonym with his ultimate contribution, the *One Dimensional Man*. The genesis of major themes of Marcuse's Magnus Opus can be traced in his earlier works. In his essays from early 19940s, Marcuse was already describing the advent of a system of totalitarian social control and domination due to the birth of tendencies that inculcated technological rationality. In his 1941 article, 'Social Implications of Modern Technology', Marcuse claimed that individual rationality was the individual's critical rationality, which was a creative tool and was the source of liberation and advancement for the individual. It was being undermined with the development of modern industry and technological rationality. His post Second World War writings highlighted on the themes related to the role of technology and technological rationality, administration and bureaucracy, mass media and consumerism, new modes of social control, which in their view produced both a decline in the revolutionary potential of the working class and a decline of individuality, freedom, and democracy, as well as the stabilization of capitalism.²⁴ The role of technology, advent of technological rationality and its impact is analyzed through his conceptualization of the *One Dimensional Man*.

²⁴ Ibid.,p.xxiv

1.4.2 ONE DIMENSIONAL MAN

The critical thinker and founding member of the Frankfurt School, Herbert Marcuse developed the themes memorable to the Frankfurt School in his modern classic, *One-Dimensional Man* published in 1964. According to Herbert Marcuse, technology is a social process and the technical apparatus of industry, communication, transportation is partial to technology.²⁵ Technology entails the production mode, totality of instruments, devices and contrivances which are also the channels for creating and establishing social relationships and as tools for control and domination.²⁶ The individual rationality that was characterized by subjective thinking and the power of negative thinking witnessed a change. It became one that no longer was searching for what the individual knows not and the pursuit of self interests. Individual rationality witnessed the lost of autonomy; offering one's compliance to the system where all liberating thoughts of action and various functions of reason were now directed towards maintenance of the apparatus. Critical reason was thus a creative principle which was the source of both the individual's liberation and society's advancement. The development of modern industry and technological rationality, however, undermined the basis of individual rationality. As capitalism and technology developed, the advanced industrial society demanded increasing accommodation to the economic and social apparatus and submission to increasing domination and administration. Hence, a "mechanics of conformity"²⁷ spread throughout the society. The efficiency and power of administration overwhelmed the individual, who gradually lost the earlier traits of critical rationality (i.e., autonomy,

²⁵Roger Eatwell & Anthony Wright (1999) eds, *Contemporary Political Ideologies*.(London and New York: Continuum.),p.122

²⁶ Ibid.,p.139

²⁷ Herbert Marcuse,op.cit.,p.xx

dissent, the power of negation), thus producing a "one-dimensional society" and "one-dimensional man."

Individual rationality was now colonized daily by technological rationality, that was robbing individuals of freedom and individuality by imposing technological imperatives, structure upon their thoughts and behaviour and developed the rationality where this system of life is of highest expediency, convenience and efficiency.²⁸ Individual rationality was now akin to the prevailing technological rationality where the individual self relinquishes his liberty to the dictum of reason itself. Reason has become an instrument of domination: "It helped to organize, administer, and anticipate the powers that be, and to liquidate the *power of Negativity*." Reason has identified itself with the reality: what is actual is reasonable, although what is reasonable has not yet become actuality."²⁹

The dominance of technological rationality is further established by the agents of social control that have now taken a technological form. Under the new form of social control³⁰, a new society, a society of total mobilization characterized by advanced areas of industrial civilization; combination of welfare and warfare state; assimilation of the blue collar and white collar jobs; introjection of both big corporation needs and development schemes through mass media have reached both private and public spheres. This new society contains the prevailing rationality guided by technology through the Convergence of Opposites.³¹ In Marcuse's view, the powers of reason and freedom are declining in the technological society. "With the increasing concentration and effectiveness of economic, political, and cultural

²⁸ Ibid.,p.xiv

²⁹ Ibid.,p.xxiv

³⁰ Ibid.,p.21

³¹ Ibid.,p.37

controls, the opposition in all these fields has been pacified, co-ordinated or liquidated."³²

More labour mechanization, repressive desublimation in the field of art and culture has subsequently lead to a scenario where the high mass culture has reached all sections of society by manipulation of the going commodity fetishism prevailing among the individuals. This leads to a change in the attitude and consciousness of the individuals in favour of the prevailing system, leading to the advent of happy or 'false' consciousness.³³ Man, under the rationality dictated by the false consciousness is subdued, repressed, dominated by the technological society, termed as the *One-Dimensional Society* where the *One-Dimensional Man* has unauthentic needs, has lost his individuality, freedom and lives in servitude due to his mere existence as a thing.³⁴

1.5 ONE DIMENSIONAL MAN: MIZORAM CONTEXT

The *One-Dimensional Society* is the Advanced Totalitarian Industrial Society³⁵ where false consciousness, unauthentic needs, repressive administration of society, deceptive liberties in the name of freedom, free and administered prices and competition prevail. This society is highly characterized by the consummation of technological rationality and the efforts taken to contain this trend in the established institutions. Such a society is habituated by individuals who have been conceptualized as being the "One-Dimensional Man" based on Marcuse's definition.

³² Ibid.,p.37

³³ Vinay Kumar Malhotra(1990)*Contemporary Socialist Thought-A Critical Study*(New Delhi : Anmol Publications),p.218

³⁴ Ibid.,p.219

³⁵ Ibid.,p.218

Mizoram, as a state has witnessed a steady pace of development, both in the economic and non economic sectors. In today's modern era, this development has been linked with the trend of adopting and utilising internet technology to attain progress and development in these two sectors. The ruling apparatus in the Mizo society, from the local level leaders to the state level elected leaders have all taken initiatives to restructure their mode of working and administration in compliance to the mandates that have been established due to the advent of internet technology. Mizo society has openly accepted, adopted, and re-adjusted their skill sets and have made adjustments in one's lifestyle to cope with the mode of thinking and operation that has been put forth by the prevailing technology, the internet technology. This is evident from the mass scale consumption of consumer goods that enable the individuals to utilise internet technology; the rapid rise in number of institutions and centres that provides a platform for the individuals to acquire the skills and training needed to comprehend and utilise the internet technology. Governance has also witnessed a new phase, where the governing authority that entails the political leaders, governmental organizations and personnel are moving towards the conduct of the entire administrative machinery that entails communication, task execution and delivery of goods and services within the framework dictated by internet technology.

The Mizo society, as it exists today seems to exhibit the prevailing notions of technological rationality with all its grandeur. The focus of the study therefore would be on an appraisal of Marcuse's *One- Dimensional Man*, where the theme and concept of *One-Dimensional Man* will be elaborated, taking into context the Mizo society and its governing authority.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Technological Society (1954) by Jacques Ellul, published by Vintage Books mentions humanity as a prisoner of machine like efficiency; a technique that not only involve machinery and industrial production but also entails police bureaucracy, civil service, television, newspapers. It also includes the entire process in which the individual's life has been materialised by all elements of civilization; where men has been overpowered by techniques and has become the object with the advent of technical civilization, a civilization constructed by techniques.

One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society (1964) written by Herbert Marcuse, published by Routledge and Kegan Paul is one of the most important books of the 1960s, viewed by many as a model of the Marcuse critical social theory. Herbert Marcuse has emphasized on the wider connotations of technology, as more than a mere technical apparatus but as a *social process* where men's involvement is inseparable. Social control spearheaded by technology has propagated technological rationality, where man is now colonized by this rationality in his everyday life. This social control embodies the prevailing reason of the society, which is introjected to impact the individual's rationality at its very base. It is anchored in the new needs, 'false needs' that technology produces. False needs, perpetuated by the system and the belief in the ability of the system to satisfy needs led to the advent of the *Happy Consciousness* (false consciousness). Technological rationality has rendered man to live a life of *servitude*, sublimated servitude where he exists as a mere instrument or thing, subjected to repression and domination.

Technological Rationality: Notes on "Work and Freedom in Marcuse and Marx" (1971) written by William Leuss, published in the Canadian Journal of Political

Science, Volume 4, Number 3, pages 398-400 highlights the theme of technological rationality. Marx was not adherent to technological rationality. For Marcuse, technological rationality formed the core of his proposition on the One Dimensional Man. An evaluation of the present impact of technological rationality on the individual and society led to an analysis of technical progress which has been functioning as a part of the dialectic of rationality and irrationality in modern society. The central theme of Marcuse's idea on domination is also highlighted where the possibility of the backward countries facing the situation of technological development that keeps the industrial apparatus in line with the vital needs of the individual, as seen in the advanced capitalist nations is most likely to occur.

The Origin, Development and Contemporary Status of Critical Theory(1983) by Robert J. Antonio published in *The Sociological Quarterly*, Volume 24, Number 3, pages 325-351 gives a detailed account on the emergence on the Frankfurt School where the conditions that prevailed during its establishment, the reasons for the shift of the Frankfurt School from Germany to America have also been mentioned. The Frankfurt School, also known as the School of Critical Theory stressed on Marx's ideas of commodity production, contradictions between productive forces and social relations of production. Due emphasis was laid on Marx's predictions on the increased concentration of capital and greater pervasiveness of commodity form were upheld by the Frankfurt School. The critical theorists were not trying to find a substitute for Marxism, but were in reality a collective unit making attempts to prevent Marxism from losing its relevance and becoming a stale set of historic assumptions.

Some Social Implications of Modern Technology (1985) written by Herbert Marcuse which was published in *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, pages 138-

162 throws light on his central focus: *technology and its subsequent rationality*. *Technology* is viewed as a social process where the technical apparatus of communication, industry, transportation are only partial elements of technology. The technological advent signifies a new phase; a phase where new rationality is put to place, termed as *Technological Rationality*. *Technological Rationality* is the inverse of individual rationality as it leads to the dilution of negative thinking, which forms a core part of critical thinking. It has its own pre-conceived set of truth values aligned with the smooth functioning of the technical apparatus. *Technological Rationality* is viewed as a system where life has attained its highest level of expediency, convenience and efficiency. The thoughts and actions of man are now directed by technology and new attitude is being prescribed. Thus, individual rationality is being transformed into rationality of technology. Social control, has thus taken a technological form. The dominant economic, political and social institutions are able to contain the existing social order not by force but by the manipulation of the faith, need and loyalties of the people through the utilization of technology.

One-Dimensionality: Socio-Historical and Ideological Context (1988) written by Ben Agger which was published in the *Dialectical Anthropology*, Volume 13, No.4, pages 315-329 brings to light the establishment of false needs and its imposition on the individual, the dialectical system that leads to collectivism, the alienation of man residing in a state of domination and the course of *One-Dimensionality*. The social order guided by the rationality imposed by technology is introjected into society, leading to the development of *False Consciousness*. Modern man is thus made to conform himself accordingly to the false notion where necessity of work with freedom of abundant leisure is deemed rational by the technological society. The concept of false needs is the theoretical base for the Theory of Domination, as

proposed by Marcuse. This theory in itself paves the way for dominance of positivism as an ideology in itself. It is also characterized by its perpetual check on the needs and consciousness of the individual who in turn confer acceptance to the social practise deemed rational.

The Triumph of Social Control? A Look at Herbert Marcuse's "One Dimensional Man", 25 Years Later (1990) written by Brad Rose, published in the Berkeley Journal of Sociology, Volume 35, pages 55-68 is a critique of the *Advanced Industrial Society*. The central focus of Brad Rose's writing is on technological *rationality*, the forms of social control, the One -Dimensional Society and existence of the Advanced Industrial Society. The *false consciousness* is promoted, coined as the *happy consciousness*. Technological rationality is maintained and promoted by a new form of social control, which has now taken, a technological form. Freedom is manipulated as an instrument of unfreedom. Freedom through the intensification of grant of liberties and comforts; freedom by reduction of physical work, equalization in spheres of consumption lead to unfreedom. The new form of art and sexuality, seen as the apotheosis of the happy consciousness leads to the flattening out of the antagonism that existed between traditional high culture and the actual social reality. This One-Dimensional Society is the *Advanced Industrial Society* which has been successful in the establishment of new, effective forms of social control.

Contemporary Socialist Thought. A Critical Study (1990) written by Vinay Kumar Malhotra, published by Anmol Publications is a broad overview on sociological theories. Chapter 6 of this book, entitled *Herbert Marcuse* is on the life of Herbert Marcuse, his conceptualization on technology and its rationality, the domains of social control, the emergence of the One-Dimensional Man in the Advanced Totalitarian Industrial Society. The central theme of *One- Dimensional*

Man is based on the concept of *technological rationality*, where individuals adapt and adjust his critical capacities to the technical imposed conformities established by technology and its apparatus. *Domination* in the One-Dimensional Society is a form of alienation. The individual has lost his free creative spiritual nature; has submitted himself to the false consciousness that dominates the society; is a repressed, alienated man and thus lives in servitude due to his existence as a mere instrument or thing. The *One-Dimensional Man* thus resides in a *Totalitarian Advanced Industrial Society* characterised by repression of freedom where man lives in servitude.

The Unknown Herbert (1990) written by Stanley Aronowitz, published in Social Text, Number 58, pages 133-154 offers an insight into the historical backdrop that paved the way for Marcuse to formulate the *One-Dimensional Man*. Marcuse was a student of social ideology and a critic of Stalinism. The author, Stanley Aronowitz, mentions Marcuse's collected essays that were written from 1930- 1949, each having their own specific purpose. Marcuse was a scholar, a philosopher of praxis who believed that theory was linked to action. He was a loyalist in the premises of Critical Theory and was also an Orthodox Marxist. Marcuse's most salient contribution to Critical Theory was the concept of *technological rationality* and the demonstration of its profound implications for praxis. He constantly reiterated that until the abolishment of capitalism was attained, human liberation was at the time being relegated to Utopian hope until the

Modernity, Postmodernity and Neo-Sociological Theories (2003) by S.L. Doshi which was published by Rawat Publications contains various segments focusing on modernity, postmodern theories, post modern social thinkers and the neo-sociological theories. A clear overview on the Critical School is also made available. The Critical School, also known as the Frankfurt School, was in dialogue with both

capitalism and Marxism. The critical theorists included Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse and Habermas. They each described and analyzed the present society in relation to its past and enabled those who were oppressed to realize the force that caused this very oppression. The theorists of the Frankfurt School showed grave concern for three major themes- *rationality, culture industry and knowledge industry*. Marcuse defined the modern capitalist society as the One Dimensional Society which consisted of enslaved consumers and mass culture audiences.

Key Thinkers from Critical Theory to Post Marxism (2006) by Simon Tormey and Jules Townshed was published by Sage Publications. It gave a clear focus on the rethinking of Marxism, the Post Marxist Feminism, Radical Humanism and also throws light on modernity, autonomy and the deconstruction of Marxism. Some of the influential figures in critical theories have also been highlighted and validates Post Marxism as a collaboration between theorists to a definition that views Post Marxism as a fully fledged movement that unites key thinkers of critical theory. It is also considered as an intellectual and academic practise which tries to rectify the problematic avenues that have been witnessed with the many concepts established under Classical Marxism. It makes an attempt to rethink Marxism and to ensure that its relevance is always kept aligned with the conditions of the society.

E-Governance in India (2007), written by Vishwas Tripathi was published by Anmol Publications. This book highlights the advent of electronic governance (e-governance) in India. E-governance related projects of some Indian states namely Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi are also mentioned. A detailed account of the National E-Governance Plan (NEGP) along with issues that loom over the implementation of e-governance such as technological shortcomings, political

management along with the policies and action plans laid out by 21 Indian states are analyzed.

Technology, Technological Domination and the Great Refusal (2010) written by Jeffrey V. Ocas, published in the *Kritike*, Volume 4, Number 1, pages 54-78 throws light on the recurring theme of *emancipation* that Marcuse aims to attain where the society will eventually be a free, happy and non-repressive society. The author, Jeffrey V. Ocas highlights the central points in Herbert Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man* where, technology is viewed as a social process that includes production mode, totality of instruments, devices and is also used for creation and establishment of social relationships. *Technology* was value free and could be used either as a tool of domination or emancipation. Technology led to the advent of the new form of rationality, termed as *technological rationality*. Technological rationality was the subordination of thoughts to the machine process.

Contemporary Political Theory (2013) by M.J. Vinod and Meena Deshpande, published by PHI Learning Private Limited offers a broad overview on contemporary political theories. Chapter 26 of this book offers a detailed conceptualization of Post-Marxism; highlights the Neo-Marxist theory of the state where the state is viewed as an arena of struggle and does not function unambiguously for the interests of any single class thought. This book offers an analysis on how Post Marxism targets the historical underpinnings of Marxism and is an overhaul of Classical Marxism. The major theses of the first generation of Neo-Marxists were based on political power, political domination by the capitalist class under a bourgeois state (democratic state). The Neo-Marxist thoughts have led to the inclusion of new trends, opened up the perception of Marxian pluralism and have offered criticisms on conventional Marxism.

An Introduction to Political Theory (2014), 7th Edition by O.P Gauba, published by Mayur Paperbacks throws light on the nature and significance of political theories and highlights various political ideologies. Chapter 2 of this book offers a detailed account on the genesis of Marxism, the original tenants of Classical Marxim (Dialectical Marxism, Historical Marxism, Doctrine of Class Conflict and Theory of Surplus Value).The Contemporary Marxism, with special emphasis on Neo Marxism is also highlighted with emphasis on the critical theorists, who has set up the Frankfurt School. The critical theorists tried to develop a critical perspective for all social practises and lead to the advancement of a critique of the bourgeois society where the terminology of technological domination replaced capitalist domination and the writings of young Marx was used as the mainstream mechanism in formulation of the dominant themes of alienation and human emancipation, as seen in Marcuse's conceptualization of the One-Dimensional Man.

Refusing Marcuse: Fifty years after One-Dimensional Man (2014) written by Stephen J. Whitfield published in Dissent Magazine, Volume 61, Number 4, pages 102-107 gives a critical tone towards relevance of the One-Dimensional Man, especially in the context of the contemporary society. The author, Stephen J. Whitfield highlights his analysis on the book, One-Dimensional Man, written by Herbert Marcuse. *One-Dimensional Man* is a clear cut portrayal on how ideologies had concealed the grip of domination and the persisting *reality of alienation*; the *lack of autonomy* that man enjoy in the society and how the very basis of their economic security was in fact a form of *servitude*, subscribed to irrational and impersonal forces designed to maximise productivity at the expense of pleasure. Whitfield gave a pessimistic viewpoint on the seeds of conventionality dictated by the system. The claim of the system dictated by technology, where industrial capitalism had removed

constant threats of security and destitution to pave the way for the inevitable rise in productivity was in fact false.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The study is limited due to many factors. The very concept of One-Dimensional Man is still relatively unknown, especially in the population on which the study was conducted. The constraints due to lack of supplementary sources, especially at the local level delineates the arguments put forth. The feature of a technological society where grant of more freedom and its subsequent legitimization propounded by Marcuse is not in congruence to the principles of freedom put forth in a democratic society and thus, difficulty arose in analyzing its existence. The propositions put forth by Marcuse were in accordance with the developmental events that were taking place in the context of the developed nations in the west. In the context of an under-developed society like the Mizo society, the concept of One-Dimensional Man has shown its relevance with the onset of globalization and thus needs to be highlighted.

SCOPE OF STUDY

The study examined the acceptance of technically imposed rationality, the ruling apparatus' role as an agent of social control for containment of the technological rationality and the oppression generated by the grant and subsequent legitimization of freedom, which are tenants of Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man*. This study was based only within the proximity of Aizawl City, as it is the epicentre of development and technological advancement in the state of Mizoram. The technology of internet was the central focus due to its dominance in utilization and reliance over the other available technology. The study focused on those

individuals who enjoy the right to universal adult franchise as they are considered to be more reliable in comprehending the vitality of internet technology in their day to day lives. The ruling political party, the Indian National Congress is analysed due to the democratically elected single party rule in the context of Mizoram. The recent modes of freedom granted due to the 33% seat reservation for women in the Aizawl Municipal Corporation and the subsequent enactment of laws, legislation for its implementation was also examined.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

This study demonstrates the reality of Mizo society based on the theoretical proposition, *One Dimensional Man* put forth by Herbert Marcuse and its relevance in the 21st century, referred to by many as the Internet Age due to the increasing dominance of internet in the day to day life of man. In this age, man's rationality based on critical thinking and his power of negative thinking has been relegated to one of submission, adjustment and conferment to the rationality dictated by technology. Even in the context of Mizo society, the craze for possession of technology and its subsequent skills for its utilization deemed rational by society is dominant. Thus, this study highlights the practicability of Marcuse's propositions on domination, alienation, repression, technologically imposed rationality that bring to life the One-Dimensional Man and the utilization of this technology by the political parties in power, especially in a democratic society for the strengthening of the technologically induced rationality.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives for the study are as follows,

1. To examine the need for adjustment of the individual in accordance with the prevailing notions of internet driven technological rationality.
2. To analyze a technological society by the grant of freedom in the context of the 33% seat reservation for women in the Aizawl Municipal Corporation (AMC).
3. To examine the utilization of internet technology by the governing authority in Mizo society.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Does an individual adjust himself/herself accordingly to the rationality imposed by internet technology?
2. Does the grant of freedom characterized by technological society prevail in Mizo society?
3. How does the governing authority utilise internet technology in Mizo society?

METHODOLOGY

The study bears the nature of a mixed research, where descriptive and survey methods are applied.

Sources of data- Data is obtained from primary and secondary sources. Primary source consists of data obtained through the conduct of structured interviews and observation. Secondary sources constitute data obtained through consultation of various newspapers, magazines, journals; data obtained from television, radio and other relevant media related sources.

Tools of data collection: Scheduled Interviews were conducted and data collected was interpreted accordingly. Observation techniques were also employed.

Population- The population comprised of citizens residing in Aizawl City, between the age group of 18-65 years.

Sampling Procedure/ Technique- from a sample size of 40, *Stratified Sampling* was used and the following strata were drawn: businessmen, shop level employees, college students (undergraduate and postgraduate level), government employees, pensioners (from governmental services), and representatives from the ruling political party.

Random Sampling was employed in the following strata: privately owned businessmen, college students (undergraduate and postgraduate level), government employees, pensioners (from governmental services), and shop level employees.

Purposive Sampling was employed in 2 strata: representatives from the ruling political party and government employees for the identification of those leaders and administrators actively involved in the usage of internet technology for conduct of their roles and duties.

Analysis of data- The quantitative data obtained was analysed using simple percentage and interpreted accordingly whereas, the qualitative data which was obtained through structured interviews and observation techniques was analyzed in a descriptive nature.

CHAPTERIZATION

Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers an insight into the concept of Marxism and the subsequent advent of Neo Marxism along with the emergence of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory. It gives a detailed description on the life and works of Herbert Marcuse and his conceptualization of the One-Dimensional Man. Review of literature, statement of the problem, scope and significance of the study, objectives of the study, research questions pertaining to the study, research methodology and a brief description of each chapter is mentioned.

Chapter II: RATIONALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN A TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

This chapter gives a description on the traditional conceptions of reason and individual rationality. A detailed account of Marcuse's concept of technology and technological rationality; the arrival of the *Happy Consciousness* as a consequence of the alienation, domination of man leading to the subsequent birth of the *One-Dimensional Man* living in the *One Dimensional Society* is highlighted.

Chapter III: FREEDOM IN A TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

This chapter examines the contextual linkage between democracy and freedom. It analyses the underlying characteristics in Marcuse's concept of freedom in the form of unfreedom and highlights the nature of unfreedom in democratic India in the context of the 33% seat reservation for women in urban local bodies provided by the Constitution 74th Amendment Act, 1992. Special reference to the Aizawl Municipal Corporation and its relevance in this context is also incorporated

Chapter IV: SOCIAL CONTROL IN A TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

This chapter offers a description on social control. It gives a detailed account of Marcuse's view of social control and the forms of social control that prevail in a technological society. Social control in the context of Electronic-Governance with special reference to its advent and utilization in the state of Mizoram is highlighted.

Chapter V: CONCLUSION

This chapter contains the summary of findings and conclusions drawn accordingly.

CHAPTER II

RATIONALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN A TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

2.1 REASON AND RATIONALITY

According to a traditional philosophical view, what makes human beings different from animals is that human beings are “rational” or have “reason.” The terms “reason” and “rational” are used in many different ways. Reason may be used to denote sanity, as when people say that a mentally deranged person has “lost his reason”. Rational may be used to mean orderly and intelligible, or in accordance with causal laws. Reasoning may also be taken to describe the activity of working out what to do or believe by thinking. Reason is subversive power, the ‘power of negative’ that establishes, as theoretical and practical reason, the truth for men and things; the conditions in which men and things become what they really are.³⁶

Reason has been traditionally identified with the ability to grasp, employ, simply conform to, certain principles. These include the principles of logic, the principles that guide the construction of scientific theories, mathematical principles, and the principles of practical reason. Moral principles are considered by many philosophers as rational principles. In Kant’s theory, for example, reason is evaluated by applying the categorical imperative, i.e. by asking oneself whether the principles in which reasons are embodied can be considered as universal laws. Rationality refers to the range of properties that dictate the mental lives of human beings deemed “rational.” It can simply mean being well-oriented towards the world; the capability of acting intentionally and intelligently. Some philosophers suppose considerations that tempt man to believe and act in certain ways and the ability to evaluate those reasons in

³⁶ Christine M.Korsgaard, Rationality, <http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~korsgaard/CMK.Rationality.pdf> retrieved on: 20/08/2017

accordance with principles that determine whether they are good reasons or not, moral or immoral reasons.³⁷

The concept of reason and rationality are not at odds with each other. Whether the principles of rationality are deployed consciously or not, they are still considered to be the principles that are in congruence to which one reason's with; the principles that describe the way man thinks and shapes the beliefs of man and execute actions accordingly. The beliefs and actions of man are considered rational or reasonable when it conforms to the dictates of these principles.

2.1.1 INDIVIDUAL RATIONALITY

Rationality, in simple terms is the habit of acting by reason, which means in accordance with the facts of reality. *Rationality* is the act of, accepting only that which one has have reason to believe. Man as a distinct individual, possesses the power of negative thinking and undergoes a quest to unveil truth and things to become what they really are. Critical thinking is an important attribute of individualistic rationality, based on the rational potential for human happiness and freedom, which is considered as the creative principle that was the source of both individual's liberation and the societal advancement. *Individual rationality* was the saviour of men in their struggle against the domains of superstitions, irrationality and domination. The golden era of individual rationality was the age when the liberalist society was at its zenith. During this era, the Liberalist society with its features of free completion, rewards on punishment and performance were vied as ideal due to its marked nature of individuality. This was the rationality of men in the pre-technological rationality era.

³⁷ Ibid.

Individual rationality, as claimed by Marcuse was won in the struggle against regnant superstitions, irrationality and domination and posed the individual in a critical stance against society. Critical reason was thus a creative principle which was the source of both the individuals' liberation and society's advancement.

2.1.2 PRINCIPLES OF INDIVIDUAL RATIONALITY

The basic tenant of individual rationality laid down that the individual as a subject was the subject of certain fundamental standards and values which no external authority was supposed to or was able to encroach upon. These standards and values pertained to the forms of life; social, economic, political as well as personal, and were critical for the full development of man's faculties and abilities. They were considered as the 'truth' behind his individuality and social existence. The individual was a rational being, who was deemed capable of finding these forms by his own thinking once he had acquired freedom of thought, of pursuing the course of action which would actualize them.³⁸ The task for the ruling apparatus and society as a whole was to grant freedom to man and remove all restrictions that he may come across upon his rational course of action.

The principle of individualism is the pursuit of self-interest which was conditioned upon the proposition that self-interest was rational.³⁹ It resulted from and was constantly guided and controlled by autonomous thinking. The rational self-interest did not coincide with the individual's immediate self-interest, as the latter depended

³⁸ Arato Andrew & Eike Gebhart (1978) *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader* (New York: Continuum), p.138

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.140

upon the standards and requirements of the prevailing social order which was placed there not by his autonomous thought and conscience but by external authorities.

In the context of Radical Puritanism, the principle of individualism thus set the individual against his society.⁴⁰ Men had to break through the whole system of ideas and values imposed upon them, and find a way to seize the ideas and values that conformed to their rational interest. Men had to live in a state of constant vigilance, apprehension, criticism and reject everything that was not true; which was not justified by free reason. In a society which was not yet deemed rational, there existed interplay of the principles of permanent unrest and opposition as false standards still governed the life of men and the free individual.

Thus, the principle of individual rationality can be summed up as the search for what we know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it.⁴¹ To fulfil this rationality presupposed an adequate social and economic setting; one that would appeal to individuals whose social performance was, to some extent, their own work. Liberalist society was held to be the adequate setting for individualistic rationality as in liberalist society tangible achievements of the individual which made his products and performances a part and parcel of society's need, were the marks of his individuality.

2.1.3 TECHNOLOGY AS RATIONALITY

Technology is a very familiar yet difficult concept to define as there is no standing consensus as to what is really is. The layman always equates technology with gadgets or “tools” in general e.g., the spear, the compass, the automobile, the computer, the

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

mobile phone, and the likes. Some philosophers like Martin Heidegger insists that technology cannot be defined. According to Heidegger, technology is only the truth which it has revealed. Technology is a “way of revealing, bringing forth” of what he calls “standing reserve” i.e., of truth, of Being. Thus, according to Heidegger, the best way to approach technology is to attune ourselves to the “Being” of technology.⁴²

Mario Bunge defines technology as a body of knowledge compatible with science and controllable by scientific method, and “can be employed to control, transform or create things or processes, natural or social, to some practical end deemed to be valuable.” Therefore, any practise orientated activity which employs the scientific method is, for Bunge, “technology”. This coincides with the general notion of technology as the application of science. In fact, for Bunge, technology is “applied science”.⁴³

Applied science differs from pure science. Pure science attempts to seek truth for its own sake, while applied science aims for useful truth, to find truth for a practical purpose. Pure science wants to understand things better while applied science hopes to improve its mastery over these things. While pure science involves conceptual knowledge, applied science involves skill or knows how. The notion of skill or know how, that is, the practical ability and knowledge to do something is crucial here. Technology cannot be simply equated with gadgets and tools .Technology as a know-how is thus those patterns of action, in a sense mode of thinking that enables man to transform knowledge into means for the fulfilment of a particular end. Bunge asserts that technology entails controlling, transforming, creating.

⁴² Jeffrey V.Ocay, ”Technology, Technological Domination and the Great Refusal: Marcuse’s critique of the Advanced Industrial Society”, *Kritike*, Vol.4, No.1, (June, 2010), p.55

⁴³ Ibid.

2.2 MARCUSE ON:

2.2.1 TECHNOLOGY

Technology is taken as a social process in which technics proper (that is, the technical apparatus of industry, transportation, communication) is but a partial factor. Technology, as a mode of production, as the totality of instruments⁴⁴ are devices and contrivance that characterize the machine age and at the same time a mode of organizing and perpetuating social relationships, a manifestation of prevalent thought and behaviour patterns, an instrument for control and domination. Technics by itself can promote authoritarianism as well as liberty, scarcity as well as abundance, the extension as well as the abolition of toil. National Socialism can be considered as a striking example of the manner in which a rationalized, mechanized economy with utmost efficiency in production can operate in the interest of totalitarian oppression.

Initially, Marcuse made a differentiation of technology from technics, where he defined technics as the instruments and practises of industry, transportation, communication, to the techniques of production and its produce, e.g., computers and automobiles. Marcuse defines technology as a mode of production, as the totality of instruments, devices and contrivances which characterize the machine age and is a mode of organizing and perpetuating social relationships, a manifestation of prevalent thought and behaviour patterns, an instrument for control and domination. However, Marcuse later dismissed his distinction between technology and technics.

Marcuse apprehends technology both as a contrivance used for goods production and as a social process which facilitates control and domination.⁴⁵ On one

⁴⁴ Eatwell Roger&Anthony Wright,op.cit.,p.139

⁴⁵ Jeffrey V.Ocay,op.cit., p.56

hand, technology as a contravene functions primarily as a means of material production to serve humanity in the procurement of basic needs for daily survival, in the promotion of convenient and gratifying existence. On the other hand, technology is also a social process that refers to the organization of technics⁴⁶ (such as the technical apparatus of industry), knowledge, skills and procedures for the purpose of attaining a desired end.

According to Marcuse, the concept of technology or technics, has two dimensions⁴⁷: One, where it is the simple sense as analyzed by Bunge and the other as having a deeper social sense. While both characterize technology in general, it is the latter that concerns Marcuse as it is technology as a social process which results from the systematic organization of tools for economic purposes. For Marcuse, technology can also be used as an instrument for social control and domination, especially under capitalism. Technology under capitalism has become a type of social control which may eventually lead to self-destruction and invalidate the claim that technology exists only to serve the betterment of humanity. Marcuse claims that in the advanced industrial society, technology has become a new form of social control which calls for total submission to the prevailing social order and which reduces the individuals into mere biological machines who respond solely to the technical process in life. Domination comes into the fore due to the utilization of technology for the maintenance of the capitalist system. Technological rationality, as a new form of rationality has evolved which has redefined and reinforced the overwhelming power

⁴⁶ Ibid.,p.57

⁴⁷ Ibid.,p.57

of domination. It is technological rationality and not technology that has defined the overwhelming power of domination.⁴⁸

2.2.2 TECHNOLOGICAL RATIONALITY

The concept of technological rationality was first propounded by Marcuse in an article published in 1941. Marcuse presented the theme of *One- Dimensional Man*, as technological rationality (or the social mode of reason under the state-corporate capitalism) which is distinct from individual rationality (the liberal bourgeois mode of individual reasoning in the stage of entrepreneurial capitalism) and from critical rationality (the progressive individual critique of technological reality that seeks to fully realize the productive potential of technical reason). With the abolition of entrepreneurial capitalism, individual rationality defined by the premises of individual autonomy, critical self reflection and informed self interest had degenerated into irrationality. The state corporate alliances had ruined the objective basis of individual rationality as the open market and civil society was now under bureaucratic control of the technologically grounded apparatus. Faced with the advent of planned organization of the cultural, economic, political and social life, the individual consequently adapts and adjusts his critical capacities in accordance with the technically imposed conformity, i.e. the prevailing technological rationality.⁴⁹

The capitalist mode of production which hinges primarily on modern technology has resulted in a new form of rationality, termed as *technological rationality*. For Marcuse, *technological rationality* refers primarily to the assigning of mental powers to the apparatus that calls for unconditional compliance and subordination. In other words, *technological rationality* means the subordination of

⁴⁸ Jeffrey V. O'Casey, op cit., p.56

⁴⁹ Vinay Kumar Malhotra, op cit., p.214

thoughts to the machine process so that it is no longer the individual that directs the machine but the other way around.⁵⁰

Technological rationality dissolves critical thinking and replaces it with the idea of compliant efficiency, which results in the individual's submission to the apparatus without any form of mental and physical opposition. Marcuse writes that the idea of compliant efficiency perfectly illustrates the structure of technological rationality. Rationality is being transformed from critical force into one of adjustment and compliance.⁵¹ Autonomy of reason loses its meaning in the same measures as the thoughts, feelings and actions of men are shaped by the technical requirements of the apparatus which they themselves created. Reason has now seen a *transmutation*⁵²; from negative to positive thinking; from critical to one of compliance and adjustment, from individualistic to technologically guided where unification of freedom and oppression, growth and regression have been merged to be deemed as rational.

Technological rationality calls for compliance to truth values that leads to subordination of those pre-established values of truth that were rational as irrational. Individual rationality was now colonized daily by technological rationality and robbing individuals of freedom and individuality by imposing technological imperatives, structure upon their thoughts and behaviour and has developed the rationality that this system of life is of highest expediency, convenience and efficiency.⁵³

Reason has now being given a place in the system of standardized control, production and consumption where it reigns through the laws and mechanisms that

⁵⁰Jeffrey V. O'Casey, op.cit., p.58

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., p.59

⁵³ Ibid.

insure the efficiency, expediency and coherence of the prevailing system. Under this prevailing rationality, there is no place for reflection or autonomy as men are only given tasks to perform in accordance with the dictates of the apparatus. Thus, According to Marcuse, technological rationality arises when, in the medium of technology, culture, politics and the increasing power of the economic system merge into an omnipresent system that swallows up or repulses all alternatives. This eventually extended to all spheres of private and public existence, integrating all authentic opposition and absorbing all alternatives. Technology, which was originally an external power over nature, has been internalized by the individuals. Reason has now lost its meaning because the thoughts, feelings, and actions of men are shaped by the technical requirements of the apparatus that demands compliance and adjustment. The human psyche has now been transformed into mere biological impulses which turn the individual into a passive agent of production, leading to the dilution of the individual into a mere spectator, who makes adjustments in accordance with the technical processes of production.

2.2.3 EVOLUTION OF TECHNOLOGICAL RATIONALITY

The dividing line between the pre-technological and technological rationality is not between a society based on unfreedom⁵⁴ nor one based on freedom. Society is still organized in a manner that procures the necessities of life which constitutes the full time and lifelong occupation of specific social classes. The classical concept implies that freedom of thought and speech must remain a class privilege as long as this enslavement exists. Thought and speech are thinking and speaking subject, and if the life of the latter depends on the performance of a superimposed function, it solely depends on those who have control over the requirements. The dividing line between

⁵⁴ Herbert Marcuse, op.cit.,p.132

the pre-technological and the technological order is witnessed by the manner in which the subordination to the necessities of life; to 'earning a living' is organized and in the new modes of freedom and unfreedom, truth and falsehood correspond to this organization.⁵⁵

In the social reality, despite all changes, the domination of man by man is still the historical continuum that links pre technological and technological reason. The technological transformation of society and nature alters the base of domination by the gradual replacement of personal dependence (of the slave on the master, the serf on the lord of the manor, etc) with the dependence on the 'objective order of things',⁵⁶(on market, economic law, etc). The 'objective order of things' is itself the result of domination, but nevertheless , it is domination that now generates a higher rationality; that of a society which sustains its hierarchic structure while exploring ever more efficiently the natural and mental resources, and distributing the benefits of this exploitation on an ever larger scale. The limits of this rationality appear in the progressive enslavement of man by a productive apparatus, the reduction of man to state of servitude that seeks to satisfy the dictates of the technological system.

2.2.4 FROM INDIVIDUAL TO TECHNOLOGICAL RATIONALITY

The advanced industrial society is characterized by the principle of competitive efficiency. It is also earmarked by the intensive mechanization and rationalization that had forced the weaker competitors to fall under the domination of the giant enterprises of the capitalist industries; which was also successful in abolishing the true nature of the free economic subject due to its dominion status over the very nature of society as well.. The principle of competitive efficiency favoured the enterprises with the most

⁵⁵ Ibid.,p.133

⁵⁶ Ibid.,p.147

highly mechanized and rationalized industrial equipment. Technological power tends to the concentration of economic power, to "large units of production, of vast corporate enterprises producing large quantities and often a striking variety of goods, of industrial empires owning and controlling materials, equipment, and processes from the extraction of raw materials to the distribution of finished products, of dominance over an entire industry by a small number of giant concerns..." and technology "steadily increases the power at the command of giant concerns by creating new tools, processes and product."⁵⁷

Efficiency called for integral unification and simplification, for the removal of all waste, the avoidance of all detours, and also made a call for radical coordination. A contradiction existed between the profit incentive that kept the apparatus moving and the rise of the standard of living which this same apparatus had rendered possible. "Since control of production is in the hands of enterprisers working for profit, they will have at their disposal whatever emerges as surplus after rent, interest, labour, and other costs are met. These costs will be kept at the lowest possible minimum as a matter of course."⁵⁸ Under these circumstances, profitable employment of the apparatus dictated to a great extent the quantity, form and kind of commodities to be produced, and through this mode of production and distribution, the technological power of the apparatus affected the entire rationality of those whom it served.

The free economic subject has now undergone a transmutation which has developed into the object of large-scale organization and coordination, where the individual achievement has been transformed into standardized efficiency. The latter is characterized by the fact that the individual's performance is motivated, guided and measured by standards external to him, standards pertaining to predetermined tasks

⁵⁷Arato Andrew&EikeGebhart,op.cit,p.141

⁵⁸ Ibid.

and functions. The efficient individual is one whose performance is an action only to the extent that it is the proper reaction to the objective requirements of the apparatus, and his liberty is confined to the selection of the most adequate means for reaching a goal which he did not set. Whereas individual achievement is independent of recognition and consummated in the work itself, efficiency is a rewarded performance and consummated only in its value for the apparatus.⁵⁹ Freedom of the economic subject was submerged in the efficiency with which he performed services assigned to him. The world had been rationalized to such an extent that rationality was now seen as a social power where the individual could do no better than adjust himself without reservation. Rationality is being transformed from a critical force into one of adjustment and compliance.⁶⁰ Autonomy of reason has lost its meaning. Reason has now found its resting place in the system of standardized control, production and consumption.

As the laws and mechanisms of technological rationality spread throughout the whole society, a set of truth values were developed which hold good, the functioning of the apparatus. Propositions concerning competitive or collusive behaviour, business methods, principles of effective organization and control, fair play, the use of science and technics are true or false in terms of the new truth value systems. These truth values were tested and perpetuated by experience and guided the thoughts and actions of all who wish to survive. Rationality now called for unconditional compliance and coordination, and the truth values related to this rationality implied the subordination of thought to pre-given external standards. Truth values were now validated as the

⁵⁹Ibid.,p.142

⁶⁰Ibid.,p.146

technological truth; as an instrument of expediency rather than an end in itself, and followed the pattern of technological behaviour.⁶¹

The technological truth signified a contradiction with the nature in which individualistic society had established its values. The pursuit of self-interest is now conditioned upon heteronomy and autonomy as an obstacle rather than stimulus for rational action. The original identical and homogenous truth is now divided into two different sets of truth values and two different patterns of behaviour: the one assimilated to the apparatus, the other antagonistic to it; the one making up the prevailing technological rationality and governing the behaviour required by it, the other pertaining to a critical rationality whose values can be fulfilled only if it has itself shaped all personal and social relationships.⁶²

Critical rationality derived from the principles of autonomy are now viewed as self evident truths under the new nature of the individualistic society. The technological truth and critical truth are now aligned to form a general consensus where, the two sets of truth values are neither wholly contradictory nor complementary to each other and many truths of technological rationality are preserved or transformed in critical rationality. Also, the distinction between the two sets is not rigid; the content of each set changes in the social process.

The technological rationality inculcated in the society has transformed numerous modes of external compulsion and authority into modes of self-discipline and self-control. Safety and order are, to a large extent, now guaranteed by the fact that man has learned to adjust his behaviour in accordance with that of those around him. All men act equally rationally, that is to say, according to the standards which insure the

⁶¹ Ibid.,p.147

⁶² Ibid.

functioning of the apparatus⁶³ and thereby the maintenance of their own life. Under the impact of technological apparatus, individualistic rationality has been transformed into technological rationality.⁶⁴ It is characterized by the pervasive mode of thought and even the manifold forms of protest and rebellion. This rationality established standards of judgment and fostered attitudes which make men ready to accept and even to intercept the dictates of the apparatus. Man is viewed as an objective personality, one who has learned to transfer all subjective spontaneity to the machinery which he serves, to subordinate his life to the "matter-of-factness" of a world in which the machine is the factor and he the factum.' Individuality of man has been transformed into different quanta of skill and training, coordinated in accordance with common framework of standardized performances.

2.2.5 TECHNOLOGY AS A TOOL FOR CONTROL

Having ruined the material foundations of individual freedom, technological rationality aimed to put out freedom as well. Marcuse states that:” The apparatus to which the individual is to adjust and adapt himself is so rational that individual protest and liberation appear not only as hopeless but as utterly irrational”. The system of life created by modern industry is one of the highest expediency, convenience and efficiency. Reason now becomes equivalent to an activity which perpetuates this world. Rational behaviour becomes identical with a matter-of-factness which teaches reasonable submissiveness and thus guarantees getting along in the prevailing order. During the entrepreneurial capitalist stage, rational behaviour represented a negative, critical mode as it struggled against the old institutions and ideas of tradition.

⁶³ Ibid.,p.148

⁶⁴ Ibid.,p.141

However, once considered as the norm of everyday life in technology, technological reason consisted of the social premises of individual submission, passive contemplation and collectively dictated group interest. Thus, technology and technics applied in the economic progress are more than ever instruments of social and political control.

2.2.6 COMMODITY FETISHISM

In the technological society (advanced industrial society), Marcuse emphasized on the progressive development of *commodity fetishism*. “The people recognize themselves in their commodities; they find their soul in their automobile, hi-fi set, split-level home, and kitchen equipment”.⁶⁵ “If individuals find themselves in the things which shape their life, they do so not by giving, but by accepting the law of things- not the law of physics, but the law of their society”.⁶⁶

The productive apparatus and the goods and services which it produces and sells subsequently made an imposition on the social system as a whole. The means of mass transportation and communication, the commodities of lodging, food and clothing, the output of the entertainment and information industry all carry with them prescribed modes of thinking which bind the consumers to the producers and subsequently to the whole. These products indoctrinated, manipulated and also promoted *false consciousness* which is immune to its falsehood.

2.2.7 ALIENATION

The rapid change in the advanced industrial society brought about by technology and its technics led to the deep manifestation of alienation, which is explained at a

⁶⁵ Brad Rose, “The Triumph of Social Control? A Look at Herbert Marcuse’s One Dimensional Man, 25 Years Later”. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Vol.35(1990),p.55

⁶⁶ Vinay Kumar Malhotra, op.cit., p.215

micro organizational and macro societal level. Marcuse explained alienation at the societal level from a Marxian perspective. According to Marx, *alienation* is a process whereby man forfeits to someone or something; what is essential to his nature; mainly to be in control of his own activities, to be the initiator of the historical process. In the different forms of alienation, some other entity gets what is proper to man. Marx described the estrangement of labour or “alienation of the worker in this object”⁶⁷ as appearing in three forms: *alienation of labour from its product, alienation of labour from the act of production, and alienation of man from nature.*⁶⁸

At a first glance, it would appear that a regime capable of producing a happy, manipulated union between the innermost needs of the citizens and the prolific commodities of its productive apparatus would be able to solve the problem of alienation. But, Marcuse stated that the case was contrary: alienation had not been eliminated by the one dimensional society, but had actually been raised to a new level of perfection⁶⁹: “*I have just suggested that the concept of alienation seems to become questionable when the individuals indentify themselves with the existence which is imposed upon them and have in it their own development and satisfaction. This identification is not illusion but reality. However, the reality constitutes a more progressive stage of alienation. The latter has become entirely objective; the subject which is alienated is swallowed up by its alienated existence*”.(One Dimensional Man: 1966:11)

With the perfection of alienation and the total administration of the socio-political world: “*There emerges a pattern of one dimensional thought and behaviour in which ideas, aspirations and the objectives that by their content transcend the established*

⁶⁷ Ibid.,p.217

⁶⁸ Ibid.,p.217

⁶⁹Brad Rose,op cit.,p.58

universe of discourse and action are repelled or reduced to terms of this universe. They are redefined by the rationality of the given system...”(One Dimensional Man: 1966:12) Ultimately, Marcuse contends “there is only one dimension and it is everywhere and in all forms”.⁷⁰

2.2.8 DOMINATION

Marcuse stated that man’s increasing command over nature through technology essentially paved way for domination over human nature. Technological rationality has introjected its technical demand into each person’s semantic psychic constitution, which has resulted in threefold domination⁷¹ : *first*, domination over one’s self, over one’s nature, over the sensual drives that desire merely pleasure and satisfaction. *Second*, domination of the labor achieved by such disciplined, regulated and controlled individuals. *Third*, domination of outward nature, science and technology. According to Marcuse, It is not the opposite of freedom, but rather its presupposition”.⁷² Marcuse claimed that technology is “value-neutral”⁷³; it is neither good nor bad. But this value neutral technology has the propensity to become wither good or bad; the propensity to become a tool for emancipation and domination. The value laden technology is dependent upon the motive of the user. Technology in the advanced industrial society is dominating because it is organized by the administrators of the society to serve their own interests. In other words, it is the subjection of technology to politics and economics that turns technology into an instrument of domination.⁷⁴ Domination comes into fore when technology is used for the maintenance of the capitalist system. Therefore, it is technological rationality

⁷⁰ Ibid.,p.59

⁷¹ Vinay Kumar Malhotra,op. cit.,p.215

⁷² Ibid.,p.216

⁷³ Jeffrey V.Ocay,op.cit., p.57

⁷⁴ Ibid.,p.58

rather than technology itself that defines the overwhelming power of domination. Technological rationality has effectively and smoothly laid down its domination of power through the manipulation of need. It has now transformed social needs into the individual's own thus creating attitudes which ensured the obedience of the individual to the dictates of technology. This eventually led to the creation of false needs.

2.2.9 DOMINATION AND ALIENATION : HAPPY CONSCIOUSNESS

Marcuse mentioned domination as the deep internalization of alienation, called as *surplus repression*. It is the function of the lightening linkages between political economy and culture. It is present in the advanced industrial society where culture and reason are both used to reproduce alienation in spheres of work and leisure. The theory of domination developed by Marcuse was based on the concept of *false needs*.

False needs are the unauthentic needs, generated by the technological world, deemed as rational by the individuals arising from the false sense of ideas, values inculcated by technological rationality. These needs create a bubble where men are made to believe in its vitality for better results, in the spheres of both work and leisure. In today's world, the advent of *commodity fetishism* where man identifies himself with the technology; finds the inner urge to comply with the technological advent and subscribes his identity in connection with technology has led to the adoption of the *false consciousness*, termed as the *Happy Consciousness*. His false needs perpetuated by the system and the belief in the ability of the system to satisfy his needs led to the advent of the *Happy Consciousness (false consciousness)* where the belief in 'the system delivers the goods' created the notion of 'the irrational being now accepted as rational' and was an accepted social behaviour. The individual residing in the false consciousness no longer realizes his true needs, needs arising

based on his subjective, critical reasoning (“the negative thinking”) that allowed man to see truth for things to be become what they really should be’. The individuality of man that separated him from the whole no longer found an open door.

In such a society, *reason is an instrument of domination* where change is made possible only from within its established institutions. *Liberty that entails freedom* is also used as an instrument of domination. Citing an instance in connection to economic liberty, enhanced labour productivity is a means for perpetuation of the existing system and restriction on needs of the individual. In this context, democracy itself is an effective system of domination. *Domination gives a new rationality* where it sustains the existing hierarchic structure and exploits efficiently the natural and mental resources and distributive benefits on an even larger scale leading to progressive enslavement by the productive apparatus. *Alienation* is raised to a new level of perfection by the *One-Dimensional Society* where the reality is a *progressive state of alienation* due to the identification of what is imposed upon them by man and their impositions have their own norms of development and satisfaction, leading to objective human beings swallowed up in the alienated existence of objective rationality.

2.3 TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY: ONE DIMENSIONAL SOCIETY

The *Advanced Industrial Society* has a distinguishing feature; its effective suffocation of needs that demand liberation and the progressive development of commodity fetishism. The emerging “technological reality”⁷⁵ of the *Advanced Industrial Society* lays claim to the ever larger dimension of the human consciousness. The private space of the individual that nourished the human capacity for critical

⁷⁵ Brad Rose, op.cit., p.57

thought and supported the tension between subjectivity and the social has now been whittled down by a progressively expanding technological reality. The result of this contraction of space was the identification of human subjectivity with the interests and modes of existence of technological society.

The distinguishing feature of *Advanced Industrial Society* is its effective suffocation of those needs which demand liberation. The more rational, productive, technical and the repressive administration of society ⁷⁶ becomes, the more unimaginable means and ways by which the administered individuals might break their servitude and seize their own liberation.

The *Advanced Industrial Society* exhibits the features of a trend that perpetuates the consummation of technological rationality and entails intensive efforts to contain this trend within the established institutions. This new society is a society of total mobilization ⁷⁷, earmarked by its advent in advanced areas of industrial civilization. It combined the features of welfare and warfare state, where the following trends have emerged- gradual assimilation of blue collar and white collar population; leadership types in business and labor; leisure activities and aspirations in different social classes; fostering of a pre-established harmony between national and scholarship purpose; invasion of the private household by togetherness of public opinion; concentration of the national economy on the needs of the big corporations, with the government as a stimulating, supporting and sometimes even controlling force; hitching of this economy to a world-wide system of military alliances, monetary arrangement, technical assistance and development schemes; opening the bedroom to the media of mass communication.

⁷⁶ Herbert Marcuse, op .cit., p.9

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.21

This society has indicated a new phase of civilization where modes of thought are endangered by tendencies that undermine the foundations of traditional culture. This new mode of thinking is earmarked by repression of values, aspirations and ideals that cannot be defined to fall in line with the prevailing rationality. The changes in production, consumption, culture and thought have produced an advanced state of conformity where the production of needs and aspirations by the prevailing societal apparatus integrates individuals into the established societies. Marcuse thus, describes the 'technological society' as one in which technology restructures labour and leisure, influencing life from organization of labour to modes of thought.

The development of modern industry and technological rationality undermined the basis of individual rationality. As capitalism and technology developed, *Advanced Industrial Society* demanded an increase in accommodation of the economic and social apparatus and submission to increasing domination and administration. Hence, a mechanics of conformity has spread throughout the society. The efficiency and power of administration overwhelmed the individual, who gradually lost his earlier traits of critical rationality (i.e. autonomy, dissent, the power of negation), thus producing a *One-Dimensional Society*⁷⁸ where the *One-Dimensional Man* resides.

2.3.1 REPRESSIVE NATURE

In the technological society, also known as the *One-Dimensional Society*, technology and science are organised for more effective diminution of man and nature. This society perpetuates the idea of scarcity, high productivity, excessive waste, consumption, toil, and the fear of the enemy. The progress of man's realization is blocked by repression brought about by the gambit of the *One Dimensional Man*

⁷⁸Ibid.,p.xix

who resides in a world of “unfreedom”. Man has lost the ability to distinguish between true and false consciousness. ‘Truth’ as was originally governed by the ability to exert critical and negative thinking was now effaced by the effects of mass media and societal institutions. Contemporary man believes that “what he is” is congruent with “what he really wants to be” and is unaware of the systematic restriction of his one-dimensional existence. It is a new kind of slavery, a slavery that is determined “neither by obedience nor by hardness of labor but by the status of being a mere instrument and the reduction of man to the status of a thing.” This is the “pure form of servitude: exist as an instrument, as a thing.”⁷⁹

2.4 MARCUSE AND THE ONE DIMENSIONAL MAN

The term One-Dimensional can be interpreted as the conformation to existing thought and behaviour and lacks a critical dimension; a dimension of potentialities that transcend the existing society. Based on Marcuse, his usage of the adjective “one-dimensional” described the practises that conform to pre-existing structures, norms and behaviour, in contrast to multi dimensional discourse, which focused on possibilities that transcended the established state of affairs. In a *One Dimensional Society*, man(who is viewed as the subject) was now assimilated with the *One Dimensional Society* (viewed as the object) and followed the dictates of external, objective norms and structures , thus losing the ability to discover more liberating possibilities and to engage in transformative practise to realize them. Based on Marcuse’s analysis, “One-Dimensional Man” has lost or is losing one’s individuality, freedom and the ability to dissent and to control one’s destiny.⁸⁰ The private space , and the dimension of negation and individuality, in which one may become and

⁷⁹Malhotra Vinay Kumar,op.cit.,p.219

⁸⁰Herbert Marcuse,op.cit.,p.xixvii

remain a self, is being whittled away by a society which shapes aspirations, hopes, fears, and values, and even manipulates vital needs. The price that *One Dimensional Man* pays for satisfaction is to surrender freedom and individuality.

One- Dimensional Man is the personification of Marx's alienation. Man has lost his free, creative, spiritual nature i.e. 'species-being' and the means of his existence is life itself. Marcuse traced the development of *One Dimensional Man* and *One Dimensional Society*, which is culminated in the domination of technological rationality and derailment of reason. Man has a false consciousness as a consequence of this one- dimensional thought in which "false ideas, aspirations, and objectives that, by their content, transcend the established universe of discourse and action are either repelled or reduced to terms of this universe".⁸¹

Marcuse placed the blame less on individuals or institutions, whether capitalistic or socialistic for the loss of individuality and more on the kind of consciousness which had taken the contemporary man under their firm hold. Changes in consumption styles and in the labor force structure, along with the institution of the welfare state, have integrated the working class of the prevailing system and the labor movement where eventually the orthodox Marxist principle of class-struggle has become impracticable to modern society. Modern industrial society has made man the victim of a particular thinking where he is completely ignorant about it. According to Marcuse, that is the most astonishing aspect of our advanced civilization: "The rational character of its irrationality". Moreover, this situation is a mechanism of social control. 'False' needs are interpreted by the people to be their 'true' needs.⁸²

⁸¹ Vinay Kumar Malhotra, op.cit., p.218

⁸² Ibid., p.219

Thus, the *One- Dimensional Man* does not know his true needs because his needs are not his own; they are administered, superimposed and heteronomous. Man has now identified himself with public behaviour, which is laid down by the technological apparatus and lacks the power of authentic self-activity. Thus, man is unable to act autonomously nor is he able to resist domination. He lives in a state of sublimated servitude, alienated from the very core that defined individuality, earmarked by the power of negative thinking and is known as the *One-Dimensional Man*.

CHAPTER III

FREEDOM IN A TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

3.1 FREEDOM

3.1.1 MEANING

Freedom also expressed as liberty is the most central concept among its corollaries namely individualism, equity and democracy.⁸³ In Plato's *Republic*, individual freedom is best realized in the knowledge of the training of one's innate capacities and their use in the service of the whole society. One's freedom is strictly ordered and directed to the good of the just state. A person is truly free only when he is disciplined, well educated because undisciplined individual exerting their freedom leads to an unjust government. Aristotle aligns freedom in terms of the Greek citizen, by rising above the state of having a mere economic existence to attaining a state of a rational, ethical activity. Real freedom is the realization of one's telos or potential based on fully developed reason, speech, moral choice and action. John Locke states that people are 'free, equal and independent'. Human freedom implies not "license" to do whatever one wants but is under the confinement of the law of nature where no one can exercise his freedom for the infringement of or causing harm to other people's right to life, liberty and property.⁸⁴

3.1.2. TWO FOLD CLASSIFICATION OF FREEDOM

Isaiah Berlin, in his work "Two Concepts of Liberty" (1957) gave a twofold classification of freedom: *positive freedom and negative freedom*.⁸⁵ *Negative freedom*

⁸³ Garrett Ward Sheldon.op.cit., p.113

⁸⁴ Ibid.,p.114

⁸⁵ Ibid.

can be best summarised as the freedom of the individual from any sort of obstacle (slavery, prison, bondage, legal, moral or cultural restraint) to freedom of movement. Freedom is the absence of external control characterized by the liberty of action, movement, thoughts in absence of some culture, law or institution that would deny such liberties. *Positive freedom* on the other hand, is the freedom of the individual towards some accomplishment or some substantive achievement. While negative freedom claims that freedom (intellectual, economic or religious) leads to substantive abundance of property, knowledge, positive freedom claims that true freedom is freedom only when it grants result orientated liberty.⁸⁶ Citing an example for these two contrasting views in the capitalist system as found in America, any one is given freedom to start a business with no guarantee for the success of his business i.e. no laws prohibit man from trying but there is no provision for substantive support. In a socialist system, as witnessed in the former Soviet Union, individuals were not given freedom to start private businesses (i.e. negative freedom is denied) but, individuals were guaranteed employment, housing, health care, retirement by the state (i.e. positive freedom).

3.2 FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY: CONTEXUAL LINKAGE

In the contemporary world, democracy is the most popular form of government which is based on the principles enshrined in the statement, 'government by the people, for the people, of the people'. A democratic structure has provisions where both negative freedom (absence of external control) and positive freedom (governmental assistance orientated) are entwined together. Freedom is an essential corollary of democracy and thus, a symbiotic linkage is closely deduced between the two, despite possible differences that may arise.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

3.2.1 DEMOCRACY

The term democracy is derived from a combination of two Greek words, *demos* (meaning the people) and *kratos* (meaning to rule). The core of democracy is best illustrated by the statement, "Democracy is a form of government in which the people rule". The term democracy originated in Athens and was used as a standard classification of forms of regimes: rule by one (monarchy), rule by several (aristocracy), and rule by many (democracy). Abraham Lincoln's famous definition of democracy as 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' is in close proximity with the literal meaning of democracy. In short, democracy as a form of government implies that the ultimate authority of governance in this system is vested in the ordinary people so that public policy is made to conform to the will of the people and to serve the interests of the people.⁸⁷

Democracy, as a type of political regime reflects the following⁸⁸,

- 1) Existence of institutions and procedures where citizens can express effective preferences about alternatives at the national level, and there is the presence of constraints on the exercise of powers by the executive which is institutionalized.
- 2) Existence of universal suffrage or the right to participation for selection of national leaders and policies, which emphasised on participation and inclusiveness.

A classification of democracy can be made on the criteria of minimal and maximal perceptions of democracy. The minimal perception makes an emphasis on the importance of means i.e. procedures such as fair elections, respect for human

⁸⁷ O.P. Gauba, op .cit.,p.564

⁸⁸ M.J.Vinod&Meena Deshpande, op.cit.,p.406

rights, universal suffrage whereas the maximal perception focuses on the means, and highlights the ends such as economic justice, fairness.⁸⁹ From the minimalist point of view, the primary features of minimalist democracy entail civil liberties, accountability and political rights. From the maximal point of view, the primary features of maximal entail social rights, responsiveness, equality of outcome, equality of opportunity, elimination of corruption.

Robert Dahl listed eight criteria for democracy namely, the right to vote, right to be elected, right of political leaders to compete for support and votes, elections that are free and fair, freedom of association, freedom of expression, alternative sources of information, institutions that depend on votes and other expressions of preference.⁹⁰

In today's contemporary society, liberalism entwined with democracy led to the advent of liberal democracy. The concept of democracy is an old concept and liberalism is a recent concept, but these two terms have become inseparable with each other and is seen as an attempt to resolve conflicting claims of the capitalists and masses by giving a voice to the masses at the decision level making process. Liberal democracy is distinguished from other political systems based on its principles and its underlying features. Liberal democracy is rooted in certain principles, which entail government by consent, public accountability, majority rule, recognition of minority rights, constitutional government.⁹¹ These features (or characteristics) are: free competition for attainment of political power among political parties (more than one political party), political offices not confined to any privileged class, periodic elections

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.p.407

⁹¹ O.P Gauba, op.cit., p.572

based on universal adult franchise, protection of civil liberties, independence of judiciary.⁹²

3.2.2 FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY

On a closer analysis of the political set up of America in the past, the history of democracy dating from its advent has seen the presence of a form of government where the people till today, have a voice in the government due to the conditions of majority vote. 'Government of the people, by the people, and for the people' clearly expressed the source of authority in a democratic regime; where authority rests with the people as a whole and was subsequently delegated through the system of a free election. Man was free; possessed freedom based on the notion of free idea that was derived not only from the idea of free elections but was also based on the notion of the sacred dignity of the individual who possessed inalienable rights that enabled him to not be regarded as among the totality owed by the state. This view on freedom had its philosophical roots in Mills, Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Hamilton, and Jefferson. This view (or idea) was developed in history under the perceived notion for the general emancipation of the individuals in milieu of the economics and politics. From slavery through feudalism to the guilds movement, they were all motivated towards freeing the individual to establish more autonomy, politically and economically i.e. every revolution was seen as an attempt to attain more power for the individual and subsequently attain higher degrees of freedom.

In the contemporary society, democracy is now accepted as a way of life. In this society, the determinants for freedom entail freedom from and freedom to do something, freedom from fear, freedom from tyranny, freedom in movement, freedom

⁹² Ibid.,pp.575-576

in thoughts and expression, freedom to worship or not are pertinent and is thus regarded as a modern political democratic society. In the prelude for modern political democracy, it is the sole duty of man to penetrate into the universal structure that is already at play, discover the laws that govern this structure and discover one's life goals in harmony with the dictates of this universal structure. Man's freedom thus lies in his prerogative over and above the rest of nature to be able to follow the necessitating rules of the structure.⁹³

3.3 FREEDOM AND MARXISM

Freedom, from a Marxian perspective stems from Spinoza and Hegel where freedom is structured along the coordinates of rationality and necessity. Man is believed to be truly free when he understands what life is all about, and willingly conforms to its laws. In the state, man is deemed free upon his realization in the need for law and order and conforms to these necessities. In this sense, freedom is teleological, goal directed and motivated.⁹⁴

Marxist notion of freedom draws inspiration from two sources, *classical humanism and scientific rationalism*. *Classical humanism* viewed freedom in terms of self motivated and self determinant activity, activity of the own self which is independent of any external necessity. *Scientific rationalism* offered an insight into the necessity and the conscious mastery of man over the conditions of his social existence. While one was making a call for the liberation of the individual, the other was in strong favour of a benevolent social regimentation.⁹⁵ Marx made an attempt to draw a reconciliation between the two to bring an end to the rational pertaining in the

⁹³ Frederick J. Adelman, "Freedom and Marxism", *Studies in Socialist Thought*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1970), p. 2

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Timothy Mc Carthy, "Marxism and the Dilemma of Freedom", *International Social Science Review*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (WINTER, 1986), p. 12

bourgeois society, where human development proceeded on the lines where only a few benefitted at the expense of the many. Marx instead, wanted to end this circle of bondage and make free development of every condition as a free development for each and every individual.

For the Marxist thought, the bourgeois capitalist system was an illusion where the working class was enslaved and true human nature was trivialised. The individual will be truly free from alienation, oppression and meaningless labour only when communism is achieved. Before the attainment of communism the prevailing system will be a capitalist system, where ‘freedom is seen as the obedience to the totality or state.’⁹⁶

3.4 MARCUSE ON:

3.4.1 FREE SOCIETY

The traditional terms of economic, political, intellectual liberties have become insignificant for the new definition of the free society as new modes of realization are required, corresponding to the new capabilities of the society where the new modes can be indicated only in negative terms as they could lead to negation of the prevailing modes. Economic freedom would now indicate freedom from the economy; freedom from being controlled by economic forces and relationships; freedom from the daily struggle for existence, from earning a living. Political freedom would indicate liberation of the individuals from the politics over which they have no effective control. Intellectual freedom would imply the restoration of the individual’s

⁹⁶ Garrett Ward Sheldon.op.cit., p.114

thought that was now absorbed by mass communication and indoctrination, abolition of 'public opinion' together with its makers.⁹⁷

3.4.2 PRE-CONDITIONS OF FREEDOM

In Marcuse's version of Utopia, his concept of freedom presupposed the accomplishment of certain preconditions- psychological, economic and political. In the psychological domain, the precondition for freedom is a revolution that is instinctual whereby the evils of the society namely repression and domination will be removed. There will be the development of true consciousness, which is opposed to false consciousness. In the economic front, Marcuse had a strong desire for economic pre conditions of freedom to foster the abolition of surplus repression so that a non repressive society could be established. Marcuse also called for the removal of labour in favour of pleasure for man to solve the problem of alienation.⁹⁸ Political freedom, for Marcuse as highlighted by Heidelberg, had 4 components: opening of the language of debate, the capability of the individual to analyse and make choices based on knowledge, providing man with access to authentic information, evaluation (thought process) of man based on the doctrine of autonomous thought.

Marcuse presented his ideal state, his erotic utopia⁹⁹ where all basic needs were satisfied; where toil and politics were erased to ensure an automated economy which would provide enormity of pleasure. This state would be based on freedom from want, the concrete substance of all freedom. Negatively defined, freedom implied freedom from daily struggles for existence and from external controls (political, economic, social, technological control). Positively defined, freedom is the free

⁹⁷ Garrett Ward Sheldon, op.cit., p.114

⁹⁸ Vinay Kumar Malhotra, op cit., p.225

⁹⁹ Ibid., p.226

development of human needs and faculties in a society where autonomy, self determination and authenticity are its basic foundations.¹⁰⁰

3.4.3 FREEDOM

Technological progress is an effective instrument to intensify the prevailing liberties and comforts, deemed rational by the technological society. For Marcuse, freedom in the prevailing society (the technological society) is in reality, one of the most effective forms of social control. Unfreedom is the realistic occurrence that thrives in the world of freedom. Physical control has now been replaced by administrative control, the nature of work has become less menial, and the sphere in consumption has witnessed the equalization of people from all sections of society. This unfreedom is justified due to the loss of full control over one's life by the individual, loss of control over life and death situations, loss of control over personal and national security.

Freedom which was synonymous with independence of thought, autonomy, right to political opposition is now deprived of its basic critical function in the technological society where the technological apparatus is seemingly able to provide needs of man based on its dictates in the society. From freedom of enterprise, the need of the individual to prove himself in the market and as a free economic subject is no longer in existence. The disappearance in freedom of enterprise is considered as a great achievement of the present society as technological process has lead to the entrance of individual energy into an unchartered realm of freedom¹⁰¹ where the individual is liberated from his alien needs and has full freedom to exert autonomy

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.,p.226

¹⁰¹Herbert Marcuse, op.cit.,p.5

over his own life. The technical apparatus is organized for the satisfaction of man's vital needs, where the existing forms of control do not prevent the autonomy of the individual but pave the way for its smooth occurrence. In reality however, the contrary exists where there the emergence of an effective opposition against the whole is precluded,¹⁰² as it operates through the manipulation of needs and vested interests.

3.4.4 RATIONALITY AND UNFREEDOM

The growing productivity led to an increase in surplus product and a rise in consumption, which has diluted the traditional value of freedom. This dilution or reduction occurred due to lack of valid reason for the insistence on self-determination as the administered life in the technological society seemed to provide a 'good life' (as established in accordance with the dictates of technology). Loss of economic and political liberties now appears as mild damages in a state which is capable of making the administered life secure and comfortable. Individuals appear to be at a stage where the goods and services provided by the administration provided a good, comfortable life where the thoughts, feelings, aspirations of man have been pre-conditioned. Under such conditions, there is no valid ground (or base) for man to insist on different institutions and make attempts to think, feel and imagine for themselves.¹⁰³

The *One Dimensional Society* and the nature of its one dimensionality is characterized by the totality of domination where all domains of existence are integrated into the logic of exchange and technological process.¹⁰⁴ The domination is rationalized in every domain—from man's workplace, family, professions, political

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.53

¹⁰⁴ John Alt, et al, "Special Review Essay: Doing Critical Theory", *Teaching Sociology*, Vol.7, No.1 (Oct, 1979), p.90

left, popular culture and the inner most dimensions of his consciousness. The establishment of man's rationality and its subsequent conformity to the dictates of the technological society is validated by the presence of a new form of freedom, a freedom that is not born out of the individual but freedom in the form of appeasement of the sexual libido/desires of man, that were created by technology and its technics. The separation of freedom from reason, of emotions from performance, of love from work wrought by capitalist rationality damaged the personality, created feelings of powerlessness and aloneness, and produced individuals who now experience freedom as an insecurity that is to be avoided by subordinating the self to the commands of the mass culture.¹⁰⁵

Technological rationality has extended to every domain of man's personal and social existence where the dialectical tension that once earmarked the relationship of the individual, working class; art, philosophy and society have vanished. The individual, unable to transcend himself from the established status quo is also unable to step outside the purview of the existing dominant order. The conceptions equated along with freedom, namely equality, justice, liberty along with freedom now act in accordance with the requirements of the prevailing order of things. Expression of needs that may require transformation from the established order of things is not taken into admission by the administration. Needs are made one-dimensional i.e. are created in accordance with the necessities of the prevailing order of things and ideologically defined as the expression of justice, freedom, happiness and equity.¹⁰⁶

The classical definition of freedom, freedom as the ability of man to reflect on his own existence in terms of objective truth is distinct from the re-defining of

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.,p.92

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.,p.93

freedom with the advent of technological rationality where freedom now entails science, technology and bureaucracy to sustain and promote the total administration of human existence.

3.5 MARCUSE AND UNFREEDOM

A comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom exists in an advanced industrial civilization as a token of technical progress. Indeed, what could be more rational than the suppression of individuality in the mechanization of socially necessary but painful performances. In such a scenario, the concentration of individual enterprises in more effective and corporations are more productive. There exists regulation of free competition among unequally equipped economic subjects; the curtailment of prerogatives and national sovereignties which impede the international organization of resources. This technological order also involves a political and intellectual coordination.¹⁰⁷

Rights and liberties which were vital factors in the origins and earlier stages of industrial society have now yielded a higher stage of this society. They are losing their traditional rationale and content. Freedom of thought, speech and conscience which served to promote and protect essentially critical ideas and were designed to replace an obsolescent material and intellectual culture by a more productive and rational one were now institutionalized. These rights and liberties have now shared the fate of the society of which they had become an integral part. The liberties which pertain to a state of lower productivity are losing their former content. The independence of thought, autonomy, and the right to political opposition are being deprived of their basic critical function in the society which appears to be capable of satisfying the needs of the individuals. Such a society demands firm compliance to its

¹⁰⁷ Herbert Marcuse, op. cit., p. 162

principles and institutions. Under the conditions of a rising standard of living, non-conformity with the system itself appears to be socially useless and more so due to its entailment of the tangible economic and political disadvantages which threatens the smooth operation of the whole. The societal apparatus is at a stage where the need to operate the production and distribution of goods and services under the concurrence of competitive individual liberties is no longer deemed necessary.

From the beginning, freedom of enterprise was not a blessing due to conditions of the liberty to work or to starve, which spelled toil, insecurity, fear for the majority of the population. If the individual was no longer forced to prove himself on the market as a free economic subject, extinction of this kind of freedom would actually be one of the greatest achievements of civilization. This is a goal within the capabilities of advanced industrial civilization, the "end" of technological rationality. In reality however, the contrary is in operation where the apparatus has imposed its economic and political requirements for defense and expansion on labor time and free time, both on the material and intellectual culture. By virtue of the way it has organized its technological base, contemporary industrial society tends to be totalitarian.¹⁰⁸ Totalitarian is also a non-terroristic economic-technical coordination which operates through the manipulation of needs by vested interests. It thus precludes the emergence of an effective opposition against the whole. Besides a specific form of government or party rule, a specific system of production and distribution compatible with "pluralism" of parties, newspapers, "countervailing powers" was also established. Today, political power asserts itself through its power over the machine process and over the technical organization of the apparatus. The government of advanced and advancing industrial societies maintain and secure

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.p-5

themselves when it is able to succeed in mobilizing, organizing and exploiting the technical, scientific, and mechanical productivity available to industrial civilization.

This productivity mobilizes society as a whole. Marcuse, in support of Freudian terms identifies libido and repression as the source of unfreedom.¹⁰⁹ 'With technical progress as its instrument, unfreedom in the sense of man's subjection to his productive apparatus is perpetuated and intensified in the form of many liberties and comforts. In reality neither the utilization of administrative rather than physical controls, nor the change in the character of heavy work, nor the equalization in the sphere of consumption compensate for the fact that the decision over life and death, over personal and national security are made at places over which the individual have no control. The slaves of developed industrial civilization are sublimated slaves, but they are slaves, for slavery is determined.'¹¹⁰

Advertising, public relations, indoctrination, planned obsolescence are no longer unproductive overhead costs but rather elements of basic production costs. In order to be effective, such production of socially necessary waste requires continuous rationalization the relentless utilization of advanced techniques. Consequently, a rising standard of living is the unavoidable by-product of the politically manipulated industrial society, once a certain level of backwardness has been overcome. The growing productivity of labor creates an increasing surplus product which, whether privately or centrally appropriated and distributed, allows an increased consumption, notwithstanding the increased diversion of productivity. As long as this prevails, it reduces the use-value of freedom; there is no reason to insist on self-determination if the administered life is the comfortable "good" life.¹¹¹ This is the rational and material ground for the unification of opposites, for one-dimensional political behavior. On

¹⁰⁹ Vinay Kumar Malhotra, op.cit.,p.221

¹¹⁰ Brad Rose, op.cit.,p.59

¹¹¹ Ibid.,p.53

this ground, the transcending political forces within society are arrested, and qualitative change appears possible only as a change from without.

If the individuals are satisfied to the point of happiness with the goods and services handed down to them by the administration, why should they insist on different institutions for a different production of different goods and services? And if the individuals are pre-conditioned so that the satisfying goods also include thoughts, feelings, aspirations, why should they wish to think, feel, and imagine for themselves?

This developed industrial civilization is the *Advanced Industrial Society (One Dimensional Society)* which is based upon the integration and total mobilization of the welfare and the warfare state where multiple articulations of the state, society, economy and the administered private life of the individual conforms to the unfreedom and power of domination that the system has over man. In such a scenario, political opposition is contained with the rise in the standard of living and the expansion of the welfare state, the continued rational compliance of men (citizens of the society) with the prevailing technological rationality.

3.5.1 REALM OF FREEDOM TO REALM OF NECESSITY

Marcuse emphasized on happiness as the free satisfaction of man's instinctual needs¹¹² that entails pleasure principles and the pursuit for libidinous satisfaction. The existence of any society depends largely on repression of certain basic human instincts (or libido) where the energy of man is moulded for socially useful activities (deemed useful the technical apparatus). The preservation of humanity is synchronized with the vitality of work, discipline and restraint. The pursuits for pleasure, initially

¹¹² Vinay Kumar Malhotra.,op.cit.,p.221

sought by man has changed its course i.e. man has steered himself away from the Realms of Freedom and has instead, steered himself towards the Realm of Necessity.

3.5.2 WELFARE AND WARFARE STATE

The Welfare State, a state which seems capable of raising the standard of living for the administered life has a separate power that has been established over and above the individuals. Under these conditions, decline of freedom and opposition is not viewed as moral (or intellectual) deterioration but seen as a completely objective process where the production and distribution of goods and services adhere to the attitude of technological rationality. The Welfare State is actually a state of unfreedom where the administered life entails a restriction of the technically available free time which thrives in advanced industrial societies but is unfree and administered by politics and business.¹¹³ There is also a restriction on the volume of goods and services made available for vital individual needs and the intelligence that has the capability to comprehend and strive for self determination.

3.5.3 REPRESSIVE DESUBLIMATION

The *Advanced Industrial Society* is earmarked by the interplay between surplus repression and repressive tolerance. Surplus repression implies anything that appears to be in excess of what is deemed necessary for the preservation of civilization.¹¹⁴ In the contemporary society, false needs are fabricated by the manipulation of desires, by the productive apparatus where the satisfaction of the individual and society as a whole has rendered class struggle as outdated. The individual has been absorbed, assimilated by the system of domination where he whole heartedly accepts the status quo and offers loyalty to the system.

¹¹³ Herbert Marcuse., op.cit., p52

¹¹⁴ Vinay Kumar Malhotra, op.cit., p.222

The pacification of social control is enhanced due to repression in the form of sublimation, especially in the context of human sexuality. The social life of man is now under the paradoxical domain where sexualisation is rampant in all spheres of life. The instinctual sphere of man is manipulated by harnessing the human libido for grant of freedom and liberties (under the broader net of unfreedom). This institutionalization of desublimation has successfully reduced and repressed the possible emergence of political oppositions and critique. The grant of every pleasure and personal liberty and its legitimization is seen as a positive feature of the contemporary modern society for the autonomy of man. But, in actual reality is the containment of the system by satisfying those unauthentic needs that the system itself has generated to strengthen the domination of social control. Thus, satisfaction is in actuality, controlled satisfaction directed by the technological world, in accordance with the manipulated domesticated, sexual libido of man. Pleasure principle is now redefined in terms of adjustment to the established order to generate submission where man has lost the vitality of his mental organs to contract and analyze.

There is a desublimation of art, which is accompanied by a repressive desublimation of human sexuality, for the purpose of pacification and social control. Repressive desublimation is 'practised from a position of strength on the part of society because its interests have become the innermost drives of its citizens and because the joys which it grants promote social cohesion and contentment.' The repressive desublimated sexuality are no more threats that call for the demands of direct repression for the purpose of augmenting production as pleasure and personal liberty are granted and legitimated by society for the purposes of effective containment and domination¹¹⁵. The social life of man is sexualized and subsequently

¹¹⁵ Brad Rose, *op.cit.*, p.62

administered in every aspect. 'Sex is integrated into work and public relations and is thus, made more susceptible to controlled satisfaction.'¹¹⁶ The demands made towards satisfaction and pleasure, that once has the potential for revolution are now mere polite requests of an administered libido.

The progressive erosion of the inner space of privacy where the individual can think and question¹¹⁷; where the articulation of the individual's interest with the goals and interests of a rationalized and administered social system have lead to a scenario where the base for both individual and social resistance has been abolished. Technological rationality induced in the mass culture has utilized human sexuality as mechanisms of repressive desublimation, rendering the advent of any sort of resistance as unimaginable.

Under the rule of the repressive whole, liberty is now an important tool for domination .The variety of open choices available for the individual is no longer a decisive factor for the determination of human freedom, but what can be chosen and what is chosen by the individual.¹¹⁸ Free choice is not absolute as freedom of choice in goods and services does not necessarily imply freedom if these goods and services sustain to social control leading to a life of disguised toil and fear where there is the absence of autonomy, which is an assertion of the efficacy of social control.

3. 6 DEMOCRACY AND DOMINATION

The traditional notions of liberty, freedom, democracy and mechanisms for escape have now fallen in place with the organized whole. Contemporary form of pluralism is at play, which strengthens containment of any possible rise that would

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.,p.68

¹¹⁸ Herbert Marcuse,op.cit.,p.9

demand qualitative change i.e. it is able to prevent the rise of self determination. In this society of the organized whole, democracy appears to be the most effective system of domination.¹¹⁹

Technology provides the great rationalization of unfreedom; makes a clear illustration of the technical possibility of man being autonomous and able to determine his own life. Unfreedom is neither irrational nor political, but is simply the submission of the individual to the technical apparatus that enlarges the comforts of life and increases the productivity of labour.¹²⁰

3.6.1 DEMOCRATIC UNFREEDOM

Democratic unfreedom prevails due to the oppressive capabilities of the state i.e. technological apparatus has also engulfed the political set up of society. The individual is ruled by the system where the existing pluralism is false reality. In this set up, liberties are merely nominal where the essence of meanings is established by the prevailing political establishment (or institution). Freedom, in its true sense has no become a mere illusion where the negative opposition has been transformed into positive opposition which has refuted all alternatives. The modern democratic system in actuality is destructive of freedom.¹²¹ There is covert domination with lack of negation; where the historical agencies for promoting social change no longer have any place in this system.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.,p56

¹²⁰ Ibid.,p.162

¹²¹ Vinay Kumar Malhotra,op cit.,p.223

3.7 MODERN POLITICAL DEMOCRACY: INDIAN CONTEXT

India is the largest democratic nation in the world. India attained freedom from the British colonial rule on the 15th August, 1947. On 26th October, 1950 (known as Republic Day), the Constitution of free, independent India drafted by Dr. Ambedkar and the other members of the Drafting Committee came to force. The newly independent India was to be a *parliamentary, democracy, federal, republican and secular nation*.¹²²

The true nature of India's democracy was clearly highlighted in the Preamble of The Constitution, which read: "WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN, SOCIALIST, SECULAR, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC..."¹²³ The Indian Constitution also granted 6 Fundamental Rights the people namely, (a) Right to Equality : Article 14-18 (b) Right to Freedom: Article 19-22 (c) Right Against Exploitation: Article 23-24 (d) Right to Freedom of Religion: Article 25-28 (e) Cultural and Educational Rights: Article 29-30 (f) Right to Constitutional Remedies: Article 32.¹²⁴ The Indian government is sensitive to the people's identities, aspirations and needs and provides suitable conditions to ensure justice, liberty, equality are guaranteed through the democratic political framework.

The participation and control of governance by the people is also seen as an essence of democracy, which is made possible only through decentralization of power and governance at lower levels. India is an example of such a nation, where democratic decentralization has been given due importance. The transfer of power

¹²² B.L.Fadia(2015)*Indian Government and Politics*, 11th Ed(New Delhi:Sahitya Bhawan[1991]), p.95

¹²³ Ibid.,p.105

¹²⁴ Ibid.,pp.123-132

from top to lower levels (i.e. grassroot level) and the constitutional recognition granted to these bodies under the Constitution 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts, 1992 further strengthened the role of these bodies both at the rural and urban level. It also promoted greater participation from a diversified section of society, which will eventually lead to social, political and economic development. The Constitution of India provided a clear mandate under the Directive Principles of State Policy for promotion of democratic decentralization, which was given a constitutional framework by the Constitution 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts of 1992. Democratic decentralization in the rural areas(through the Constitution 73rd Amendment Act, 1992) and democratic decentralization in the urban areas(through the Constitution 74th Amendment Act,1992) have shown how “grassroots of democracy”¹²⁵based on small units of government have enabled widespread participation of people in public affairs and partake in the process of governance.

3.7.1 URBAN LOCAL SELF-GOVERNANCE

3.7.1.1 CONSTITUTION 74TH AMENDMENT ACT,1992

On August 1989, the Government of India, headed by Rajiv Gandhi introduced the 65th Constitutional Amendment Bill (i.e. the Nagarpalika Bill) in the Lok Sabha which aimed at strengthening and revamping the municipal bodies by conferring constitutional status to these bodies. The Bill was passed in the Lok Sabha, but not in the Rajya Sabha and hence, lapsed. The National Front Government under V.P.Singh introduced the revised Nagarpalika Bill in the Lok Sabha in September, 1990. However, the Bill was not passed and finally lapsed due to the dissolution of the Lok Sabha. P.V.Narsimha Rao’s Government also introduced the modified

¹²⁵ Ibid.,p.569

Municipalities Bill in the Lok Sabha in September, 1991. It was passed in both the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha in December, 1992. After the bill was approved by the required number of state legislatures, it was assented by the President of India on 20th April, 1993.¹²⁶ It emerged as the Constitution 74th Amendment Act, 1992 and came into force on June 1, 1993.

This Act is located in Part IX-A of the Constitution of India, from articles 243-P to 243-ZG entitled as 'The Municipalities'. This Act led to the addition of the Twelfth Schedule to the Constitution and contains 18 functional items of municipalities. Under the *Twelfth Schedule (Article 243W)*, the following items are listed.¹²⁷

1. Urban planning including town planning.
2. Regulation of land-use and construction of buildings.
3. Planning for economic and social development.
4. Road and bridges.
5. Water supply for domestic, industrial and, commercial purposes.
6. Public health, sanitation conservancy and solid waste management.
7. Fire services.
8. Urban forestry protection of the environment and promotion of ecological aspects.
9. Safeguarding the interests of weaker section of society, including the handicapped and mentally retarded.
10. Slum improvement and up gradation.
11. Urban poverty alleviation.

¹²⁶ B.L.Fadia&Kuldeep Fadia(2013)*Public Administration:Administrative Theories and Concepts*, 11th Ed(Agra:Sahitya Bhawan),p.1134

¹²⁷ Ibid.,p.1141

12. Provision of urban amenities and facilities such as parks, gardens, playgrounds.
13. Promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects.
14. Burials and burial grounds; cremations, cremation ground and electric crematoriums.
15. Cattle ponds; prevention of cruelty to animals
16. Vital statistics including registration of births and deaths.
17. Public amenities including street light, parking lots, bus stop and public conveniences.
18. Regulation of slaughter and tanneries.

The Act provided provisions for the establishment of three types of municipalities (Nagar Panchayat, Municipal Council, Municipal Corporation); a system of direct election of representatives; reservation of seats for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes along with one-third reservation of total number of seat for women; five –year term duration for municipalities; grounds for disqualification; role of the State Election Commission during election process; role of the State Finance Commission, powers for tax, duties imposition.¹²⁸ The 74th Amendment to the Constitution aimed at regularity in elections, well differentiated financial allocations and devolution of planning down to the grassroot level, proper representation of all sections of society.

3.7.1.2 EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

In the modern era of democratic decentralization and women empowerment, many nations have taken initiatives to implement various forms of power devolution

¹²⁸ Ibid.,pp.1135-1138

through democratic structures at local levels to foster increased participation of women. Women's participation and engagement in the electoral process is an important milestone for the maturity and efficacy of the democratic apparatus which provides equality, freedom, liberty and space in the electoral framework for women. A huge portion of women's movement make claims for equality on all avenues but are still subjected to inequality on many areas. Taking the case of property ownership and political activity, women are still not entitled to equal property right nor are given recognized political space. The Constitution 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts, 1992 were revolutionary due to the provision of one-third (33%) reservation of total seats in the local bodies for women along with another provision that ensured one-third (33%) of Sapranches or Chairpersons were to be reserved for women. They were milestones for the promotion of women empowerment and increase in political participation, which enabled women to attain higher degrees of freedom. The state governments took all necessary measures to ensure the Constitution 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts, 1992 were adopted in their respective states.

3.7.1.3 URBAN LOCAL BODIES: IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AIZAWL MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

To incorporate the provisions of the Constitution 74th Amendment Act, 1992 the Mizoram Municipalities Act, 2007 (amended in 2009) was enacted and it provided the establishment of (a) A Municipal Board for a specified transitional area (b) A Municipal Corporation for a larger urban area and came to force in 2008. The Aizawl Municipal Council started functioning from 1st July, 2008 with its office at

Thuampui Veng, Aizawl.¹²⁹ The Aizawl Municipal Council consisted of 19 elected members, where one-third(33%) of total seats were reserved for women. The tenure of the Aizawl Municipal Council was for period of five years and the first election for the 19-member Aizawl Municipal Council was held in November, 2010. The seat reservation for mizo women in the AMC has led to the continued presence of women in the AMC as elected members; where out of 19 wards, 6 wards were reserved for women candidates, hence giving a political platform for Mizo women and ensuring fair and equal representation of women in governance and administration.

As per Section 59(2) of the Act, the State Government was given a list 17 functions and duties which could be transferred to the Aizawl Municipal Council by the State Government.¹³⁰ Till date, only 9 functions have been transferred to the AMC which include collection of property tax, control and collection of parking fees, solid waste management, hoardings, street lights, building registration, naming and numbering of streets, issue of trade and food licenses, death and birth certificates.¹³¹ As the population of people residing in Aizawl city is now reaching the population benchmark of 3, 20,000, the Aizawl Municipal Council henceforth became the Aizawl Municipal Corporation (AMC) since 2015.¹³²

¹²⁹ Dr.L.H.Chuanawma,Aizawl Municipal Council (AMC), <http://www.trcollege.edu.in/study-material/27-political-science/77-aizawl-municipal-council-1> retrieved on:20/10/2017

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ F.Lalhriatpuii(2016)*Urban Local Body Elections in Mizoram*.Unpublished M.Phil Thesis.Mizoram University,p.58

¹³² Ibid.,p.20

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CONTROL IN A TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

4.1 SOCIAL CONTROL

4.1.1 MEANING

The term, '*social control*', is widely used in sociology to refer to the social processes by which the behaviour of individuals or groups is regulated.¹³³ Social control in its simplest form is the capacity of the society to regulate itself according to the desired principles and values imposed by the prevailing system. During the initial emergence of sociology as a separate discipline, it was a central concept used to for analyzing the social organization and the development of the industrial society. According to *Mannheim*, social control is the sum of those methods by which a society tries to influence human behaviour to maintain a given order.¹³⁴ Social control refers to societal and political mechanisms or processes that regulate individual and group behaviour, leading to conformity and compliance to the rules of a given society, state, or social group.¹³⁵ The word 'control' may refer to two types of acts: 1) to an act of controlling. 2) To the process, technique, device by means of which changes in the behaviour is affected.¹³⁶ Since all societies have norms and values governing conduct, all equally have some mechanisms for ensuring conformity to those norms and for dealing with deviance. Social control is consequently a pervasive feature of

¹³³ Introduction to Sociology, Lecture 21 Social Control, <http://nptel.ac.in/courses/109103023/download/Lecture%2021.pdf> retrieved on: 08/07/2017

¹³⁴ Social Control, <http://www.sociologyguide.com/social-control/index.php> retrieved on: 08/07/2017

¹³⁵ Social Control, Meaning, Types And Agencies, <http://cms.gcg11.ac.in/attachments/article/214/unit%204%20-%20Meaning%20of%20social%20control,%20meanings,%20features%20and%20agencies.pdf> retrieved on: 20/09/2017

¹³⁶ Social Control, Meaning Objectives Functions, <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/social-control/social-control-meaning-objectives-and-functions-of-social-control/31298> retrieved on: 20/09/2017

society, of interest to a broad range of sociologists having differing theoretical persuasions and substantive interests, and not just to sociologists of deviance.

4.1.2 DEFINITIONS

Some definitions on social control are as follows,¹³⁷

In *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology (1994)*, ‘Social control refers to the social processes by which the behaviour of individuals or groups is regulated,.

According to *Roucek (1947)*, ‘Social control is a collective term for those processes, planned or unplanned, by which individuals are taught, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the usages, and life-values of groups’.

Parsons (1954) defined social control as ‘The process by which thought, through the imposition of sanctions, deviant behaviour is counteracted and social stability is maintained’.

4.1.3 FORMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The means by which individuals are induced or compelled to conform to the usages and life values of the group are so numerous and varied that a classification is not possible. *E.A Ross* had described a number of means that have been used by social groups throughout human history to keep individuals under control. Important among them are public opinion, law, custom, religion, morality, personality, folkways. *E.C Hayes* distinguished between control by sanctions and control by suggestion and imitation. According to him, education is the most effective means of control and the family is the most significant agency. *Luther L Bernard* distinguished between unconscious and conscious means of control. The most important among the

¹³⁷ Ibid.

unconscious means of control are custom, tradition and convention. The conscious means of control are those which have been consciously developed and employed by leaders of all types. According to him, conscious means of control are more effective than unconscious ones though the influence of the latter is also quite marked. He also talked about exploitative and constructive methods of social control. Exploitative means entail punishment, reprisals, intimidation, censorship and repression. The constructive means included revolution, custom, law, education and social reform, on-violent coercion and belief in supernatural forces.¹³⁸

Karl Mannheim classified social control into following two types¹³⁹:

1. Direct Social Control: It is the control that is exercised upon the individual by the reactions of the people who are living within the proximity. E.g.family, neighbourhood.
2. Indirect Social Control: This is the type of control which is exercised upon individual by the factors like customs, laws, opinions, which effects the entire social system. E.g. secondary groups, traditions, customs etc.

Kimbell Young classified social control into following two types¹⁴⁰:

1. Positive Social Control: Rewards and incentives have an immense value upon the activities of individual. Everyone desires to be rewarded by the society; consequently they have to conform to the traditions, traditions, morals etc. accepted by society. E.g. rewards, fame, respect and recognition.
2. Negative Social Control: A person is prevented from doing something wrong by threat of punishment. Fear of these punishments prevent people from violating the

¹³⁸ Social Control,op.cit.

¹³⁹ Social Control, Meaning, Meaning Types And Agencies ,op.cit.

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/social-control-the-meaning-need-types-and-other-details/8533/> retrieved on:20/09/2017

socially accepted customs, traditions, values and ideals. E.g. verbal punishment, defamation, negative criticism.

Some sociologists have classified social control into *informal and formal means*. Sympathy, sociability, resentment, the sense of justice, public opinion, folkways and mores are some of the informal means of social control. They are very powerful in primary social groups where interaction is on a personal basis. The effectiveness of the informal means of control are somewhat lessened in modern large communities wherein contacts tend to be impersonal. In modern times, the informal methods have given place to formal ones such as laws, education, coercion and codes.

4.2 CRITICAL THEORY AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The critical theorists of the Frankfurt School have elaborated on the rise of a new system of social control, which has been shaped with the technological developments that have been shaping the modern, capitalist societies. Social control, under the framework of domination has been analysed with the transmutation of individual rationality and the rise on the culture industry. The critical theorists described the nature in which instrumental rationality undermines the role of moral reason in evaluating the goals of human activity, as well as the means used to achieve them. One of the core concerns of these scholars was the rise of what Horkheimer and Adorno initially called mass culture. This phrase refers to the way technological developments allowed the distribution of cultural products on a mass scale, reaching all who were connected by the technology in society. Their concern focused on how technology enabled both sameness in production, in the sense that technology shapes content and cultural frameworks create styles and genres, and also, a sameness of cultural experience, in which an unprecedented mass of people would sit passively before cultural content. They theorized that this experience made people intellectually

inactive and politically passive, as they allowed mass produced ideologies and values to wash over them and infiltrate their consciousness.

Later work of members of the Frankfurt School continued to explore the various ways that power and authority are utilized to control nearly all aspects of social life. The “culture industry” formed by the extension of technology into the mass media constituted an effective system through which capitalism was able to maintain an all pervasive influence on the individual’s opinions, needs, desires. The culture industry has contributed to the entrenchment of the status quo and to the formation of a homogenous, *One-Dimensional Society*.¹⁴¹

4.2.1 ADORNO ON SOCIAL CONTROL

Critical theorist, Theodor W. Adorno made an analysis of the modern society as a culture industry, which possessed social, economic and political power, especially under the gambit of the entertainment industry.¹⁴² The culture industry became the source of domination; where social phenomenon were analyzed as manifestation of domination and became the integrative mechanism for binding individuals, as both consumers and producers in the modern capitalist society. The culture industry enabled the maintenance of a uniform system, where all individuals conformed to the pertaining system and had no sovereignty. Reason being entangled to domination, led to the transmutation of morality as a mere prejudice of individual subjectivity. There arose a restriction on the development of critical awareness of the existing social condition. The domination led to the subverting of the psychological development of the mass of people to serve the continued nature of the dominance. This domination

¹⁴¹ Garren Ward Sheldon, op.cit., p.111

¹⁴² International Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://www.iep.utm.edu/adorno/#H5> retrieved on:07/08/2017

over human nature was further strengthened with the advancement in technology, thus creating an authoritative system of social control where individuals were not given freedom to partake in the creation of the society, but became mere objects in the system.

4.3 MARCUSE ON SOCIAL CONTROL

4.3.1 TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Marcuse claimed technology was value-neutral and had no fixed value. Technology is neither good nor bad. Technology is either good or bad and has the propensity to become a tool for emancipation and a tool for domination, to exert social control. Technology in the advanced industrial society is dominating simply because it is organized by the administrators of this society to serve their own interests. It is the subjection of technology to politics and economics that turns technology into an instrument of domination.¹⁴³

4.3.2 TECHNOLOGICAL RATIONALITY AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Technology, which was originally an external power over nature, has been internalized by the individuals especially due to its extension in all spheres of private and public existence and the integration of all authentic opposition. Reason has lost its meaning because the thoughts, feelings, actions of men are shaped by the technical requirements of the apparatus which demands compliance and adjustment. The human psyche is transformed into mere biological impulses which make individual a passive agent of production and reduce the individual into a mere spectator who adjusts himself to the technical processes of production. Consequently, technological rationality dissolves critical thinking and replaces it with the idea of compliant

¹⁴³ Jeffrey V. O'Casey, op.cit., p.57

efficiency¹⁴⁴, which results in the individual's submission to the apparatus without any form of mental and physical opposition.

Marcuse mentioned that compliancy and efficiency illustrated the structure of technological rationality. Rationality is transformed from critical force into one of adjustment and compliance.¹⁴⁵ Autonomy of reason loses its meaning in the same measure as the thoughts, feelings and actions of men are shaped by the technical requirements of the apparatus which they themselves had created. Reason has found its resting place in the system of standardized control, production and consumption.¹⁴⁶ There it reigns through the laws and mechanisms which insure the efficiency, expediency and coherence of this system.

In the technological world, social control has taken a technological form. Social control spearheaded by technology has propagated technological rationality. Technological rationality has effectively and smoothly laid down its dominating power through the manipulation of needs. It transforms social needs into the individual's own, thus creating attitudes which push the individual to obey the dictates of technology, here men are now colonized by this rationality in his everyday life; robbing the individual of his freedom through the loss of his individuality due to the loss of private space; the whittling down of the inner dimension. The social control has embodied reason of society which is introjected to impact the individual's rationality at its very base, and is anchored in the 'false needs'.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.,p.58

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.,p.59

4.3.3 FALSE NEEDS AND SOCIAL CONTROL

False needs are superimposed upon the individual due to the particular interest in his repression. Marcuse argues that false needs are social needs imposed upon the individual in the interest of society as a whole. No matter how gratifying these kinds of needs are to the individual, Marcuse maintains that the satisfaction one gets from them is not a condition to be maintained and protected as this satisfaction is always defined in terms of its conformity to the prevailing social order. Marcuse argues that the “consumerist society”¹⁴⁷ is the principle culprit of the reduction of the individual to acquiescence, of the dissolution of the revolutionary class. The “consumerist society” with its extremely high standard of living, which is the primordial form of control and domination in this society, is a resultant of the direct offshoot of the systematic manipulation of technology. It has silenced the individual and has made him apathetic or hostile to the very idea of dissent. Under the condition of a rising standard of living, non-conformity with the system itself appears to be socially useless, and more so when it entails tangible economic and political disadvantages, threatening the smooth operation of the whole. The numbing effect of technology espoused with a high standard of living has dissolved all forms of opposition in the society.

Marcuse maintained that the administrators of the consumerist society were hardly forced to justify this domination as they delivered the goods, satisfied the sexual and aggressive energy of the people. The submission of the individuals to the system of control and domination in the advanced industrial society is a modern form of slavery.¹⁴⁸ According to Marcuse, slavery today is done through voluntary

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p.60

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.61

submission or conformism where the individuals in the consumerist society willingly but blindly cooperate with the administrators of social control and domination.

4.3.4 FALSE CONSCIOUSNESS AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The productive apparatus and the goods and services which it produces, “sell” or impose the social system as a whole. Marcuse further claimed that the historically emerging” technological reality” of advanced industrial society has now laid claim over a ever-larger dimension of human consciousness. The private “space” of individual consciousness that once nourished the human capacity for critical thought has been invaded and “whittled down” by a progressively expanding technological rationality.¹⁴⁹ The result of this contraction of subjective space has been the unmediated identification of human subjectivity with the interests and modes of existence of technological society.

The diminution of subjectivity’s critical space represented not only the ideological counterpart to the very material process in which advanced industrial society silences and reconciles opposition but also the fact that “...social controls have been introjected to the point where individual protest is affected at its roots”.¹⁵⁰

4. 3.5 TRIUMPH OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Marcuse argued that the *Advanced Industrial Society* had perfected new, deceptively insidious and immeasurably effective forms of social control .Through the successful expansion of systems of mass production and distribution, the implementation of a totalitarian economic/technical coordination, and the

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.,p.58

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

manipulation of the innermost human needs by “vested interests”¹⁵¹, *Advanced Industrial Society* successfully implemented a technological rationality. This rationality relinquished the possibility of radical critique, due to the creation of an extensive regime of manipulated and unauthentic needs.

Marcuse maintained that the expansion of productivity, the growth of technological efficiency and the mass production of goods to formerly disenfranchised sectors of the population had enabled the industrial society to deploy a new and effective set of introjected social controls, which were rooted in a set of newly produced commodity hungry human needs.

4.3.6 FORMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The contemporary advanced industrial society is one that is characterized by many distinguishable features. Firstly, the *integration of the welfare and warfare state* where the prior demarcation of the administration of the state, economy, private life of individuals have all subscribed themselves to the confirmation of the totalitarian system. Secondly, there is the *reality of unfreedom* due to the containment of opposition earmarked by the rise in standard of living, rise in the benefits produced by the welfare state and continued compliance of man to the technological rationality. Thirdly, there is the *convergence or unification of opposites* due to the integration of the politically and socially established institutions, which is justifiable by the new trend of pluralism where the institutions competing against each other actually unify themselves at a higher order to ensure the technological rationality. These are contained through social control.

¹⁵¹Brad Rose,op.cit.,p.56

4.3.6.1 EMERGENCE OF MODERN MASS DEMOCRACY

In mass democracy, the people enjoy greater political freedom than ever before. They determine their own leaders and participate in public affairs by casting their votes. They may abstain from voting or boycotting particular products. As a collective factor, mass democracy can be seen as an effective apparatus in bringing about genuine social change, which should be the essence of mass democracy. But, in a consumerist society, Marcuse contends that mass democracy has not brought freedom, but instead has led to total subjection of the people. It has become the overarching mechanism of social control and domination. The people believe that they are free, but in reality, are actually repressed. This is due to the fact that the very heart of mass democracy in a consumerist society is the insatiable, consuming and docile individuals who unconditionally obey to whatever the prevailing reality dictates. The masses succumb to their desires by introjecting the practical values of the consumerist society.¹⁵² This is perfected by mass customization and aggressive advertising. Mass customization through the production of large quantities of goods and services, most often beyond what is required tailor these goods and services to the capability of the masses. The consumerist society has a variety of goods and services that can be delivered to all classes of society. Mass customization involves mass production of goods that suit the needs and desires of the individuals and massive advertising makes these goods sell by linking them to the instincts of the masses. Mass customization coupled with aggressive advertising make the products appealing to the public and persuades them to purchase, and are the functional language and positivistic thinking that play a crucial role in this specific arena.

¹⁵² Jeffrey V. O'Casey, op.cit., p.62

The emergence of the modern masses, far from endangering the efficiency and coherence of the apparatus, has facilitated the progressing coordination of society and the growth of authoritarian bureaucracy, thus refuting the social theory of individualism at a decisive point. The technological process tends to the conquest of scarcity and eventually to the transformation of competition into cooperation. In the Marxian conception, the masses are not the spearheads of freedom. The Marxian proletariat is not a crowd but a class which is defined by its determinate position in the productive process. Critical rationality is the prerequisite for its liberating function. This is the crucial point where the technological and the critical rationality seem to converge,¹⁵³ for the technological process implies a democratization of functions.

With the rationalization of technology, the scope of this rationalization has extended from the subjective to the objective world; where a common framework of experience has been created for various professions and occupations. An array of standardised techniques that ensure the material reproduction of society has been embedded in a web of stratified control. The "persons engaged in a practical occupation" seem to be convinced that "any situation which appears in the performance of their role can be fitted into some general pattern with which the best, if not all, of them are familiar."¹⁵⁴ Moreover, the instrumentalist conception of technological rationality is spreading over almost the whole realm of thought and gives the various intellectual activities a common denominator. The standardization of production and consumption, the mechanization of labor, the improved facilities of transportation and communication, the extension of training, the general

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.,p.73

dissemination of knowledge; all these factors seem to facilitate the exchangeability of functions.

The system of production and distribution has been rationalized to an extent that the hierarchical distinction between executive and subordinate performances is at a very small degree. The gap between the underlying population and those who design the blueprints for rationalization, who lay out production, who make the inventions and discoveries which accelerate technological progress, becomes daily more conspicuous, particularly in a period of war economy. This gap is maintained by the division of power rather than division of work. The hierarchical distinction of experts and engineers results from the fact that their ability and knowledge is utilized in the interest of autocratic power. The "technological leader" is also a "social leader"; his "social leadership over shadows and conditions his function as a scientist, for it gives him institutional power within the group..."¹⁵⁵ The manner in which technological process is organized, counteracts this trend. The same development that created the modern masses as the standardized attendants and dependents of large-scale industry also created the hierarchical organization of bureaucracies.

Max Weber had emphasized on the connection between mass democracy and bureaucracy: "In contrast to the democratic self-administration of small homogeneous units," the bureaucracy is "the universal concomitant of modern mass democracy." The bureaucracy becomes a central aspect of the modern masses by virtue of the fact that standardization proceeds along the lines of specialization. Fixated specialization tends to atomize the masses and insulate the subordinate from the executive functions. The technical democratization of functions is counteracted by their atomization, and the bureaucracy appears as the agency which guarantees their rational course and

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

order.¹⁵⁶ The bureaucracy emerged on an objective and impersonal ground, provided by the rational specialization of functions, and this rationality in turn serves to increase the rationality of submission. The more the individual's functions are divided, synchronized according to objective and impersonal patterns, the less reasonable is it for the individual to withdraw or withstand.

The objective and impersonal character of technological rationality thus bestows upon the bureaucratic groups the universal dignity of reason.¹⁵⁷ The rationality embodied in the giant enterprises makes it appear as if men, in complying with them, obey the dictum of an objective rationality. The private bureaucracy fosters a harmony between the special and the common interest. Private power relationships appear both as a relationship between objective things and also as the rule of rationality itself.

4.3.6.2 ORDINARY LANGUAGE AND POSITIVISTIC THINKING

For Marcuse, the efficacy of technological domination is due to the type of thinking that people have in *Advanced Industrial Society* and the kind of language that binds them together. In the *Advanced Industrial Society*, Marcuse described thinking as “*one-dimensional*” is positivistic thinking that uses ordinary language.¹⁵⁸ This type of thinking discourages critical thinking, looks only at that which is familiar where the negative dimension of thinking is kept apart. Whereas to philosophic thinking which is critical and dialectical, positivistic thinking is affirmative and conformist. This is due to the fact that in positivism, only things that can be directly experienced are considered real and those that are not directly observable are tendered unreal. Any language or term which is not functional is meaningless for the positivists. Positivistic

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Jeffrey V. O'Casey, op.cit., p.64

thinking uses functional language and creates a kind of culture that affirms and legitimizes the dominant cultural values of the *Advanced Industrial Society*.

When utilized as the medium of mass communication, e.g., in radio, in television, in newspapers, in magazines and as the medium of discourse in general, the ordinary language of the *Advanced Industrial Society* acts as the adhesive that binds people together makes them speak the same language and desire the same goods and ideals. Ordinary language becomes a vehicle of control and domination. It becomes functional. Ordinary or functional language as the medium of discourse in the *Advanced Industrial Society* predetermines “decisions”. One may not necessarily believe the statement of the operational language but justifies itself in getting the jobs done, in selling and buying commodities.

Functional language reveals its dominating character even in the political front when it takes the form of language used in law and order, validated by the courts and police. According to Marcuse, this language does not only define and condemn the Enemy but also creates the Enemy and “...*this creation is not the Enemy as he really is but rather as he must be in order to perform his function in the Establishment.*”¹⁵⁹ Marcuse views the abbreviation of terms as a sign of the functionalization of language. Marcuse says that ,” The telescoping and abridgement of syntax which cuts off development of meaning by creating a fixated images which impose themselves with an overwhelming and petrified contriteness is well known technique of the advertisement agency, where it is methodically used for

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.,p.65

“establishing an image” which sticks to the mind and to the product, and helps to sell the men and the goods”.¹⁶⁰

4.3.6.3 CONVERGENCE OR UNIFICATION OF OPPOSITES

Unification of opposites or *'convergence of opposites'* which is the hallmark of a *One –Dimensional Society* is where the competing institutions solidify the power inculcated by the whole over the individual. The unification can be analysed from the pluralistic nature of our current society where one institution claims to protect the individuals against the other institutions; where one organization aims to mitigate the impact of the other, leading to system of countervailing powers where the established order is maintained due to the cancellation of these forces. Thus, a system emerges where it is immune to negation from within.

The fact that the prevailing mode of freedom is servitude, and that the prevailing mode of equality is super imposed inequality is barred from expression by the closed definition of these concepts in terms of the powers which shape the respective universe of discourse. The result is the familiar Orwellian language¹⁶¹ ("peace is war" and "war is peace," etc.), which is by no means that of terroristic totalitarianism only. A political party which works for the defence and growth of capitalism is called "Socialist," and a despotic government "democratic," and a rigged election "free" are familiar linguistic and political features. The spread and the effectiveness of this language testify to the triumph of society over the contradictions which it contains; they are reproduced without exploding the social system.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.,p.69

¹⁶¹Herbert Marcuse,op.cit.,p.92

4.3.6.4 THE WELFARE AND WARFARE STATE

Under the framework of politics dictated by technological rationality, the prospects of containment of change, depends on the prospects of the Welfare State. Such a state is capable of raising the standard of administered living, a capability found to be present in advanced industrial societies where the streamlined technical apparatus is set up as a separate power over and above the individuals, for its functioning depends on the intensified development and expansion of productivity. Under such conditions, decline of freedom and opposition is not a matter of moral or intellectual deterioration or corruption. It is rather an objective societal process in so far as the production and distribution of an increasing quantity of goods and services make compliance a rational technological attitude.¹⁶²

The Welfare State is a state of unfreedom¹⁶³ because the total administration of such a state is the systematic restriction of "technically" available free time; the quantity and quality of goods and services "technically" available for vital individual needs; the intelligence (conscious and unconscious) capable of comprehending and realizing the possibilities of self-determination.

Denunciation of the oppressive capabilities of the Welfare State serves to protect the oppressive capabilities of the society prior to the Welfare State. At the most advanced stage of capitalism, the society is viewed as a system of subdued pluralism, where the competing institutions concur in solidifying the power of the whole over the individual. For the administered individual, pluralistic administration is far better than total administration. One institution may protect him against the other; one organization might mitigate the impact of the other. *Advanced Industrial*

¹⁶² Ibid.,p.52

¹⁶³ Ibid.

Society is a system of countervailing powers.¹⁶⁴ These forces cancel each other out in a higher unification in the common interest to defend and extend the established position, to combat the historical alternatives, to contain qualitative change. The countervailing powers do not include those which counter the whole, but tend to make the whole immune against negation from within as well as without where the foreign policy of containment appears as an extension of the domestic policy of containment.

The reality of pluralism is deceptive. It extends rather than reduces the manipulation and coordination, promotes rather than counteracts the integration that has risen. Free and authoritarian institutions compete with one another to ensure that the Enemy is a deadly force within the system. This deadly force stimulates growth and initiative by virtue of the fact that the society as a whole becomes a defence society. Neither the growing productivity nor the high standard of living depends on the threat from without, but their use for the containment of social change and perpetuation of servitude does. The insanities of the whole absolves the particular insanities and results in the transformation of crimes against humanity into a rational enterprise. The people, who are now stimulated by the public and private authorities, prepare themselves to live a life of total mobilization and are sensible not only because of the present Enemy, but also because of the investment and employment possibilities in the industry and entertainment. Even the most insane calculations are rational: the annihilation of five million people is preferable to that of ten million, twenty million, and so on.¹⁶⁵

Under such circumstances, even the existing liberties automatically fall to place within the organized whole. Are the political parties competing for pacification or for a stronger and more costly armament industry? Is the production of "affluence"

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.,p.54

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.,p.55

promoting or delaying the satisfaction of still unfulfilled vital needs? If the first alternatives are true, the contemporary form of pluralism will strengthen the potential for the containment of qualitative change, and thus prevent rather than impel the "catastrophe" of self-determination. Democracy would appear to be the most efficient system of domination.¹⁶⁶

4.3.6.5 REPRESSIVE DESUBLIMATION

The pacification of social control is enhanced due to repression in the form of sublimation, in the context of human sexuality. The social life of man is now dominated by a scene where sexualisation is omnipresent in all spheres of life. Man's instinctual sphere is manipulated by harnessing human libido for the grant of freedom and liberties (under the broader net of unfreedom). The institutionalization of desublimation has emerged successful in the reduction and repression of the possible emergence of political oppositions and critique. The grant of every pleasure and personal liberty and its legitimization is seen as a positive feature of the contemporary modern society for the autonomy of man. But, the reality is the containment of the system by satisfying those unauthentic needs that the system itself has generated to strengthen the domination of social control. Satisfaction in reality, is controlled which is under the domain of the technological world, in accordance with the manipulated domesticated, sexual libido of man. Pleasure principle has now been redefined in terms of adjustment to established order, to generate submission where man has lost the vitality of his mental organs to analyze.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.,p.56

Technological rationality is now liquidating the oppositional and transcending elements in the "higher culture."¹⁶⁷ They succumb themselves to the very process of desublimation which prevails in the advanced contemporary society. The achievements and the failures of this society is invalidated in its higher culture. The celebration of the autonomous personality, of humanism, is now viewed as the backward stage of the development. There is the development of higher culture into mass culture. The reality has now surpassed its culture. Man has solved many insoluble problems but has also betrayed hope and destroyed the truth, which were preserved in the sublimation of higher culture. Initially, the higher culture was always in contradiction with social reality, and only a privileged minority enjoyed its blessings and represented its ideals. The two antagonistic spheres of society have always coexisted; the higher culture has always been accommodating, while the reality was rarely disturbed by its ideals and its truth.

Today's novel feature is the flattening out of the antagonism between culture and social reality through the obliteration of the oppositional, alien, and transcendent elements in the higher culture by virtue of which it constituted another dimension of reality. This liquidation of two-dimensional culture takes place not through the denial and rejection of the "cultural values," but through their wholesale incorporation into the established order, through their reproduction and display on a massive scale. In fact, they serve as instruments of social cohesion.¹⁶⁸

The flattening out of the antagonism between culture and social reality has lead to a process, where the realms of culture are now brought to the commodity form. The proposed ideals of the society, publicised by leaders and politicians through mass media are assimilated with the pertaining reality that dictated the technological

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.,p.59

¹⁶⁸Ibid.,p.60

society. The sublimation of man's soul has been brought down, transformed in operational terms. There is now the modernization of these new ideals where higher culture has become part and parcel of men's culture where the greater path for truth has lost its validity.

Before the advent of this cultural reconciliation, literature and art sustained and protected the contradiction-the unhappy consciousness of the divided world, the hopes unfulfilled, and the promises betrayed. They were a rational, cognitive force, revealing a dimension of man and nature which was repressed and repelled in reality.¹⁶⁹ Art contained the rationality of negation. Now, these modes of negation pay homage to the antagonistic society to which they are linked.

The gap between the arts and the order of the day, that was always kept open in the artistic alienation, is being closed down by the advancing technological society. And with its closing, the Great Refusal is in turn refused; the "other dimension" is absorbed into the prevailing state of affairs.¹⁷⁰ The works of alienation are now incorporated by society and circulated as part of the equipment which adorns the prevailing state of affairs. Thus they become commercials who sell, who comfort, or who excite.

Artistic alienation is sublimation. It created the images of conditions which were irreconcilable with the established Reality Principle. This imagery is now invalidated. It is incorporated into the kitchen, the office, the shop; is now seen as a commercial release for business and viewed as desublimation i.e. replacing mediated by immediate gratification. Desublimation is practiced from a "position of strength" on the part of society, which grants more freedom as its interests have become the innermost drives for the society, and the happiness which it grants promote social

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.,p.64

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.,p.67

cohesion and contentment. The Pleasure Principle absorbs the Reality Principle; sexuality is liberated (or rather liberalized) in socially constructive forms.¹⁷¹ This notion clearly highlights the repressive modes of desublimation, where the sublimated drives and objectives contain more deviation, more freedom, and more refusal to heed the social taboos. Repressive desublimation is at play in the sexual sphere, where the desublimation of higher culture operates as the by product of the social controls of technological reality, where liberty is extended to intensify domination. In such a society, the time spent on and with mechanisms is necessarily not labor time, not all the energy saved by the machine is necessarily labor power. Mechanization has also "saved" libido,¹⁷² the energy of life instincts.

Technological reality has limited the scope of sublimation and has also reduced the need for sublimation. The tension between which is desired and which is permitted seems considerably lowered, and the Reality Principle no longer requires a sweeping and painful transformation of instinctual needs. The individual adapts himself to a world that does not appear to deny man of his innermost needs. Liberty has now involved a contraction of instinctual needs and works for rather than against the status quo of general repression where one might speak of "institutionalized desublimation."¹⁷³ The latter appears to be a critical factor in the formulation of the authoritarian personality of our time. The *Advanced Industrial Society* operates with a greater degree of sexual freedom. It "operates" in the sense that the latter becomes a market value and a factor of social mores. The body is allowed to exhibit its sexual features in the everyday world and in his work relations which is achieved due to the reduction of dirty and heavy physical labor; by the availability of cheap, attractive clothing, beauty culture, and physical hygiene. The mobilization of libido accounts for

¹⁷¹ Ibid.,p.75

¹⁷² Ibid.,p.76

¹⁷³ Ibid.,p.77

majority of the voluntary compliance, absence of terror, pre-established harmony between individual needs and socially required desires, goals, and aspirations. The technological and political conquest of the transcending factors in human existence, so characteristic of advanced industrial civilization, here asserts itself in the instinctual sphere;¹⁷⁴ satisfaction in a way which generates submission and weakens the rationality of protest.

4.3.6.6 UNFREEDOM

A comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails in advanced industrial civilization, a token of technical progress. Indeed, what could be more rational than the suppression of individuality in the mechanization of socially necessary but painful performances¹⁷⁵; the concentration of individual enterprises in more effective, more productive corporations; the regulation of free competition among unequally equipped economic subjects; the curtailment of prerogatives and national sovereignties which impede the international organization of resources. This technological order also involves a political and intellectual coordination which maybe a regrettable yet promising development.

Rights and liberties which were vital factors in the origins and earlier stages of industrial society have now yielded a higher stage of this society: they are losing their traditional rationale and content. Freedom of thought, speech, and conscience which served to promote and protect essentially critical ideas and designed to replace an obsolescent material and intellectual culture by a more productive and rationale one were now institutionalized. These rights and liberties have now shared the fate of the society of which they had become an integral part. The liberties which pertain to a

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.,p.78

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

state of lower productivity are losing their former content. The independence of thought, autonomy, and the right to political opposition are being deprived of their basic critical function in the society which appears to be capable of satisfying the needs of the individuals. Such a society demands compliance to its principles and institutions. Under the conditions of a rising standard of living, non-conformity with the system itself appears to be socially useless and more so due to its entailment of the tangible economic and political disadvantages which threatens the smooth operation of the whole. The societal apparatus is at a stage where the need to operate the production and distribution of goods and services under the concurrence of competitive individual liberties is no longer deemed necessary.

From the beginning, freedom of enterprise was not a blessing due to conditions of the liberty to work or to starve, which spelled toil, insecurity, fear for the majority of the population. If the individual was no longer forced to prove himself on the market as a free economic subject, extinction of this kind of freedom would actually be one of the greatest achievements of civilization. This is a goal within the capabilities of advanced industrial civilization, the "end" of technological rationality. In reality however, the contrary is in operation where the apparatus has imposed its economic and political requirements for defense and expansion on labor time and free time, both on the material and intellectual culture. By virtue of the way it has organized its technological base, contemporary industrial society tends to be totalitarian.¹⁷⁶ Totalitarian is also a non-terroristic economic-technical coordination which operates through the manipulation of needs by vested interests. It precludes the emergence of an effective opposition against the whole. Not only a specific form of government or party rule makes for totalitarianism, but also a specific system of

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.,p.5

production and distribution which may well be compatible with a "pluralism" of parties, newspapers, "countervailing powers," etc. Today political power asserts itself through its power over the machine process and over the technical organization of the apparatus. The government of advanced and advancing industrial societies maintain and secure themselves when it is able to succeed in mobilizing, organizing and exploiting the technical, scientific, and mechanical productivity available to industrial civilization. This productivity mobilizes society as a whole.

Thus, technical progress is a powerful instrument as it intensifies the prevailing liberties and comforts, deemed rational by the technological society. This *unfreedom* is taken in the context of Marcuse, where freedom in the existing society is in fact, one of the most effective forms of social control. Under the disguised *unfreedom perpetuating in a world of freedom*¹⁷⁷ administrative control has replaced physical control; the nature of work is less menial (extreme reduction of the physical nature of work). There is rampant equalization of people under the sphere of consumption. Thus, unfreedom is justified as the individual has lost full control over life and death, as well as his personal and national security.

4.4 GOVERNANCE AND TECHNOLOGY: SOCIAL CONTROL

The contemporary society, deemed as the *Advanced Industrial Society* has validated the rise and dominance of a crucial player in the machinery of the social system, in the form of governance. The governmental apparatus may vary from one society to another but governance is the central root from where continuity in the social system is maintained. It has emerged as a powerful agent for the maintenance of compliance and allegiance of the masses in accordance with the ideals and values laid down by the rationality induced by the technology and its apparatus. Marcuse has

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

stated that the state of unfreedom and the extent of social control is also democratic, as clearly witnessed in the democratic apparatus that exists in the contemporary society. Under the umbrella of governance, a plural, multi-dimensional form of governance has emerged. Governance has been under a state of continued redefinition, restructuring to pave the way for the birth of new forms of governance that will be able to deepen the domination and alienation over the individuals, masses and the society as a whole and become an instrumental form of social control.

4.4.1 GOVERNANCE

Governance is the sum total of ways individuals and institutions, public and private manage their common affairs.¹⁷⁸ It refers to the structures and processes that are designed to ensure accountability, transparency, responsiveness, rule of law, stability, equity and inclusiveness, empowerment and broad based participation.¹⁷⁹ It also represents the norms, values and rules where public affairs are conducted in an inclusive, responsive and transparent manner. It also constitutes the environment where actions and stakeholders interact, participate in public affairs. It entails the mechanisms adopted by a government to maintain social equations which maybe executed through the creation of political authority; regulation on domestic markets, establishing the continued existence of representation rooted in an ideological backdrop.

The World Bank has identified three distinct aspects of governance,¹⁸⁰

- a) The form of political regime.

¹⁷⁸ M.J.Vinod&Meena Deshpande,op.cit.,p.269

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p.271

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., pp.270-271

- b) The process by which authority is exercised for the management of a country's economic and social resources for development.
- c) The capacity of the government to design, formulate and implement policies and discharge functions.

Governance is thus the function by which society steers itself. The state, civil society and private enterprises interact with one another. They articulate their interests, exercise their rights and obligations and mediate their differences. The nature of these interactions is largely affected by the influence of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), which constitutes the phenomena of E-Governance (Electronic Governance).¹⁸¹

4.4.2 E- GOVERNANCE

The advent of computerization in the 1960s led to the advent of a new form of technology, Information Technology (IT),¹⁸² which brought a change in the nature of communication and interaction between people; leading to the emergence of a new form of governance, called as E-Governance. E-governance is alternative government-government anytime, anywhere and offers all government related services and utilities on-line.¹⁸³ It has emerged mainly due to the rise in the interests of the government and citizens to utilise the latest technology and new media which entails new styles of leadership, new ways of debating and deciding policies and investment; accessing education, listening to citizens and delivering information and

¹⁸¹ Anupama Saxena, "E-Governance and Good Governance: The Indian Context", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.66, No.2 (April-June, 2005), p.313

¹⁸² Information Technology (IT) is a multidisciplinary field emerging from computer technology, software technology, database technology and Internet technology.

¹⁸³ M.J. Vinod & Meena Deshpande, op.cit., p.280

services.¹⁸⁴ E-governance has brought a paradigm shift in the usage of IT and its application for good governance¹⁸⁵ and has five key pillars- computer, connectivity, content, consumer and confidence building.¹⁸⁶

Based on the contemporary development and trends, there are four main dimensions of E-governance,¹⁸⁷

- 1) G2C (government-to-citizens), which focuses on the development of user-friendly one-stop service centres for easy access to high quality information and services.
- 2) G2B (government-to-business), which facilitates and enhances the capabilities of business transactions between the government and private sector, leading to the improvement of communication and connectivity.
- 3) G2G (government-to-government), which is an inter governmental effort to improve the communication and effectiveness of services between different levels of government.
- 4) Intergovernmental, which is an intergovernmental dimension that enables the leveraging of ICT from the perspective of cost reduction and qualitative improvement of administration within the governmental apparatus.

E-governance is thus an attempt made by the government to utilise IT to facilitate efficiency and effectiveness for the delivery of public services. It is best understood as the application of electronic means in the interaction between the government and citizen (G2C), government and business (G2B) as well as in inter governmental operations (G2G) to simplify and improve democratic government and the business

¹⁸⁴ Sumanjeet ,”E-Governance:An Overview in the Indian Context”, *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.67, No.4, (Oct-Dec,2006), p.859

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p.857

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p.858

¹⁸⁷ M.J.Vinod&Meena Deshpande,op.cit., p.280

aspects of governance. The penetration of IT in all dimensions of human life has paved the way for a change in interaction of individuals with one another and with the society; leading to a drastic change in the governing of a country. Governments across the globe are continuously weighing ICT lead developments, where India is one such nation that has kept itself abreast with these developments, especially in the context on E-governance.

4.4.3 E-GOVERNANCE: THE INDIAN CONTEXT

In 1976, the Government of India nucleated a high priority plan with the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) under the Electronics Commission/ Department of Electronics. The central government information development programme was launched in various governmental departments and ministries. The National Informatics Centre (NIC) was instrumental in steering ICT applications in the governmental departments at the central, state and district level.¹⁸⁸

There are three E-governance models in India¹⁸⁹,

- a) Government initiated and funded projects; examples are NIC, State Electronic Corporations.
- b) Non profit and profit sector projects; examples are Tarahoit, Franchisee, Kiosk Model.
- c) Joint initiatives by the government and private organizations; one example is E-Seva.

¹⁸⁸ Anupama,op.cit.,p.328

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.,p.314

The Centre for E-Governance, a new division within the Ministry of IT was established on the 15th August, 1999. The year 2001 was declared as the year of ‘E-Governance’. The Indian Parliament passed the Information Technology Act 2000¹⁹⁰ which provided a legal framework to facilitate electronic commerce and electronic transactions and aims to recognize electronic contracts, electronic filing/documentation, and digital signature, etc. This Act was brought into force on 17th October, 2000.

Digital India Campaign was launched on 2nd July, 2015 under the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology by the Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi. With the motto “Power to Empower”, this campaign comprised of various initiatives under a single programme which had a target. The target was to prepare India to become a knowledge economy and provide good governance to the citizens. Collaboration was undertaken with various central ministries, departments and state governments and comprised of three components: Digital Infrastructure as a Utility to Every Citizen, Digital Governance and Services on Demand, Digital Empowerment of Citizens. The 9 pillars of this campaign entailed : Broadband Highways, Universal Access to Phones, Public Internet Access Programme, E-Governance, EKranti (electronic delivery of services), Information for All, Electronics Manufacturing, IT for jobs, Early Harvest Programmes. All existing and ongoing e-governance initiatives were revamped aligned in accordance with the principles of Digital India.¹⁹¹

Under the Digital India campaign, the National Digital Literacy Mission (NDLM), also referred to as the Digital Saksharta Abhiyan (DISHA) was launched to

¹⁹⁰ Sumanjeet, op.cit., p.864

¹⁹¹ Digital India, <http://www.cmai.asia/digitalindia/pdf/Digital-India-DeITY-Details.pdf> retrieved on:01/11/2017

provide digital literacy to Indian citizens. It also aimed to provide IT training for 52.5 lakhs of people and to ensure that at least one person in every Indian household is digitally literate. The National Institute of Electronics and Information Technology (NIELIT), is one of the National Level Certifying agents for this scheme. NIELIT is an Autonomous Scientific Society which is under the administrative control of the Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, Government of India and was established to promote human resource development and related activities in the areas of Information, Electronics and Communication Technology(IECT).¹⁹²

4.4.4 E-GOVERNANCE PROJECTS: ANDHRA PRADESH

Andhra Pradesh is a trendsetter in E-governance work in India and has computerized its land records down to the sub-registrar's level. Other initiatives taken to promote e-governance include: Public Domain Information System which enables citizens to access government information; Fully Automated Services of Transport (FAST); Computer Aided Administration of Registration Department(CARD) project for the registration and preservation of documents of immovable properties, transactions and its related services. Other initiatives include Andhra Pradesh State Wide Area Network (APSWAN) to facilitate voice, data and video communication; Secretariat Knowledge and Information Management System (SKIMS).¹⁹³

India's experience in E-governance till date has demonstrated a significant success in cutting down governmental costs, reducing corruption, increasing accessibility to remote, rural and the previously unserved groups. Most of the state governments in India have approved of the e-governance initiatives ; views e-

¹⁹² National Institute of Electronics and Information Technology,<http://beta.nielit.gov.in/calicut/content/national-digital-literacy-mission-ndlm> retrieved on:01/11/2017

¹⁹³ Vishwas Tripathi(2007)*E-Governance in India*(New Delhi:Anmol Publications),p.10-11

governance as ICT-enabled governance and these state governments are in the process of enabling citizens to incorporate ICT enabled services in their daily lives. Every Indian citizen, to ensure his legitimacy within the society is made to accept, adopt and rationalize his operational and leisure spheres of life in accordance with the dictates of IT enabled governance .

4.4.5 E-GOVERNANCE: MIZORAM CONTEXT

The advent of IT in the spheres of governance which continuously seeps through every sphere of the individual's life is very much present in Mizo society. The ruling apparatus, in the nature of governance, administration, providing of goods and services to the citizens in the state of Mizoram rely heavily on the ICT enabled system, which has been put to place by IT.

With the inception of the NIC in Mizoram in 1989, NIC and the Government of Mizoram have worked hand to hand in promote the rapid advent and development of ICT in the avenues of governmental functioning and governance. NIC along with the Government of Mizoram have taken up many initiatives in facilitating and promoting e-government in various sectors such as Transport, Land Record, Public Health Engineering, Accounts and Treasuries, etc. **The Community Information Centre (CIC)** project was launched in the north-eastern region in the year 2000 with a vision to extend the benefits of global connectivity through Internet and to bring the region closer to the national mainstream by enabling more efficient and faster information flow amongst the people. CICs also assists the State Government in implementing IT-based citizen-centric applications. In Mizoram, 26 CICs have been

established till date. Two qualified operators manage these CICs, which provide the following services to the people in the far-flung and remote areas of the state¹⁹⁴ –

- a. E-mail, web browsing and document printing.
- b. Imparting IT training to the villagers, school students, staff of the Block Development Officers (BDO) on the fundamental of IT.
- c. ICT support to district and block administration for office automation.
- d. G2C services such as Village Council Elections, publication of tenders, notifications, etc.
- e. Providing entertainment to the local people through telecast of TV programmes.
- f. Information services such as online news paper reading, railway reservation enquiry, airline enquiry, hospital enquiry, etc.

Mizoram has a dedicated ICT Department, an established visible operation of an e-Governance society, adoption of “The Mizoram (Recognition and Regulation of Common Examinations for Certificate Courses in Computer Application) Rules, 2012” where computer literacy credentials have been made compulsory for seeking employment in the public sector, the presence of IT centric policies like the Mizoram IT Policy 2001 (Information Technology Policy, Government of Mizoram). The Urban Development and Poverty Allevation Department was the first department in Mizoram to use e-office. Some e-related services are now being provided by the Aizawl Municipal Corporation (AMC).¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴National Informatics Centre ,Mizoram State Centre, http://mizoram.nic.in/nic_mizoram.htm retrieved on:03/11/2017

¹⁹⁵ Interview of Dr C.Vanlalramsanga,egov, <http://egov.eletsonline.com/2017/08/mizoram-pushing-e-governance-to-the-next-level/> retrieved on:21/08/2017

4.4.5.1 DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY (ICT)

In October 2008, the Department of ICT arose as a separate directorate to frame policies and undertake planning, implementation and monitoring of both ICT and e-governance projects. Envisaging a vision where ICT was to be a transformative tool, the mission of this department was ICT Development through creation of e-Infrastructure for delivery of e-Services, promote Information Communication Technology, facilitate Research Development, Capacity building and empowerment of Government employees and Citizen, provide awareness on Cyber Crime and Security." ICT is used to ensure that information and government services related to need of people are made available. Implemented projects towards strengthening the goals of this department for the propagation of e-governance includes: E-District, Rural information Kiosk, Digital Land Resource Information System, Mizoram State Data Centre(MSDC),State Service Delivery Gateway(SSDG),Mizoram State Area Wide Network(MSAWN).¹⁹⁶

4.4 5.2 MIZORAM STATE e-GOVERNANCE SOCIETY (MSeGS)

Mizoram State e-Governance Society (MSeGS) was set up in 2006 and registered under the Society Registration Act, XXI of 1860 under the Department of ICT, Government of Mizoram. The districts of Mizoram namely, Aizawl, Lunglei, Saiha, Chnphai, Kolasib, Serchhip, Lawngtlai, Mamit all have District e-Governance Societies. The main working of MSeGS is to ensure the proper administration of e-Governance projects; establish a legal, financial, technical framework and

¹⁹⁶ Department of Information and Communication Technology,
<http://egov.eletsonline.com/2017/08/mizoram-pushing-e-governance-to-the-next-level/> retrieved on:21/08/2017

implementation of such projects. Under the MSeGS, E-governance projects like the State Data Centre (SDC), State Wide Area Network (SWAN) and Common Service Centre (CSC) have been executed.¹⁹⁷

Man as a distinct individual and as a member of society is no longer able to remove himself from the chains that dictate this technological society. In the context of India, with special reference to the Mizo society, the nationwide propagation of digitalization and usage of ICT has crossed all dimensions of life. For man to avail of his basic necessities and privileges as a citizen of India, he first has to follow the procedures laid down by the technology dependent apparatus. Majority of services ranging from payment of electric/water bills, access to governmental documents/records, financial transactions, scholarships for special categories of citizens, digital procurement of vital documents, access to subsidized essential goods for a certain section of society, to name a few are some glaring instances that highlight the presence of IT and its mode of governance i.e. e-governance in every sphere of human existence. The governing authority is a mere pawn in the system as it is unable to break free the moulds that dictate the technological society.

¹⁹⁷ Mizoram State e-Governance Society, <https://msegs.mizoram.gov.in/> retrieved on:04/06/2017

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The contemporary Mizo society is considered by many to be a mixed, multicultural society due to the presence of many traditional principles and practises that were found even prior to the British rule in India. There are also different tribes and sub tribes having their distinct culture, customs and language residing in the state of Mizoram, who are all inclusive parts of the Zo ethnic group. The state of Mizoram, being a part of the Indian Union is governed by the mandates laid down by the Constitution of India which embodies the principles of ‘Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic’ that are enshrined in the Preamble of the Constitution and as such, works for the promotion of justice, liberty ,equality and fraternity.

Mizoram was granted statehood on 20th February, 1987 and became the 23rd state of India. Taking into account the thirty year span since attainment of statehood (i.e. 1987-2017), the state of Mizoram has achieved great milestones in all spheres- economic, social, and political where the developmental machinery is rampant in all these spheres. On the social front, the Mizo society is viewed by many as a peace loving society, where majority of the inhabitants depending on their domicile, class(on the lines of tribes and sub tribes) are granted their dues(or rights and privileges), given protection based on the principles laid down by the Constitution of India. On the economic front, even though majority of the population are still dependent on the agricultural sector for their livelihood, policies have been framed and subsequently implemented to provide sustainable forms of livelihood for the people. The Mizo society is also in a phase where urbanization is taking place, leading to development of the tertiary sector. To ensure man as an individual and as a part of the society, is

able to attain maximum economic gains and also become a valuable asset, many skill development initiatives, beneficial investment schemes to promote entrepreneurship and employment avenues have been adopted. On the political front, Mizoram as a state has always been a shining example of a state where the democratic model has been in full operation. With the presence of a multitude of political parties, some recognized as national and some as regional parties, there is no single party that has enjoyed continued dominance, lasting more than a decade up till now. Elections are usually conducted in a free and fair manner, people are given full freedom to exercise their rights and express their thoughts (and opinion), elected leaders are responsible and accountable to the citizens and in today's society. With the advent of good governance and E-Governance (electronic governance) the entire governmental apparatus has become transparent, responsive, accountable and inclusive of all sections of society. Besides the political parties, the multiple associations (or organizations and interest groups) play a pivotal role, leading to the existence of a pluralist society. In the name of freedom, protectionist policies in the form of reservation have been enshrined in the Constitution of India to ensure the participation and representation of all subsets (or caste/class) within the system (i.e. the Indian Union). Reservation on the lines of domicile, language, caste, class and gender are made legal and binding in areas of employment. Reservation is also present in the elected bodies like the panchayats, municipal corporations, municipal councils, etc as mentioned in the Constitution of India. Reservation on the basis of gender in elected bodies i.e. female seat reservation has a percentage of 33% of total seats available but, there is no provision for female seat reservation in the Legislative Bodies(both at centre and state level). With the enactment of The Mizoram Municipalities Act, 2007 the Aizawl Municipal Council was established in 2008, in accordance with the

provisions laid down by the Constitution 74th Amendment Act, 1992. Under the Aizawl Municipal Council, 33% of total seats are reserved for female candidates and is the constitutional body that is operational in the urban part of Mizoram i.e. in Aizawl city. The Aizawl Municipal Council became the Aizawl Municipal Corporation(AMC) from 2015 onwards.

The advanced industrial societies (especially in the context of the western societies) were regarded as highly industrialized capitalist societies, where a modern political democratic system has been adopted. Today, the system of modern political democracy has taken the form of a liberal democracy and is considered to be an advanced stage for both the society and the political apparatus. Such a society is a society where man is believed to be enjoying a high degree of freedom, where his needs find maximum satisfaction, where he as an individual and as a distinct part of society is able to make choices and choose his own path in an environment that promulgates equality and freedom. This society has evolved, utilised technology and its apparatus to maintain these basic characteristics to ensure that the individual lives the “good life”, a life where all the tenants of liberal democracy are guaranteed and are in motion in all aspects of human existence. For Marcuse, such a society is characterized by the redefinition of technology, where it no longer refers only to machines, gadgets and technics but entails mode of production, devices and other technological means that are used as a mode for the organization and perpetuation of social relationships. Marcuse’s concept of technology brings to light the transmutation of rationality. Rationality which was critical and had space for negative rationality was now technological i.e. technological rationality where man’s power of critical thinking as now longer individualistic nor self attained, but was moulded in accordance with technological rationality. Man, is under a false consciousness

created by technology and its apparatus. He believes that he is in a state of freedom, where his needs are fully satisfied, where every desire and requirement is guaranteed and even in many instances, legitimized by the technical apparatus. But, in reality man is in a state of unfreedom due to the domination of alienation and surplus repression. Every desire is not genuine, but is generated by the apparatus by taking advantage of man's sexual libido to maintain the system created by technology. The apparatus, which in the context of the modern political democracy include both the bureaucrats and the elected representatives do not administer and govern society for the true benefit of the citizens but work in accordance with the dictates of technology. They are mere organs of the technology society, who strive to maintain the prevailing system by application of technology in all aspects of human life. Turning the dictates of technology and its apparatus as a just way of life, technological rationality has been accepted as the rationality that govern, guide man at the individual and societal level. Man has lost autonomy in thinking and is a mere cog in the technological society who lives a life of servitude as his entire existence depends on the dictates of technology society. Man, under such conditions has become one dimensional and is known as *'the One-Dimensional Man living in the One-Dimensional Society'*.

The contemporary Mizo society has many traits and elements that are akin to the *Advanced Industrial Society*, also referred to as the modern political democratic society. From the late 1990s onwards, the Mizo society has absorbed the benefits of globalization, especially in the context of adoption of technology. With the legitimisation of initiatives like the Mizoram Information Act 2001, the establishment of the Department of Information and Communication Technology and the E-Governance Society at the state level as well as national level initiatives like Digital India, National E-Governance Plan(NEGP) and extending the role of institutions

like NIELIT to promote digital literacy and awareness, the extent of the infiltration of IT into one's personal and societal life is at a phase where the individual deems the usage and adherence to the prevailing notions of technology as rational, owing to their dependence on technology.

This study, which was conducted in Aizawl City is based on a sample size of 40 that includes respondents from 6 sections of society namely businessmen, shop level employees, college students (from the undergraduate and post graduate level), government employees, pensioners, representatives from the ruling political party. From the 40 respondents, it was found that 97% were users of Information IT, which was put into operation through the use of mobile phones, laptops and personal computers (referred to as gadgets, mechanical tools) that are coupled with internet service providers (BSNL, Airtel, Vodafone, etc). As such, 82% used IT on a day to day basis, from which 79.4% found it necessary to use IT in their respective fields. For the businessmen and shop level employees, IT services were utilised for facilitating correspondence with their respective headquarters, employees, parent companies, and customers. Safety and security measures that entail digitalised item codes in the form of bar codes, making inventories, usage of security cameras where the digital images are stored for future reference are also concurring modes of usage. Media campaigns in the form of advertisements in both print media (newspapers, magazines, posters, billboards) and un-print media (television, internet websites, online magazines and newspapers, social media platforms) are generated and promoted by the usage of IT. Financial activities which entail payment of taxes, preparation of waybills and other virtual cash transactions through net banking, entertainment purposes during one's leisure time to provide feelings of pleasure and relaxation are other avenues where IT is utilised.

For the elected leaders at both the local level and state level, IT services were mainly utilised for the spread of information among the citizens through the internet driven web pages of the concerned department/ ministry/organization. IT was used as a gateway which offered a medium of correspondence with citizens and provided citizens with access to a wide range of internet driven services .These services include bill payment, procurement of government issued certificates, redressal mechanisms. The elected leaders also use IT to keep track of the latest political developments and behaviour patterns to plan their strategies accordingly to ensure that political power remains at their realm.

For college students at the undergraduate and post graduate level, IT services are needed extensively in their chosen academic field. From gaining information to study related texts(journals, books and other publications available on the internet) , correspondence with fellow students and teachers via E-mail(electronic mail), virtual classrooms, video conferencing via internet, IT is used. An outlet for various forms of leisure ranging from entertainment, avenues for shopping and social interaction with fellow peers are also made possible via internet.

For the government employees, the usage of IT has increased manifold over the years especially with the rapid move towards digitalization in government departments. The accession to government services, implementation of one's line of work, preparation and dissipation of information to the citizens, monitoring and implementing of sanctioned projects, source of entertainment during leisure time, communication with fellow employees for both official and non official matter, online cash transaction for salary, financial concurrence, finance sanctioned for concerned department are the main avenues where IT is the pivotal instrument for execution of such activities.

For pensioners, IT usage has become vital for gaining their pension benefits as the entire record for the terms of their pension and emoluments are conducted via online i.e. are digitalised with the use of IT. Garnering sought out information for ones' personal or public life (i.e. information that provides knowledge and access to services provided by the government along with one's choice of interests and entertainment) and the utilization of IT for financial transactions in the form of net banking is also gaining momentum.

The necessity for usage of IT in various aspects of the individual's life lead to the emergence of a new necessity, requirement in the form of IT knowledge and skill set, as supported by 77% of the respondents. This new, yet overlooming necessity is acquired through various outlets, where majority are in pursuit of a new form of literacy, termed as Digital Literacy. The skill set needed in the IT era has been acquired through various avenues. While some opt for self practise and are self taught on the basics, some have sought aid from their peer groups. Educational institutions have incorporated IT knowledge as part of the school curriculum while some have taken up the study of IT at the undergraduate and post graduate levels. Many institutions focused solely on IT education and training have also been established. Today, the recognition of a person's digital literacy is determined through completion of certain courses laid down by the Government of India. The propagation of Digital Literacy has been spear headed under the Digital India Campaign, where NIELT is the recognized body that has taken up this cause. In Mizoram, NIELIT study centres have been established in almost all major villages of Mizoram. IT Literacy drives have been organized at different centres in Mizoram. Till date, around 20,000 people have received IT training and education. Under the Compulsory Computer Certificate Courses (CCC) conducted by NIELIT, the following figures were obtained. These

figures were indicators of the level of growth and awareness of digital education in Mizo society.

Table: CCC enrolment under NIELIT

S.No	Year	Number of students enrolled for CCC
1	2008-2009	253
2	2009-2010	422
3	2010-2011	500
4	2011-2012	432
5	2012-2013	805
6	2013-2014	1126
7	2014-2015	1965
8	2015-2016	3161
9	2016-2017	4398
10	2017- present date	4889

(Source: NIELIT,Aizawl, 6th October,2017)

Initiatives such as Preparing NE(North East) for Digital India, Digida Mela, programmes in media outlet such as Doordashan,All India Radio and the local cable channels for the promotion of digital awareness have also been organized.

The need for utilization of IT is slowly becoming mandatory for any employment (or job) related activity, whether it is in the public or the private sphere. Many job descriptions have now stated basic or advanced IT skills as its pre-requisite for applicants. To cope with the technological demands, many initiatives have been

taken, especially at the public sphere. Examples of some initiatives entail the conduct of training on regular basis for employees in the field of IT by Administrative Training Institute. Computer sets equipped with internet facilities have been set up in all governmental departments. Under the framework of National e-Governance Plan (NEGP), ICT training centres have been established where training based on the full utilization of e-governance is underway. The ICT department also conducted in service short term training sessions for employees at various stages.

For the elected leaders at both the local level and state level, the main use of IT services is to facilitate connectivity and correspondence with citizens. Access to crucial information, policies, procedures and mode of governance have been digitalized under IT. IT is put to effective use to promote development in both the urban and rural areas. The nature of development is brought about with the usage of IT. Access to IT is being propagated even at the remote areas of Mizoram. While ensuring all governmental organs, departments are equipped with the gadgets and technicians need to avail IT, even the grass root levels of governance are being equipped. Citing an instance, under the Government of Mizoram, 12 Village Councils have been chosen as recipients of a fully functional computer system. Out of the 12 selected village councils, 6 Village Councils (NE Tlanguam, Khawlian, Phuaibuang, Phullen, Thanglailung, Khanpui) have already received the computer set and the remaining 6 will receive their respective sets by the end of 2017. The AMC is slowly but steadily moving towards digitization. With a fully functional designated website, <http://amc.mizoram.gov.in/> the AMC has made various details, procedures and other sought out information available to the citizens.

The advent of IT and its subsequent corollaries (i.e. Information and Communication Technology), digitalization have paved the path for the need in

acquiring a new form of knowledge , IT knowledge /Digital Literacy and the skills needed for its utilization. The present society is regarded by many as the Digital World, the era of IT where digitalization is seen as a way of life; where people from all age groups need IT as majority of the basic services availed by man to ensure their well being have now been digitalized. Majority of employment avenues require the pre-requisite skill i.e., IT skills. With the advent of globalisation, there is also the perpetuation of global village for which connectivity with all sectors, both governmental and non governmental occur through IT. Man, to reap the benefits of the globalized village brought about by technology cannot segregate his individuality from the prevailing notions that dictate the society. Whether it be the payment of bills ranging from telecom, electricity and water; payment of taxes for the businessman and the entrepreneurs; access to information at the governmental and non governmental level; conduct of business operations, mode of banking(as seen under the concept of E-Banking or Net banking); for commercial purchase of goods and services(as seen under E-Shopping); for finding avenues of entertainment during one's leisure time; for ensuring communication and correspondence with one's family, peer group and the society IT is a vital need. Indeed, IT has become dominant in all spheres of human activity thereby making him dependent on it. Evidently, man living in the Mizo society conducts, organizes and adopts his code of conduct and thinking in allegiance with the dictates of technology. His rationality has been transmuted into one, where the critical capabilities of man is no longer in existence; where he lives in a society where his needs and desires are dictated by technology.

In order to highlight the one-dimensional characteristics of Mizo society, a detailed study was undertaken through the methodological form of interview and questionnaires in relation to the AMC. The following were the results that emerged

from the study conducted. With the establishment of the AMC in 2008, each cycle of incumbents are in fulfilment of the provision for 33% reservation of seats for female councillors, as laid down by the Constitution 74th Amendment Act ,1992. This 33% seat reservation for women was seen as an attempt to ensure greater participation of women in decision making process, leading to the attainment of higher degrees of freedom for women in the patriarchal society and would be more representative of the Mizo society as a whole.

Based on the study conducted in Aizawl City, from the 40 respondents, a common conception was shared among 56.4% respondents who affirmed that the seat reservation in the AMC indeed lead to grant of more freedom to women in Mizo society. While majority saw a rise in grant of freedom, 38.4% found the need to have seat reservation in the male dominated Mizo society. The need for seat reservation stems from the fact that the Mizo society, being a patriarchal society is male dominated and women in the past had little or no real inclination to take part in the administrative machinery. The low rate of political participation of women has strengthened the mentality of male being more capable in governance and had kept women confined to the administration of their domestic life. The provision of seat reservation has provided a platform for women to raise their voices, take active part in the administrative machinery and prove their worth in the political arena. It is a powerful tool for upliftment of women and for spearheading political empowerment of women(in the economic and social sphere, Mizo women are active participants).It also falls in place with the principles of democratic India, where representation is made possible for all sections of society to ensure the grant in equality of opportunity to all citizens. It is however, not legitimate if one simply claims that the seat reservation is a real necessity as it is invalidated by the claim of

61.6%, who do not find the necessity in the having 33% seat reservation. The presence of this reservation does not necessarily lead to the transformation of the patriarchal mindset found in the society nor does it give decisive powers to Mizo women. The existence of quotas (reserved seats) for women lead to a situation where in the name of reservation, the political parties merely field female candidates to serve their vested interest. Unfit, non motivated female candidates with lack of political experience who become mere pawns for their counterparts rise to the front. The zeal to work hard and attain political recognition for females is diluted. Quantity is given due priority over quality with the presence of seat reservation. The state legislative assemblies have no seat reservation system yet, Mizo society has often witnessed female political players being elected, which is seen as a mark of the quality of the political candidate. The presence of female representatives in the AMC did not lead to a rise or implementation of tasks that would solve female centric issues, promoting higher levels of emancipation and freedom among women in Mizo society. The subject matters for governance and administration that are handed over to the AMC do not provide any provisions where gender based inequality in opportunity or access to rights is possible as these subject matters are generalized ones, and male or female alike they all have to adhere to the conditions laid down by the AMC. The subject matter covers only the urban part of Mizoram as the jurisdiction of AMC is confined to urban areas i.e. Aizawl city only. It is not truly representative of the Mizo society due to exclusion of majority of the population who reside in the rural parts of the state. Also, the ratio of 33% has no valid arguments as a truly representative ratio would best be reflected by taking the male-female ratio of the population into consideration. The AMC at the crust, appears to be an amalgamation of a modern democratic state, where the weaker section of society i.e. the female population are

given special provisions in the entire machinery of the system to promote empowerment, access to greater degrees of freedom and enjoy more autonomy. In actuality, here lies the true nature of the *Advanced Industrial Society* characterized by Marcuse. In this society, unfreedom is manifested in freedom; where the grant of more freedom and its legitimization is actually continued repression of society by the technical apparatus as the freedom so desired by man is generated by technology through the appeasement of man's sexual libido. The AMC with its seat reservation for women, is thus a gleaming example of an act of unfreedom as the seat reservation has not benefitted the execution of tasks to benefit the section of society that these incumbents represent i.e. women; nor are they able to justify the representative nature of AMC in governance for promotion of the values enshrined in a liberal democratic society.

Internet, as a technology has dictated all avenues of man's life, as a distinct individual and as a member of the society. The ruling apparatus is dependent on IT in the conduct of governance, delivery of goods and services. Indeed, the ruling apparatus is instrumental for the maintenance of the continued societal control, as dictated by technology. The ruling apparatus in the Mizo society is the governing authority which entails the elected political leaders and the bureaucrats. The governing authority has always worked in allegiance with the prevailing technology, IT and its connotations. The extent of digitalisation in relation to the needs of man, provided by the apparatus is dominant in all areas of human existence. For the operation of government departments, around 170 departments have fully operational websites from where citizens can seek, acquire information. The advent of E-governance sounded the alarm for the further containment of technological rationality due to the extensive reliance of IT in all dimensions of governance which had an

impact at the economical, political and societal level. National level initiatives such as the Digital India campaign has resulted in promotion of digital empowerment through the transformation of citizens to ensure that the very nature, style, conduct and procedures of the apparatus are fully digitalized. The NEGP of 2006 was a stepping stone that paved the way for the establishment of the MSeGS leading to the birth of a distinct department, ICT. Under the MSeGs, certain projects have been implemented for various governmental departments, which would have both a direct and indirect bearing on the individual.

From the ruling apparatus at the Centre, State and local level, IT has created new form of governance, in the name of E-governance. Policies, initiatives and projects have been executed and will be executed to ensure the utilization of IT in the digital era is reinforced and the individual falls in line with the development that takes place in society. Man, the individual rational living in Mizo society resides in a system where almost every basic need to ensure the good life has been dictated by technology and is further manifested with the national level implementation of Unique Identification Number (UID) scheme, a initiative of the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) where man is now a mere object in the system whose individuality is reduced into a language that technology is able to process and manipulate to strengthen its dominance. Every form of freedom asserted by society is not genuine but generated by the same technological apparatus that govern the society. Thus the Mizo society which seems to be enjoying a tenure of development in all dimensions of society, undergoes an amalgamation where the individual is made to believe that he enjoys more freedom, access to goods and services, Subsequently, man attains satisfaction with the prevailing system. Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man, living in a One-Dimensional Society* is an individual who has lost

his autonomy and individualistic thinking ability. He attunes his life in accordance with the technological dictates of the system; where the ruling apparatus contain the one-dimensionality due to the contained dependence on technology to maintain power and control. Thus, the Mizo society has shared the same fate as its counterparts (the advanced industrial societies who were deemed as modern political; democratic societies) and is infested with technological rationality leading to the existence and continued perpetuation of the *One-Dimensional Man*.

APPENDIX-1

Jy. Govd
11/12/15



The Mizoram Gazette
 EXTRA ORDINARY
 Published by Authority

RNI No. 27009/1973

Postal Regn. No. NE-313(MZ) 2006-2008

VOL - XLIV Aizawl, Friday 6.2.2015 Magha 17, S.E. 1936, Issue No. 61

NOTIFICATION

No. B. 13017/21/2008-UD&PA(M), the 6th February, 2015. The following Rules "The Mizoram Municipalities (Ward Committee and Local Council) (Second Amendment) Rules, 2015" is hereby published for general information.

R. Lalvena,
 Secretary to the Govt. of Mizoram,
 Urban Development & Poverty Alleviation Deptt.

Supdt
11/12/15

Ex-61/2015

- 2 -

No. B. 13017/21/2008-UD&PA(M): In exercise of the powers conferred by section 309 of the Mizoram Municipalities Act, 2007 (Act No. 6 of 2007), the Governor of Mizoram is pleased to further amend the Municipalities (Ward Committee and Local Council) Rules, 2010 (hereinafter referred to as the Principal Rules) as follows, namely :-

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| Short title, extent and commencement : | 1 | These Rules may be called The Mizoram Municipalities Ward Committee and Local Council (Amendment) Rules, 2015. |
| | 2 | They shall come into force from date of publication in the Official Gazette. |

Amendment of rule 16

In rule 16 of the Principal Rules in sub-rule (I), after clause (b) a new clause (c) shall be added as follows :- "*(c) One third of the members in a Local Council shall be reserved for women. That is, in a Local Council with 5 (five) Members, 1 (one) Member shall be Women; and in a Local Council with 7 (seven) Members, 2 (two) Members shall be Women*".

Amendment of Rule 17

Sub rule (I) of Rule 17 of the Principal Rules shall be substituted by the following :- "*The tenure of Local Council members shall be 5 (five) years from the date of the first meeting of the Committee referred to under sub-rule (2) of Rule 16 of these Rules*".

APPENDIX -2



Member
Kerala Legislative Assembly

Date: 30/5/2017.

Seal Malay,

I'm submitting herewith
the relevant signature with seals
of the desk computer sets you've
given to six village socially/level
within my Assembly Constituency.

Sincerely
SIR D. Padayath
Govt of mygovam

Respectfully,
Yours,

P. L. J.

(Dr. N. K. R. N. L. N. L.)

APPENDIX-3

COMPUTER DAWNNA

RGSA Scheme hnuaiah State Institute of Rural Development & Panchayati Raj
hnen atangin Destop Computer set (CPU, Monitor, Printer, Mouse, Keyboard leh UPS)
lawm takin kan dawng e.

Sl No.	Name of Village	Constituency	Signature of VCP/Secretary
1	KHANPU	Chalfilh ✓	President Village Council/Court Khanpu Aizawl District
2	Phullen	Chalfilh	22/8/17 Village Council/Court Phullen Aizawl District
3	Khawlian	Chalfilh ✓	Chata Village Council/Court Aizawl District
4	NE Tlangnuam	Chalfilh	22/8/17 President Village Council/Court N.E. Tlangnuam
5	Phuaibuang	Chalfilh ✓	Phuaibuang
6	Thanglailung	Chalfilh ✓	22/8/17 Secretary Village Council/Court Thanglailung : Aizawl District

acknowledge

29/09/2017

(DR. NGUR DINGLIANA)

Member
Legislative Assembly
Mizoram

APPENDIX-4

(52)

No. A. 33027/1/2009 – P&AR(TRG)/52
DEPTT. OF PERSONNEL & ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS (TRG WING)
NEW SECTT. BLDG., NEW CAPITAL COMPLEX; KHATLA, AIZAWL, MIZORAM

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Dated Aizawl the 26th August, 2010

Subject: Computer Training Institutes approved as Computer Training Centers.

With a view to speed up computer knowledge and general proficiency, the Government of Mizoram approved the following Computer Training Centres for Group 'B' & 'C' Government employees vide O.Ms. No. A. 33029/1/96 – P&AR(TRG) dt. 05.07.2006, dt. 08.01.2007, dt. 20.06.2007, dt. 14.05.2008 and letter No. A. 33027/1/2009 – P&AR(TRG)/47 dt. 29.07.2010.

SI.No.	Name of Institution	Remarks
1	2	3
1	New Millennium Computer Centre, Aizawl.	
2	ZENICS, Treasury Square, Aizawl.	
3	Fairland Computer Institute, New Market Aizawl.	
4	Maranatha Computer Institute, Dawrpui, Aizawl.	
5	Arvy Commec Institute, Treasury Square, Aizawl.	
6	Golden Republic I.T. Centre, Industries Deptt.	
7	Academy of Computer & Electronic Centre, Lunglei.	
8	Computer Nest, Training, Sales & Servicing, Kolasib.	
9	Gillian, Computer Institute, Lawngtlai.	

Government Deptts/offices may depute their employees for basic computer training on the following conditions:-

- (1) not more than three persons may be deputed at a time from one office so that normal functioning of the office is not disturbed;
- (2) they should ensure that fund is available for meeting the course fees etc., before sending their nominations to the DP&AR (Training Wing) for approval; and
- (3) prior approval of the Government of Mizoram in DP&AR (Training Wing) should invariably be obtained for deputing any Government employee for such computer training.

While referring nominations to the DP&AR (Training Wing) details of the course, duration/period, name of the institution, courses fee, etc. should clearly be mentioned.

Sd/- LALTHANSANGA
Additional Secretary to the Govt. of Mizoram.

Contd/ 2

(53)

Memo No. A. 33027/1/2009 – P&AR(TRG)/52 : Dated Aizawl the 26th Aug, 2010

Copy to:

1. P.S. to Chief Minister, Mizoram.
2. P.S. to Speaker/Deputy Speaker.
3. P.S. to all Ministers/Ministers of State.
4. P.S. to Chief Secretary, Mizoram.
5. All Administrative Departments.
6. All Heads of Departments. They are requested to bring the contents of this the above to all their subordinate offices.
7. All Deputy Commissioners. They are requested to inform all offices under their jurisdiction.
8. All Manager/proprietor, approved Computer Institutes.
9. Guard File.

Chuangi 26/08/10
(H. VANLAL CHUANGI)

Chuangi Under Secretary to the Govt. of Mizoram.
Deptt. of Personnel & Administrative Reforms.
Training Wing
Ph.: 0389 2336025

APPENDIX-5



Notes for Press on

Released by
Department of Information & Communication Technology, Govt of Mizoram

A. DIGITAL INDIA CHUNGCHANG

Digital India programme-in a tum ber chu India khua leh tuite tunlai thiamna hmang tangkai thei tur khawpa chher chhuah leh chu thiamna hmanga India ram kalphung thara kaltir hi a ni a. Digital India programme hian India ram hi tun atan mai ni lo, kum lo la awm lehzel tura chak taka hma a sawn theihnana ruahmanna a ni, hei hi kum hnih khat lek thil tur a ni lo a ni. Digital India hian India hmasawna rahbi tharah hian tunlai thiamna hi a laipui awhtir ngei a tum tlat a, chu chuan ram hmasawna nghelnghet leh tha a ken ngei pawh a rinawm a ni.

Digital India programme hnuaih hian programme leh project tam tak a awm ang a; chungte chu department pakhat ringawtin buaipui lovin department tam takin a buaipui dawn a ni. Information & Communication Technology Department ringawtin hma la lovin, ram hmasawna tur atan department tam takin he programme hnuaih hian hma kan la dawn a ni. India ramah a co-ordinator turin Department of Electronics and Information Technology (DeitY), Govt. of India te an ni ang a; amaherawhchu, Govt. of India pumpuiin he programme tihlawhtling tur hian hma a la dawn a ni. Hetiang a nih dawn avang hian he programme hian scheme/project awm sa te pawh a lalut a, chung hman mek lai scheme/project te chu a aia tha zawka siamremin hma a la dawn a ni. Tin, heng project hrang hrangte hi a pakhat tetea kal pui lovin, a remchan dan ang zelin a rualin chhawpchuah a ni ang. Project tam takte hi chu pawisa tam tak pawh sen ngai lovin tlema siamremin tha taka kalpui zui theih tur a ni dawn a ni.

Digital India-ah hian ruahmanna hlawm lian tak pathum tihlawhtlin a tum a, chungte chu:

- i. Digital Infrastructure hi khua leh tuite tana tangkai taka hman,
- ii. Sawrkar hnathawh leh kalphung mipuite mamawh milin, leh
- iii. Khua leh tuite tunlai thiamna hmang tangkai thei tura zirtir.

Digital Infrastructure hi khua leh tuite tana tangkai taka hman: Internet connectivity chak tak mipui hman theih tur hi a bulthut pawimawh ber a ni dawn a. Tin, hei bakah hian sawrkarin khua leh tuite tan pian hlim atanga thih ni thlenga tangkai tur 'service' te pek a tum baw a. Mipui nawlpuiin kan hman ve phak turin mobile phone leh bank account awlsam taka neihte hi Digital India programme hian a ngai pawimawh em em baw a ni. Mipuite tana awlsam taka hman theih turin Common Service Centre (CSC) te ruahmanna a siam a, Mizoramah pawh khaw 136 laiah CSC hi bun a ni tawh a; CSC ang thova tangkai Rural Information Kiosk (RIK) pawh Mizoramah hian hmum 250 laiah neih a ni tawh a ni. Heng CSC leh RIK te hmang hian mipuiten awlsam zawkin sawrkar an kawtchhuah atangin an dawr thei a, changtlung zawk leh tha zawk tura hmalak mek zel a ni. Digital India hian mipuiten kan mimal chanchin pawimawh, internet-a awm te pawh a ngaipawimawhin a venhimna lamah hma a la mek a ni.

Sawrkar hnathawh leh kalphung mipuite mamawh mil: Khua leh tuiten department chi hrang hrangte dawr kan ngaih thin avang leh chung department-te chuan thawhho dan kalphung mumal tak an neih loh avangin mipuiten harsatna nasa tak kan taw fo thin a. Digital India hian department hrang hrangte thawhho dan leh mipuite tana awlsam zawka hna an thawh theih dan turte ruahman a tum a. Tin, a hmuna kher kal ngai lova mobile phone leh internet kaltlanga mipui tana tangkai thei tur chhawpchhuahte pawh nasa lehzualin a tum a ni. Chutiang chuan mipuiten awlsam zawka sumdawna lama hma an lak duh pawhin sumdawngte tana awlsam zawk tur ruahmanna chhawpchhuah a tum a ni. Geographic Information System (GIS) te pawh ram hrulaituten mipuite tana tangkai thei tura thutlukna an siam theihna turin ruahman chhoh mek a ni, heng GIS te hi mipuite tan department-in tangkai tak leh hlawtkhlak takin an hmang thei dawn a ni.

Khua leh tuite tunlai thiamna hmang tangkai thei tura zirtir: Sawrkar hian mipuite tan tiin hmanraw tha leh technology sang pui pui chhawpchhuak mah se, mipuiten kan hman thiam loh chuan thil tangkai a ni dawn chuang lo va, chu chu hriain Digital India programme hian khua leh tuiten heng thiamna sang zawkte hi an hman ve ngei theihna turin ruahmanna a siam a. Khua leh tuite tunlai thiamna zirtirna programme te; tin, khua leh tuiten chung hmanrua te an hman ve theihna tur infrastructure buatsaih te, mipuite document leh certificate pawimawh te bo leh chhe mai mai lo tura internet (cloud) a dahthat theih turin ruahmanna a siam a. Ram rorelna tha awm thei tur chuan mipuite rorelnaah kan tel ve a ngai a, chung a awm theihna tur chuan mipuiten kan ngaih dan leh duh dante kan sawi ve theihna tur hi a pawimawh em em a, tunlai thiamna technology hmangin heng te pawh hi chhawpchhuah tura hmalak a ni baw a ni.

APPENDIX-6

[Part II-Sec.3(i)] **THE GAZETTE OF INDIA : EXTRAORDINARY**

**PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY
(DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY)**

NOTIFICATION

NEW DELHI, THE 21st November, 2003

G.S.R.903 (E)

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (v) of subsection (2) of section 87 of the Information Technology Act, 2000 (21 of 2000), the Central Government hereby makes the following rules, namely

1. Short title and commencement

- (1) These rules may be called the Information Technology (Other powers of Civil Court vested in Cyber Appellate Tribunal) Rules 2003.
- (2) They shall come into force on the date of their publication in the Official Gazette.

2. Definitions

In these Rules, unless the context otherwise requires

- (a) "Act" means the Information Technology Act, 2000 (21 of 2000);
- (b) "Cyber Appellate Tribunal" means the Cyber Regulations Appellate Tribunal established under Subsection (1) of section 48 of the Act;
- (c) words and expressions used herein and not defined but defined in the Act shall have the meaning respectively assigned to them in the Act.

3. Powers of Cyber Appellate Tribunal

The Cyber Appellate Tribunal shall have, for the purposes of discharging its functions under this Act, such other powers as are vested in a civil court under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, while trying a suit, in respect of the following matters, namely

- (a) setting aside any order of dismissal of any application for default or any order passed by it, *ex parte*;
- (b) requisitioning any public record or document or electronic record, from any office or court.

[F.No.9(12)/2003-EC]
(S.LAKSHMINARAYANAN) Additional Director

APPENDIX-7

ANNEXURE-I

MSeGS Completed Projects

Sl No	PROJECTS DESCRIPTION	OWNER OF DEPARTMENT
1	e plan	Planning
2	Criminal Case Tracking	Forensic Dept.
3	Mizoram House Online Booking	GAD
4	Rectification of Water Billing System	PHE
5	Discussion Forum	Directorate of School Education
6	Total Information on Teachers and Schools	Directorate of School Education
7	Inventory Management System	SAD
8	CM Online	CM Office
9	Content Management System Version 1.0	ICT Dept.
10	Revenue Tax Calculation and Surveyor Detailment	Revenue
11	ENDNET	Excise and Narcotic Department
12	Citizen Charter for ICT	ICT Dept.
13	Governor Website	Governor Office
14	Tourism	Tourism Department.
15	Clean Mizoram	Directorate of School Education
16	Mizoram Govt. Directory App	Government of Mizoram
17	SMS alert system for water distribution of Greater PHED	PHED
18	SMS alert system for water distribution of Greater Lunglei Water Supply Scheme	PHED Lunglei
19	SMS alert system for water distribution of Greater Champhai Water Supply Scheme	PHED Champhai
20	Disaster Mobile Apps	DC Aizawl
21	SMS Advisory for farmers in cultivation and Management in Horticulture Crops	Horticulture

Sl No	PROJECTS DESCRIPTION	OWNER OF DEPARTMENT
22	SMS module in CMS version 2	ICT Dept.
23	Bru Repatriation Record Application	Home
24	File Tracking System	Planning Department
25	Online Water Bill payment applications	P&E
26	Online Electricity Bill payment applications	P&E
27	Online RTI	MIC
28	Single Sign-On e-Praman	MSeGS
29	SMS Portal	MSeGS
30	Form Builder	MSeGS
31	Citizen Charter	MSeGS
32	Quality Management System (QMS)	MSeGS
33	Result Framework Management System(RFMS)	DP&AR
34	Online Scholarship Portal	Mizoram Scholarship Board

ANNEXURE-II
MSeGS On-Going Projects

Sl No	PROJECTS DESCRIPTION	OWNER OF DEPARTMENT
1	Website Theme	I&PR
2	Senhri Version 2.0 e Taal Integration	MSeGS
3	Senhri Version 2.0 Payment Gateway Integration	CM Office
4	Online RTI	MIC
5	Zonal Tank Water Level Detection System	PHE
6	Aizawl Traffic Management Software	Aizawl City Traffic
7	e-Budgeting	Finance Department

ANNEXURE-III
MSeGS Future Projects

Sl No	PROJECTS DESCRIPTION	OWNER OF DEPARTMENT
1	Integrated Finance Management System	Finance Department
2	Rectification & Technical Maintenance for Pension Database Management System	Accounts & Treasuries
3	Mizoram State Library Repository & Online Catalogue	Art & Culture
4	Mizoram State Archive Digitization	Art & Culture
5	State GST Software	Finance Department
6	NEDP Programme & Project Implementation & Monitoring	Planning Department
7	Ease of doing business	Commerce & Industries Department
8	Online Public Service Delivery through Mobile Apps	ICT Department
9	Improvement of network connectivity in Aizawl city	ICT Department
10	Water Quantity & Quality Management System	PHE Department
11	State Wide Roll-out of Electricity bill payment	P&E Department
12	Centralized e-Metering	P&E Department

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

C.Zoremsanga, Scientist' C' at NIELIT Centre, Aizawl, 6th October, 2017.

Dr H.Nguridingliana, MLA, Chalfilh Constituency at Khatla Bungkawn, 9th September, 2017.

Isaac Zothanpuia, Project Manager, E-Governance Office at Department of ICT ,Secretariat, Aizawl, Government of Mizoram, 27th September, 2017.

Malsawmi, Ex-AMC Councillor (2010-2015), Ward No. IV at Zarkawt, Aizawl, 7th September, 2017.

Rosiamngheta, AMC Councillor, Ward No.V at Chanmari ,Aizawl, 9th September, 2017.

P.C.Ruatsanga, Ex-AMC Councillor (2010-2015), Ward No. IX at Chhinga Veng, Aizawl, 7th September, 2017.

SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

Arato Andrew ,Eikhe Gibhart.(1978). *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*. New York :Continuum.

Barrow, Cyilde,W.(1993). *Critical Theories of The State: Marxist, Neo Marxist, Post Marxist*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Fadia B.L.(2015). *Indian Government and Politics*. (11thed.). New Delhi: Sahitya Bhawan.

- Fadia B.L.,Kuldeep Fadia.(2013). *Public Administration:Administrative Theories and Concepts*.(11th ed.).Agra: Sahitya Bhawan.
- Doshi, S.L.(2003). *Modernity, Postmodernity and Neo-Sociological Theories*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Eatwell, Roger &Wright, Anthony.(1999). *Contemporary Political Ideologies*. New York:Continuum.
- Ellul, Jacques.(1904).*The Technological Society*.New York:Vintage Books.
- Gauba,O.P.(2014).*An Introduction to Political Theory*.(7thed.).Indirapuram:Mayur Paperbacks.
- Haywood, Andrew. (2004). *Political Theory: An Introduction*. (3rd ed.).New York: Palgrave.
- Joshi, J.H.(2005).*Mizoram Past and Present*.New Delhi:Mittal Publications.
- Lalnithanga P.(2005). *Emergence of Mizoram*. Aizawl: P.Lalnithanga.
- Lalfakzuala, Joseph.K.(2013).”An Analysis of the State Legislative Elections” in Sinha,Harenda and B.Lalrinchhani.(2003).*Women in Mizo Society*.New Delhi:Mittal Publication.
- Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. (1990). *Contemporary Socialist Thought-A Critical Study*. New Delhi:Anmol Publications.
- Marcuse, Herbert. (1964). *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*.London:Routledge.

M.J.Vinod, Meena Deshpande.(2013).*Contemporary Political Theory*. Delhi :PHI Learning Private Limited.

Munck, Ronaldo.(2002). *Marx @ 2000 – Late Marxist Perspectives*. : London:Zed Books.

Prasad R.N, A.K.Agarwal.(1991).*Political&Economic Development of Mizoram*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.

Sheldon, Garren Ward.(2005).*The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*. New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited.

Tormey,Simon & Jules Townshed.(2006).*Key Thinkers from Critical Theory to Post Marxism*.London:Sage Publications.

Tripathi Vishwas.(2007).*E-Governance in India*. New Delhi.:Anmol Publications.

Verma, S.L.(2008). *Advanced Political Theory-Analysis and Technologies*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Vermani, R.C.(2000). *An Introduction to Political Theory*. New Delhi: Gitanjali Publishing House.

B. JOURNALS

Adelman, Frederick J.(1970).Freedom and Marxism, *Studies in Socialist Thought*,10(1),1-12.

Agger, Ben.(1988). Marcuses's One-Dimensionality:Socio-Historical and Ideological Context,*Springer*,13(4),315-329. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29790288> dated: 07/10/2016

- Alt, John et al. (1979). Special Review Essay: Doing Critical Theory, *Teaching Sociology*. 7(1), 89-98. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1317383> dated: 07/10/2016
- Anderson, Kevin. (1993). On Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory: A Critical Appreciation of Herbert Marcuse's Reason and Revolution, Fifty Years Later. *Sociological Theory*. 11(3), 243-267.
- Antonio, Robert J. (1983, Summer). The Origin, Development, and Contemporary Status of Critical Theory. *The Sociological Quarterly*. 24(3), 25-351. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4106182> dated: 10/10/2017
- Aronowitz, Stanley. (1999). The Unknown Herbert Marcuse. *Social Text*, 58, 133-154. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/466719> dated: 07/10/2016
- Beum, Robert. (1975). The Old Regime and the Technological Society. *The Journal of Politics*. 37(4), 937-954. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2129184> dated: 29/08/2017
- D. Bandyopadhyay. (2000, Jul. 29-Aug. 4). Gender and Governance in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 35(31), 2696-2966. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2129184> dated: 19/09/2017
- Fuhrman, Elsworth. (1979). The Normative Structure of Critical Theory. *Hillman Studies*. 2(3), 209-227. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20008725> dated: 07/10/2016

- Gupta, Sobhanlal Datta.(2002, December). Marxism in the 21st Century: Towards a New Understanding?.*The Indian Journal of Political Science*.63(4),281-300.
Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42753693> dated:10/10/2017
- Hamilton, Lawrence.(2013).Real Modern Freedom.*Theoria:A Journal of Social and Political Theory*.60(137),1-28. Retrieved from
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/42705270> dated:29/08/2017
- Janowitz,Morris.(1975).Sociological Theory and Social Control. *American Journal of Sociology*.81(1),82-108.
- Leiss, William.(1971).Technological Rationality: Notes on “Work and Freedom in Marcuse and Marx”. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* .4(3),398-400.
- McCarthy,Timothy.(1986,Winter).Marxism and the Dilemma of Freedom. *International Social Science Review*.61(1),12-20.
- Neumann, Franz, L.(1953).Concept of Political Freedom.*Columbia Law Review*.53 (7),901-935. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1119178> dated: 29/08/2017
- O'Carroll, V. Jeffrey.(2010). Technology, Technological Domination, and the Great Refusal: Marcuse's Critique of the Advanced Industrial Society”. *Kritike*, 4(1), 54-78.
- Rose, Brad.(1990). The Triumph of Social Control? A Look at Herbert Marcuse's One Dimensional Man, 25 Years Later. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*,35, 55-68. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41035497> dated: 07/10/2016

Ryan, Alan. (1965). Freedom. *Philosophy*. 40(152), 93-112.

Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3748386> dated: 29/08/2017

Saxena Anupama. (2005, April-June). E-Governance and Good Governance: The Indian Context. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*. 66 (2), 313-328.

Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41856130> dated: 19/09/2017

Schmidtz, David. (1992). Rationality within Reason. *The Journal of Philosophy*.

89(9), 445-466. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2941111> dated: 19/09/2017

Stincombe, Arthur L. (1986, Autumn). Reason and Rationality. *Sociological Theory*.

4(2), 151-166. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/201885> dated: 29/08/2017

Sumanjeet. (2006, Oct.-Dec.). E-Governance: An Overview in the Indian Context. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*. 67(4), 857-866.

Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2941111> dated: 19/09/2017

Therborn, Goran. (1986). Karl Marx Returning: The Welfare State and the Neo-

Marxist, Corporatist and Statist Theories. *International Political Science*

Review. 7(2), 131-164. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1600786>

dated: 10/10/2017

C. UNPUBLISHED THESIS

Lalhriatpuii, F. (2016). *Urban Local Body Elections in Mizoram*. Thesis

submitted for the partial fulfilment of Master of Philosophy, Mizoram

University.

D. NET SOURCES

<https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/refusing-marcuse-fifty-years-after-one-dimensional-man> Retrieved on: 02/05/2017

<https://msecs.mizoram.gov.in/> Retrieved on: 04/06/2017

<http://nptel.ac.in/courses/109103023/download/Lecture%2021.pdf> Retrieved on: 08/07/2017

<http://www.sociologyguide.com/social-control/index.php> Retrieved on: 08/07/2017

<http://beta.nielit.gov.in/ajmer/content/national-digital-literacy-mission> Retrieved on: 09/07/2017

<http://www.nielit.gov.in/content/introduction-3> Retrieved on: 08/08/2017

<http://meity.gov.in/about-meity> Retrieved on: 08/08/2017

<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~korsgaard/CMK.Rationality.pdf> Retrieved on: 20/08/2017

<http://egov.eletsonline.com/2017/08/mizoram-pushing-e-governance-to-the-next-level/> Retrieved on: 21/08/2017

<http://egov.eletsonline.com/2015/07/governance-going-digital-in-mizoram/> Retrieved on: 21/8/2017

<https://dict.mizoram.gov.in/page/e-governance> Retrieved on: 22/08/2017

<https://egovindia.wordpress.com/2006/07/16/mizoram-implementing-ict-for-e-governance/> Retrieved on: 19/9/2017

<http://cms.gcg11.ac.in/attachments/article/214/unit%204%20-%20Meaning%20of%20social%20control,%20meanings,%20features%20and%20agencies.pdf> Retrieved on: 20/09/2017

<http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/social-control/social-control-meaning-objectives-and-functions-of-social-control/31298> Retrieved on: 20/09/2017

<http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/social-control-the-meaning-need-types-and-other-details/8533/> Retrieved on: 20/09/2017

ABSTRACT

**A STUDY OF HERBERT MARCUSE'S ONE DIMENSIONAL
MAN IN THE CONTEXT OF MIZO SOCIETY**

SUBMITTED BY

RUATDIKI HMAR

MZU / M.Phil. / 415 of 22.05.2017

SUPERVISOR

PROFESSOR JANGKHONGAM DOUNGEL



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

MIZORAM UNIVERSITY

AIZAWL-796004

2017

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary world is considered by many as the age of internet technology due to the ground breaking revolutionary developments that have taken place across the globe. In the field of Political Theory, the arrival of new technology has also sounded the alarm for the birth of new theories or the re-structuring of the existing theories. The Critical thinker and founding member of the Frankfurt School, Herbert Marcuse developed the themes memorable to the Frankfurt School in his modern classic, *One-Dimensional Man* published in 1964. According to Herbert Marcuse, technology is a social process and the technical apparatus of industry, communication, transportation is partial to technology.¹ Technology entails the production mode, totality of instruments, devices and contrivances which are also the channels for creating and establishing social relationships and are also tools for control and domination.² The individual rationality that was characterized by subjective thinking and the power of negative thinking witnessed a change. Individual rationality witnessed the lost of autonomy; offering one's compliance to the system where all liberating thoughts of action and various functions of reason were now directed towards maintenance of the apparatus, leading to the emergence of technological rationality.

The dominance of technological rationality is established by the agents of social control that have now taken a technological form. Under the new form of social control, a new society³ – a society of total mobilization characterized by advanced areas of industrial civilization; combination of welfare and warfare state;

¹ Andrew Arato & Eike Gebhart (1978) *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader* (New York: Continuum), p.138

² *Ibid.*, p.139

³ *Ibid.*, p.21

assimilation of the blue collar and white collar jobs; introjection of both big corporation need and development schemes through mass media have reached both private and public spheres. This new society contains the prevailing rationality guided by technology through the Convergence of Opposites⁴, more labour mechanization, repressive desublimation⁵ in the field of art and culture where the high mass culture has reached all sections of society by manipulation of the commodity fetishism prevailing among the individuals. This leads to a change in the attitude and consciousness of the individuals in favour of the prevailing system, leading to the advent of happy false consciousness.⁶ Man, under the rationality dictated by the false consciousness is subdued, repressed, dominated by the technological society, termed as the *One-Dimensional Society* where the *One-Dimensional Man* has unauthentic needs. He has lost his individuality, freedom and lives in servitude due to his mere existence as a thing. The *One-Dimensional Society* is called as the *Advanced Totalitarian Industrial Society*⁷ where false consciousness, unauthentic needs, repressive administration of society, deceptive liberties in the name of freedom, free and administered prices and competition prevail.

The Mizo society as it exists today seems to exhibit the prevailing notions of technological rationality with all its grandeur. The focus of the study therefore would be on an appraisal of Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man*, taking into context the Mizo society and its governing authority.

⁴ Ibid.,p.37

⁵ Ibid.,p.59

⁶ Malhotra Vinay Kumar(1990)*Contemporary Socialist Thought: A Critical Study*(New Delhi:Anmol Publications), p. 218

⁷ Ibid.,p.219

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The study is limited due to many factors. The very concept of One-Dimensional Man is still relatively unknown, especially in the population on which the study was conducted. The constraints due to lack of supplementary sources, especially at the local level delineates the arguments put forth. The feature of a technological society where grant of more freedom and its subsequent legitimization propounded by Marcuse is not in congruence to the principles of freedom put forth in a democratic society and thus, difficulty arose in analyzing its existence. The propositions put forth by Marcuse were in accordance with the developmental events that were taking place in the context of the developed nations in the west. In the context of an under-developed society like the Mizo society, the concept of One-Dimensional Man has shown its relevance with the onset of globalization and thus needs to be highlighted.

SCOPE OF STUDY

The study examined the acceptance of technically imposed rationality, the ruling apparatus' role as an agent of social control for containment of the technological rationality and the oppression generated by the grant and subsequent legitimization of freedom, which are tenants of Herbert Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man*. This study was based only within the proximity of Aizawl City, as it is the epicentre of development and technological advancement in the state of Mizoram. The technology of internet was the central focus due to its dominance in utilization and reliance over the other available technology. The study focused on those individuals who enjoy the right to universal adult franchise as they are considered to be more reliable in comprehending the vitality of internet technology in their day to

day lives. The ruling political party, the Indian National Congress is analysed due to the democratically elected single party rule in the context of Mizoram. The recent modes of freedom granted due to the 33% seat reservation for women in the Aizawl Municipal Corporation and the subsequent enactment of laws, legislation for its implementation was also examined.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

This study demonstrates the reality of Mizo society based on the theoretical proposition, *One Dimensional Man* put forth by Herbert Marcuse and its relevance in the 21st century, referred to by many as the Internet Age due to the increasing dominance of internet in the day to day life of man. In this age, man's rationality based on critical thinking and his power of negative thinking has been relegated to one of submission, adjustment and conferment to the rationality dictated by technology. Even in the context of Mizo society, the craze for possession of technology and its subsequent skills for its utilization deemed rational by society is dominant. Thus, this study highlights the practicability of Marcuse's propositions on domination, alienation, repression, technologically imposed rationality that bring to life the *One-Dimensional Man* and the utilization of this technology by the political parties in power, especially in a democratic society for the strengthening of the technologically induced rationality.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives for the study are as follows,

1. To examine the need for adjustment of the individual in accordance with the prevailing notions of internet driven technological rationality.
2. To analyze a technological society by the grant of freedom in the context of the 33% seat reservation for women in the Aizawl Municipal Corporation (AMC).
3. To examine the utilization of internet technology by the governing authority in Mizo society.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Does an individual adjust himself/herself accordingly to the rationality imposed by internet technology?
2. Does the grant of freedom characterized by technological society prevail in Mizo society?
3. How does the governing authority utilise internet technology in Mizo society?

METHODOLOGY

The study bears the nature of a mixed research, where descriptive and survey methods are applied.

Sources of data- Data is obtained from primary and secondary sources. Primary source consists of data obtained through the conduct of structured interviews and observation. Secondary sources constitute data obtained through consultation of various newspapers, magazines, journals; data obtained from television, radio and other relevant media related sources.

Tools of data collection: Scheduled Interviews were conducted and data collected was interpreted accordingly. Observation techniques were also employed.

Population- The population comprised of citizens residing in Aizawl City, between the age group of 18-65 years.

Sampling Procedure/ Technique- from a sample size of 40, *Stratified Sampling* was used and the following strata were drawn: businessmen, shop level employees, college students (undergraduate and postgraduate level), government employees, pensioners (from governmental services), and representatives from the ruling political party.

Random Sampling was employed in the following strata: privately owned businessmen, college students (undergraduate and postgraduate level), government employees, pensioners (from governmental services), and shop level employees.

Purposive Sampling was employed in 2 strata: representatives from the ruling political party and government employees for the identification of those leaders and administrators actively involved in the usage of internet technology for conduct of their roles and duties.

Analysis of data- The quantitative data obtained was analysed using simple percentage and interpreted accordingly whereas, the qualitative data which was obtained through structured interviews and observation techniques was analyzed in a descriptive nature.

CHAPTERIZATION

Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers an insight into the concept of Marxism and the subsequent advent of Neo Marxism along with the emergence of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory. It gives a detailed description on the life and works of Herbert Marcuse and his conceptualization of the One-Dimensional Man. Review of literature, statement of the problem, scope and significance of the study, objectives of the study, research questions pertaining to the study, research methodology and a brief description of each chapter is mentioned.

Chapter II: RATIONALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN A TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

This chapter gives a description on the traditional conceptions of reason and individual rationality. A detailed account of Marcuse's concept of technology and technological rationality; the arrival of the *Happy Consciousness* as a consequence of the alienation, domination of man leading to the subsequent birth of the *One-Dimensional Man* living in the *One Dimensional Society* is highlighted.

Chapter III: FREEDOM IN A TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

This chapter examines the contextual linkage between democracy and freedom. It analyses the underlying characteristics in Marcuse's concept of freedom in the form of unfreedom and highlights the nature of unfreedom in democratic India in the context of the 33% seat reservation for women in urban local bodies provided by the Constitution 74th Amendment Act, 1992. Special reference to the Aizawl Municipal Corporation and its relevance in this context is also incorporated

Chapter IV: SOCIAL CONTROL IN A TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

This chapter offers a description on social control. It gives a detailed account of Marcuse's view of social control and the forms of social control that prevail in a technological society. Social control in the context of Electronic-Governance with special reference to its advent and utilization in the state of Mizoram is highlighted.

Chapter V: CONCLUSION

This chapter contains the summary of findings and conclusions drawn accordingly.

FINDINGS

The contemporary Mizo society has many traits and elements that are akin to the *Advanced Industrial Society*, also referred to as the modern political democratic society. From the late 1990s onwards, the Mizo society has absorbed the benefits of globalization, especially in the context of adoption of technology. This study, which was conducted in Aizawl City is based on a sample size of 40 that included respondents from 6 sections of society namely businessmen, shop level employees, college students (from the undergraduate and post graduate level), government employees, pensioners, representatives from the ruling political party. From the 40 respondents, it was found that 97% were users of Information Technology (IT), which was put into operation through the use of mobile phones, laptops and personal computers (referred to as gadgets, mechanical tools) that were coupled with the pertaining internet service providers (BSNL, Airtel, Vodafone, etc). 82% of the respondents use IT on a day to day basis, from which 79.4% found it necessary to use IT in their respective fields.

For the businessmen and shop level employees, IT services were utilised for performing a diverse set of functions. These functions entail correspondence, media related ventures, financial avenues and security related initiatives. For the elected leaders at both the local level and state level, IT was put to use for dissemination of information. It enabled the elected leaders to offer a medium for correspondence with the citizens. Keeping track of the latest political developments and behaviour pattern of voters is also made possible through IT. For college students at the undergraduate and post graduate level, IT offers access to a wide range of information related to one's chosen academic field. Other facilities like video conferencing, virtual classrooms as well as outlets for utilizing one's leisure time is also provided by IT. For pensioners, IT usage has become vital for gaining their pension benefits as the entire record for the terms of their pension and emoluments are conducted via online i.e. are digitalised with the use of IT. Utilization of IT for financial transactions in the form of net banking is also gaining momentum. For the government employees, the usage of IT has increased manifold over the years especially with the rapid move towards digitalization in government departments. Accession to government services, implementation of one's line of work, preparation and dissipation of information to the citizens, monitoring and implementing of sanctioned projects, finance related functions all require the usage of IT.

While ensuring all governmental organs and departments are equipped with the gadgets and technics needed to avail IT, even the grass root levels of governance are being provided with these technics and gadgets. Citing an instance, under the Government of Mizoram, 12 Village Councils have been chosen as recipients of a fully functional computer system. Out of the 12 selected village councils, 6 Village Councils (NE Tlanguam, Khawlian, Phuaibuang, Phullen, Thanglailung, Khanpui)

have already received the computer set and the remaining 6 will be receive their respective sets by the end of 2017.

The necessity for usage of IT in various aspects of the individual's life has lead to the emergence of a new necessity, requirement in the form of IT knowledge as supported by 77% of the respondents. This new, yet overlooming necessity is acquired through various outlets, where majority are in pursuit of a new form of literacy, termed as Digital Literacy. The skill set needed in the IT era has been acquired through various avenues. While some opt for self practise and are self taught on the basics, some have sought aid from their peer groups. Educational institutions have incorporated IT knowledge as part of the school curriculum while some have taken up the study of IT at the undergraduate and post graduate levels. Many institutions focused solely on IT education and training have also been established. The propagation of Digital Literacy has been spear headed under the Digital India Campaign, where National Institute of Electronics and Information Technology (NIELIT) is the recognized body that has taken up this cause. In Mizoram, NIELIT study centres have been established in almost all major villages of Mizoram. Under NIELT, around 20,000 people have been provided with IT training and IT education. Initiatives such as Preparing NE (North East) for Digital India, Digida Mela, programmes in media outlet such as Doordashan, Air India Radio and local cable channels for the promotion of digital awareness has been organized.

In order to highlight the one-dimensional characteristics of Mizo society, a detailed study was undertaken through the methodological form of interview and questionnaire on the Aizawl Municipal Corporation (AMC). The following were the results that emerged from the study conducted. With the establishment of the Aizawl Municipal Council in 2008(later became the Aizawl Municipal Corporation in 2015),

each cycle of incumbents are in fulfilment of the provision for 33% reservation of seats for female councillors, as laid down by the Constitution 74th Amendment Act, 1992. The 33% seat reservation for women was seen as an attempt to ensure greater participation of women in decision making process, leading to the attainment of higher degrees of freedom for women in the patriarchal society and would be more representative of the Mizo society as a whole.

Based on the study conducted in Aizawl City, from the 40 respondents, a common conception was shared among 56.4% respondents who affirmed that the seat reservation in the AMC indeed lead to grant of more freedom to women in Mizo society. 38.4% found the need to have seat reservation in the male dominated Mizo society. The need for seat reservation stems from the fact that the Mizo society, being a patriarchal society is male dominated and women in the past had little or no real inclination to take part in the administrative machinery. The provision for seat reservation has provided a platform for women to raise their voices and prove their worth in the political arena. It is however, not legitimate if one simply claims that the seat reservation is a real necessity as it is invalidated by the claim of 61.6%, who do not find the necessity in the having 33% seat reservation. The presence of reservation does not necessarily lead to the transformation of the patriarchal mindset found in the society nor does it give decisive powers to Mizo women. The existence of quotas (reserved seats) for women has lead to a situation where in the name of reservation, the political parties merely field female candidates to serve their vested interest. The presence of female representatives has not lead to a rise or implementation of tasks that would solve female centric issues, promoting higher levels of emancipation and freedom among women in Mizo society. The subject matters for governance and administration that are handed over to the AMC do not

provide any provisions where gender based inequality in opportunity or access to rights is possible as these subject matters are generalized ones, and male or female alike they all have to adhere to the conditions laid down by the AMC. The subject matter covers only the urban part of Mizoram as the jurisdiction of AMC is confined to urban areas i.e. Aizawl city only. Thus, it is not truly representative of the Mizo society due to exclusion of majority of the population who reside in the rural parts of the state. Also, the ratio of 33% has no valid arguments as a truly representative ratio would best be reflected by taking the male-female ratio of the population into consideration. The AMC with its seat reservation for women, is thus a gleaming example of an act of unfreedom (based on Marcuse)

The governing authority is dependent on IT for governance, delivery of goods and services. The governing authority in Mizo society, highlighted as the elected political leaders and the bureaucrats constitute the ruling apparatus. The ruling apparatus has always worked in allegiance with the prevailing technology, IT and its connotations. The NEGP of 2006 was a stepping stone that paved the way for the establishment of the MSeGS leading to the birth of a distinct department, ICT. Under the MSeGs, certain projects have been implemented for various governmental departments, which would have both a direct and indirect bearing on the individual.

From the ruling apparatus at the Centre, State and local level, IT has created a new form of governance, in the name of E-governance (Electronic governance). Under E-governance policies, initiatives and projects have been executed and will be executed to ensure the utilization of IT in the digital era is reinforced and the individual falls in line with the development that takes place in society. Every form of freedom asserted by society is not genuine but generated by the same technological apparatus that govern the society. Thus, the Mizo society which appears to be

enjoying a tenure of development in all dimensions of society is a manifestation of Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man, living in a One-Dimensional Society*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

C.Zoremsanga, Scientist' C' at NIELIT Centre, Aizawl, 6th October, 2017.

Dr H.Nguridingliana, MLA, Chalfilh Constituency at Khatla Bungkawn, 9th September, 2017.

Isaac Zothanpuia, Project Manager, E-Governance Office at Department of ICT ,Secretariat, Aizawl, Government of Mizoram, 27th September, 2017.

Malsawmi, Ex-AMC Councillor (2010-2015), Ward No. IV at Zarkawt, Aizawl, 7th September, 2017.

Rosiamngheta, AMC Councillor, Ward No.V at Chanmari ,Aizawl, 9th September, 2017.

P.C.Ruatsanga, Ex-AMC Councillor (2010-2015), Ward No. IX at Chhinga Veng, Aizawl, 7th September, 2017.

SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS

Arato Andrew ,Eikhe Gibhart.(1978). *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*. New York :Continuum.

- Barrow, Cyld, W.(1993). *Critical Theories of The State: Marxist, Neo Marxist, Post Marxist*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Fadia B.L.(2015). *Indian Government and Politics*.(11thed.). New Delhi: Sahitya Bhawan.
- Fadia B.L., Kuldeep Fadia.(2013). *Public Administration: Administrative Theories and Concepts*.(11th ed.). Agra: Sahitya Bhawan.
- Doshi, S.L.(2003). *Modernity, Postmodernity and Neo-Sociological Theories*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Eatwell, Roger & Wright, Anthony.(1999). *Contemporary Political Ideologies*. New York: Continuum.
- Ellul, Jacques.(1904). *The Technological Society*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Gauba, O.P.(2014). *An Introduction to Political Theory*.(7thed.). Indrapuram: Mayur Paperbacks.
- Haywood, Andrew. (2004). *Political Theory: An Introduction*. (3rd ed.). New York: Palgrave.
- Joshi, J.H.(2005). *Mizoram Past and Present*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Lalnithanga P.(2005). *Emergence of Mizoram*. Aizawl: P.Lalnithanga.
- Lalfakzuala, Joseph.K.(2013). "An Analysis of the State Legislative Elections" in Sinha, Harendra and B.Lalrinchhani.(2003). *Women in Mizo Society*. New Delhi: Mittal Publication.

- Malhotra, Vinay Kumar. (1990). *Contemporary Socialist Thought-A Critical Study*.
New Delhi:Anmol Publications.
- Marcuse, Herbert. (1964). *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of
Advanced Industrial Society*.London:Routledge.
- M.J.Vinod, Meena Deshpande.(2013).*Contemporary Political Theory*. Delhi :PHI
Learning Private Limited.
- Munck, Ronaldo.(2002). *Marx @ 2000 – Late Marxist Perspectives*. : London:Zed
Books.
- Prasad R.N, A.K.Agarwal.(1991).*Political&Economic Development of Mizoram*.
New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Sheldon, Garren Ward.(2005).*The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*. New Delhi:
Viva Books Private Limited.
- Tormey,Simon & Jules Townshed.(2006).*Key Thinkers from Critical Theory to Post
Marxism*.London:Sage Publications.
- Tripathi Vishwas.(2007).*E-Governance in India*. New Delhi.:Anmol Publications.
- Verma, S.L.(2008). *Advanced Political Theory-Analysis and Technologies*. Jaipur:
Rawat Publications.
- Vermani, R.C.(2000). *An Introduction to Political Theory*. New Delhi: Gitanjali
Publishing House.

B. JOURNALS

- Adelman, Frederick J.(1970).Freedom and Marxism, *Studies in Socialist
Thought*,10(1),1-12.

- Agger, Ben.(1988). Marcuses's One-Dimensionality:Socio-Historical and Ideological Context,*Springer,13(4)*,315-329. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29790288> dated: 07/10/2016
- Alt,John et al.(1979).Special Review Essay:Doing Critical Theory,*Teaching Sociology.7(1)*,89-98. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1317383> dated:07/10/2016
- Anderson, Kevin.(1993).On Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory: A Critical Appreciation of Herbert Marcuse's Reason and Revolution, Fifty Years Later. *Sociological Theory. 11(3)*,243-267.
- Antonio, Robert J. (1983, Summer).The Origin, Development, and Contemporary Status of Critical Theory. *The Sociological Quarterly.24(3)*,25-351. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4106182> dated: 10/10/2017
- Aronowitz, Stanley.(1999). The Unknown Herbert Marcuse. *Social Text,58*,133-154. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/466719> dated:07/10/2016
- Beum, Robert.(1975).The Old Regime and the Technological Society.*The Journal of Politics.37(4)*,937-954. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2129184> dated:29/08/2017
- D.Bandyopadhyay.(2000, Jul.29-Aug.4).Gender and Governance in India. *Economic and Political Weekly.35(31)*,2696-2966. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2129184> dated:19/09/2017

- Fuhrman, Elsworth.(1979).The Normative Structure of Critical Theory. *Hillman Studies*.2(3),209-227. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20008725> dated:07/10/2016
- Gupta, Sobhanlal Datta.(2002, December). Marxism in the 21st Century: Towards a New Understanding?.*The Indian Journal of Political Science*.63(4),281-300. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42753693> dated:10/10/2017
- Hamilton, Lawrence.(2013).Real Modern Freedom.*Theoria:A Journal of Social and Political Theory*.60(137),1-28. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42705270> dated:29/08/2017
- Janowitz,Morris.(1975).Sociological Theory and Social Control. *American Journal of Sociology*.81(1),82-108.
- Leiss, William.(1971).Technological Rationality: Notes on “Work and Freedom in Marcuse and Marx”. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* .4(3),398-400.
- McCarthy,Timothy.(1986,Winter).Marxism and the Dilemma of Freedom. *International Social Science Review*.61(1),12-20.
- Neumann, Franz, L.(1953).Concept of Political Freedom.*Columbia Law Review*.53(7),901-935. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1119178> dated: 29/08/2017
- O'Carroll, V. Jeffrey.(2010). Technology, Technological Domination, and the Great Refusal: Marcuse's Critique of the Advanced Industrial Society”. *Kritike*, 4(1), 54-78.

- Rose, Brad.(1990). The Triumph of Social Control? A Look at Herbert Marcuse's One Dimensional Man, 25 Years Later. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*,35, 55-68. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41035497> dated: 07/10/2016
- Ryan,Alan.(1965).Freedom.*Philosophy*.40(152),93-112.
Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3748386> dated: 29/08/2017
- Saxena Anupama.(2005, April-June).E-Governance and Good Governance: The Indian Context. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*.66 (2),313-328.
Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41856130> dated:19/09/2017
- Schmidtz,David.(1992).Rationality within Reason.*The Journal of Philosophy*. 89(9),445-466. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2941111> dated:19/09/2017
- Stincombe, Arthur L.(1986, Autumn) .Reason and Rationality. *Sociological Theory*. 4(2),151-166. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/201885> dated:29/08/2017
- Sumanjeet.(2006,Oct.-Dec.).E-Governance:An Overview in the Indian Context. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*.67(4),857-866.
Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2941111> dated:190/9/217
- Therborn,Goran.(1986).Karl Marx Returning:The Welfare State and the Neo-Marxist,Corporatist and Statist Theories.*International Political Science Review*.7(2),131-164. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1600786> dated:10/10/2017

C. UNPUBLISHED THESIS

Lalhriatpuii,F.(2016). *Urban Local Body Elections in Mizoram*.Thesis

submitted for the partial fulfilment of Master of Philosophy,Mizoram
University.

D. NET SOURCES

<https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/refusing-marcuse-fifty-years-after-one-dimensional-man> Retrieved on: 02/05/2017

<https://msecs.mizoram.gov.in/> Retrieved on: 04/06/2017

<http://nptel.ac.in/courses/109103023/download/Lecture%2021.pdf> Retrieved on:
08/07/2017

<http://www.sociologyguide.com/social-control/index.php> Retrieved on: 08/07/2017

<http://beta.nielit.gov.in/ajmer/content/national-digital-literacy-mission> Retrieved on:
09/07/2017

<http://www.nielit.gov.in/content/introduction-3> Retrieved on: 08/08/2017

<http://meity.gov.in/about-meity> Retrieved on: 08/08/2017

<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~korsgaar/CMK.Rationality.pdf> Retrieved on:
20/08/2017

<http://egov.eletsonline.com/2017/08/mizoram-pushing-e-governance-to-the-next-level/> Retrieved on: 21/08/2017

<http://egov.eletsonline.com/2015/07/governance-going-digital-in-mizoram/> Retrieved
on: 21/8/2017

<https://dict.mizoram.gov.in/page/e-governance> Retrieved on: 22/08/2017

<https://egovindia.wordpress.com/2006/07/16/mizoram-implementing-ict-for-e-governance/> Retrieved on: 19/9/2017

<http://cms.gcg11.ac.in/attachments/article/214/unit%204%20-%20Meaning%20of%20social%20control,%20meanings,%20features%20and%20agencies.pdf> Retrieved on: 20/09/2017

<http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/social-control/social-control-meaning-objectives-and-functions-of-social-control/31298> Retrieved on: 20/09/2017

<http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/sociology/social-control-the-meaning-need-types-and-other-details/8533/> Retrieved on: 20/09/2017