



# VISION IAS

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## SOCIOLOGY (TEST CODE : 2299)

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Center	Online	Date	24/08/23

### INDEX TABLE

Q. No.	Maximum Marks	Marks Obtained
1 (a)	10	
(b)	10	
(c)	10	
(d)	10	
(e)	10	
2 (a)	20	
(b)	20	
(c)	10	
3 (a)	20	
(b)	20	
(c)	10	
4 (a)	20	
(b)	20	
(c)	10	
5 (a)	10	
(b)	10	
(c)	10	
(d)	10	
(e)	10	
6 (a)	20	
(b)	20	
(c)	10	
7 (a)	20	
(b)	20	
(c)	10	
8 (a)	20	
(b)	20	
(c)	10	

Total Marks Obtained:

Remarks:

### INSTRUCTIONS

- Do furnish the appropriate details in the answer sheet (viz. Name, Registration Number and Test Code).
- There are EIGHT questions divided in TWO SECTIONS. Candidate has to attempt FIVE questions in all. Questions Nos. 1 and 5 are compulsory and out of the remaining, any THREE are to be attempted choosing at least ONE from each Section.
- The number of marks carried by a question/part is indicated against it.
- Answers must be written in the medium authorized in the Admission Certificate, which must be stated clearly on the cover of this Question-Cum-Answer (QCA) Booklet in the space provided. No marks will be given for answers written in medium other than the authorized one.
- Word limit in questions, if specified, should be adhered to.
- Any page or portion of the page left blank in the Question-Cum-Answer Booklet must be clearly struck off.

Is student recommended for One-to-One mentoring?

Recommended

Strongly Recommended

16-B, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Above National Trust Building, Bada Bazar Marg, Old Rajinder Nagar, Delhi-110060

Plot No. 857, 1st Floor, Banda Bahadur Marg (Opp. Punjab & Sind Bank), Dr. Mukherjee Nagar, Delhi-110009

## EVALUATION INDICATORS

1. Contextual Competence
2. Content Competence
3. Language Competence
4. Introduction Competence
5. Structure - Presentation Competence
6. Conclusion Competence

Overall Macro Comments / feedback / suggestions on Answer Booklet:

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

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All the Best

## SECTION - A

1. Write a short note on each of the following in not more than 150 words.

10 x 5 = 50

(a) How is Sociological approach to human actions different from that of psychological approach?

Sociology is a study of social actions, institutions & social processes from multiple perspectives.

Psychology is a study of human behaviour, mental systems, empathy & instincts of an individual.

Sociological approach to human actions is different from psychology :-

Sociology

○ Human actions are studied in a 'social' perspective as →  
↳ social actions (Weber). The way action is endowed with meaning & oriented towards others.

Psychology

○ It studies how individual motivations are behind a particular action.

○ Role of societal norms, values, culture taken on actions like Parsons' voluntaristic theory of action.

○ Uses both qualitative & quantitative methodologies to analyse human action like surveys on voting behaviour & village studies to analyse caste interaction.

○ Society is not taken as sui generis but a creation of individuals (Feud & JS Mill)

○ Maerly uses scientific experiments & quantitative methods to analyse human actions.

Symbolic interactionism of Mead, role & status concepts bring sociology and psychology together giving rise to inter-disciplinarity.

1. (b) Although the interview method has few technicalities associated with it, the simplicity of the format can be deceptive. Discuss.

Interview method of collecting data is a one to one guided conversation between interviewer & respondent.

Simplicity in format

- ① Easier & flexible collection of data.
- ② Less time & cost given
- ③ In unstructured interviews,  
clarifications, sub questions can be asked → better validity

## Deceptive simplicity

- Rapport required to establish trust & gain valid data  
(Paulin V Young)
  - Class & status difference may impact result eg → Black respondent & white interviewer.
  - Social desirability, response & interviewer biases creep in
- Interview must be supported by triangulation, facilitation & complementarity (Kammersely)

1. (c) Sociological theories provide us with a framework for explaining the social world around us. Discuss the role of theory in guiding social research.

Theory is a set of inter-related statements, arranged logically based on causality.

### Framework for explaining social world

- Theories have the power of prediction for future phenomenon  
Eg → Marx's historical materialism predicts communism.
- Helps to analyse reasons (both manifest & latent) behind a social phenomena. Eg → functional theory of stratification (Parsons)

### Role of theory in social research

- Hypothesis: Theories generate hypothesis for future research. Marx's

Theory of proletarianisation served as hypothesis for Goldthorpe's affluent worker study

① Falsification :- Future research tries to falsify theories, making it scientific  
(Karl Popper)

① Interpretation :- Analyse the data collected from a perspective like conflict. However, some perspectives argue that theories are not as useful:-

① Phenomenology → No fixed objective reality. All theories creation of subjective minds. (Schutz)

① Post-modern → Metanarratives of modernity have collapsed (Lyotard)

Theories can become the starting point of research in deductive analysis but we must also move beyond it for more holistic sociology.

1. (d) To what extent does Marx's theory of historical materialism explain the dynamics of modern capitalism?

Karl Marx's theory of historical materialism considers movement of history based on economic production rooted in materialism.

### Historical materialism

- Economic infrastructure of mode of production (relations, forces of production) controls social superstructure.
- Class struggle in each mode of production leads to next stage of history.
- History moves from primitive communism, ancient slave mode, feudalism, capitalism, socialism to advanced communism.

Historical materialism explains modern capitalism dynamics

- Competition among nations to get foreign capital, leads to convergence of taxes. Here, economy/capital

control legal laws (superstructure).

- Education is based on learning technical skills required for job.
- Newer forces of production like artificial intelligence, online meetings etc. have changed relations → job layoffs, work from home etc.

However, his theory can't explain modern capitalism completely:-

- Laws like corporate social responsibility control capital.
- Rise of sects, cults, fundamentalisms independent of economy (both developing & developed nations)
- Communism in its advanced form never arrived.

Historical materialism gave a distinct materialistic perspective, helping to move away from the realm of ideas.

1. (e) Critically examine the concept of pattern variable as a tool in understanding social reality.

Pattern Variables are a set of binary oppositions, creating dilemma for a social actor, resolved by social system.

### Pattern Variables (PV)

- Self interest vs collective interest
- Affectivity vs affective neutrality
- Particularism vs universalism
- Ascription vs achievement
- Diffuseness vs specificity

### PV as a tool to understand social reality

- It explains the value system of a particular social system. Parsons found universalism achievement in American society.
- Explains inter-personal relations & norms of judgement in a society.
- Few use it to distinguish between

Tradition & modernity -

However, PV can't fully explain social reality

① Existence of caste where both ~~is~~ closed particularistic & mobility exist.

② Existence of ascription in American society like based on race.

③ Parsons couldn't explain why different individuals in same social system choose different ~~are~~ PVs.

4. (a) Sociology is a systematic study of society, distinct from philosophical and religious reflections, as well as from our everyday common-sense observations about society. Discuss. 20

Sociology, as a discipline studies both micro & macro phenomena of all societal institutions from multiple perspectives. This has led it to being compared with other disciplines, theology & common sense.

Sociology, distinct from philosophy

○ While Philosophy discusses values & suggests normative solutions,

sociology takes a value-neutral stand, without giving solutions as per Positivist sociology of Durkheim

○ Philosophy is a higher form of abstraction, while sociology studies facts & theories ('social facts' of Durkheim)

However, sociology & Philosophy are also close :-

○ Sociology studies values of humans to understand underlying meanings & motives (Weber) in interpretative, phenomenological & ethnomethodological research.

○ ~~There~~ 'Laws' in sociology have a philosophical basis like Comte's law of 3 stages or Weber's law of iron cage of rationality.

Sociology makes a better analysis, when it has a philosophical basis (Vierkandt)

Sociology distinct from religious reflection

○ Religion accepts the existence of God while sociology believes ~~it~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ the creation of man as seen

in Durkheim's theory where religion is society.

○ Sociological analyses religion as a social phenomenon, how a society together perceives religion & how it is related to other institutions like law, economy etc. as seen in Marx's conflict → 'opium of masses'.

Sociology distinct from commonsense (CS)

○ Positivists (Comte, Durkheim) believe CS is prejudiced & naïve scientific study.

○ CS is stereotypical, status-quo, unexamined while sociology is reflective & discovers latent functions leading to social change.

○ Sociology is bound by methods, research, concepts while CS is taken

for granted.

Sociology close to common sense

○ Phenomenology focusses on studying common sense typifications of people to create 'life-world' like ~~Hobson~~

Dawn Hobson's study of nurses ethics.

○ Critical theory aims to study dominant ideology in CS to emancipate masses from it

○ Common sense gives raw material, hypothesis to sociology (e.g. sexual division of labour) while sociological concepts become part of CS (Giddens)

Sociology has grown in close proximity to religion, philosophy & common sense, yet acquired a distinct identity from them.

4. (b) Discuss the influence of Mead's concept of the social self on contemporary debates about identity and subjectivity. In what ways does his theory offer a new perspective on the relationship between the individual and society? 20

G.H Mead gave the concept of self and mind in his symbolic interactionism perspective, connecting individual motivations with societal structures.

### Concept of social self

○ Self is created in a social process as one reflexively evaluates oneself from others' standpoint (both subject and object)

○ Self is composed of dynamic 'I' & conformist 'me'.

○ It develops evolutionarily in 'play stage' (role taking of discrete others) and 'game stage' (role taking of generalised others).

Self keeps developing & these are multiple selves based on multiple generalised others.

Social self - debates on identity & subjectivity

○ Gender :- gendered socialization in childhood, creates a 'gendered self'. Giving different names, different dresses & as a child takes different roles.  
eg → girls play 'kitchen set' (play stage)

○ Caste :- Bogle argues that brahminic superiority was accepted by all culturally → this is due to higher 'me'. Contemporary Dalit movements have more 'I'.

○ ethnicity :- strong sense of 'insider' vs 'outsider' based on cultural characteristics. Self formed is rooted in identity formed by generalised others who are the ethnic group members.

① Subjectivity :- one acts as is required in eyes of others & forms a similar value system (looking glass self-theory)

eg → high chances of male born in patriarchal household to follow same norms.

However, Mead's theory fails to take into account role of power structures, economy or identity formation. Marx argues that consciousness is formed by social being. Oscar Lewis also argues that poverty forms a distinct culture & identity.

New perspective on relationship between individual & society

① Mead accounts for agency of self, which is able to influence social structures via 'I'.

○ Society is also able to exert social control via 'me', as it conforms to norms.

○ Individual is able to adjust in society & act as others would expect based on reflexive evaluation.

○ Herbert Blumer argues symbolic interactionism doesn't force fit theories but takes into account individual's interpretation of social change like how impact of industrialisation was felt by families.

Mead's theories remain relevant to understand contemporary societies & John Dewey correctly remarks he was a seminal mind of the very first order.

4. (c) Discuss the significance of comparative method in the study of society.  
10

Comparative method, compares different social phenomena across different time periods or different spaces (spatially & temporally)

Significance of comparative method

- It helps to study phenomena in natural settings, high ecological validity (Kasakumbor)
- Can study social change across longer time periods  
(Religion & social change studied by Weber)
- It helps to study scientifically without ethical concerns & Hawthorne effect of laboratory experiments (Kasakumbor)

- Durkheim argues comparative method is basis of sociology as it establishes causal-functional relations, as seen in his study of suicide.

### Challenges of comparative method

- Researcher may compare incomparables. Louis Dumont was criticised for comparing caste with class as hierarchy vs stratification.
- Pritchard argues against giving sweeping generalisations based on comparisons. One must study society in its uniqueness.

Comparative method, despite its limitations was the basis of studies of Marx, Durkheim, Weber, the torchbearers of sociology.

## SECTION - B

5. Write a short note on each of the following in not more than 150 words.

10 x 5 = 50

(a) Discuss how gender affects access to resources and opportunities in the labour market.

Feminists highlight that gender is a source of unequal resources & opportunities in paid labour market.

Gender → resources & opportunities in labour market

○ Reproductive & household responsibilities leads to career breaks → intergenerational downward mobility.

○ Horizontal segregation :- Certain jobs of lower status for women  
BC's → cashier, catering, care, in Britain's study.

- ① Vertical segregation :- Paid lower within same job or at lower positions. (eg → very few female CEOs)
  - ① Sexual harassment → affects participation & self confidence (Pay Pay)
  - ① Double shifts (Koschilt)
    - ↳ at both household & work reduces work participation & creates double burden.
  - ① Trade unions neglect women, so they have less bargaining power in market (Sylvia Walby)
- Gender creates differential access which is being tackled by incentives to employers for hiring & women empowerment.

5. (b) "In the sociology of deviance, no single theory has emerged as dominant." Discuss.

Deviance refers to going against the norms & values of society.

No single theory emerged as dominant

① Biological theory :- Earlier ~~given~~ ~~space~~ given as basis of deviance. However, this <sup>is</sup> not accepted today.

② Psychological theory :- Freud considered people ~~to~~ with larger portion of 'Id' to be deviant.

③ Labelling theory :- Howard Becker argued that a person becomes deviant, when society labels them so, creating a self fulfilling prophecy.

## ○ Sociological theories

i) Durkheim :- He argued that deviance goes against collective conscience & is pathological if in excess. It is restored via punishment.

ii) Merton :- Discrepancy between culturally defined goals & structurally available means leads to situation of anomie. Reaction is in form of 5 responses:-

	goals	Acceptance of means
○ Conformist	+	+
○ Ritualist	-	+
○ Retreatist	-	-
○ Innovator	+	-
○ Rebellion	±	±

Deviance remains a major sociological concept, continued to be studied.

5. (c) Despite the acceptance of Weber's understanding of power by many, some believed it is too narrow. Discuss.

Weber defined power as the ability of man to realise his will <sup>even</sup> against the will of others in a communal action.

### Weber's understanding of power

- It is a constant sum → some gain, others lose.
- Authority is legitimate power, based on tradition, charisma or legal rationality.
- Class, status & party are 3 bases of power.

### Acceptance by many :-

- Pluralists agreed with the idea of constant sum.

- ① Beteille used class, status, ~~power~~ power in his analysis of caste stratification (Tanjore).
- ② Parsons ~~but~~ though followed variable sum but all his power was legitimate (Ciddens)

Too narrow

① functional theory believes power is not constant → variable sum (Parsons)

② Post modernists identify that there are many bases of power. Foucault sees power in discourse with Baudrillard in media & symbols

③ Feminists argue Weber ignored gender as a basis of power.

Weber's analysis showed how power is a source of domination.

5. (d) Comment on the trend of increasing numbers of sects and cults particularly in modern societies.

Sects & cults are a trend of religious revivalism.

Sects are a part of established religion, broken from it.

Cult is around charismatic personality, accommodating views of other religions.

Rise of sects & cults

① Onslaught of modernity →  
to find one stop solution from  
~~the~~ mundane problems on a  
face to face basis in this  
world (Oldsidge)

② Rising pace of social change  
eg globalisation leading to  
loss of cultural roots.

③ Marginalisation provides a  
basis of forming sects -

④ Technology increases the  
reach of sects & cults & widens  
audience (eg) - online sessions  
of cults.

Sect & cults in modern society  
reflects a search for solace  
in the wake of failure of  
science & modernity as per  
post modernists.

5. (e) Using Merton's concept of manifest and latent functions, explain the persistence of dowry in Indian Society?

Manifest functions refer to intended functions as understood by the actor at the subjective level.

Latent functions refer to unintended & unanticipated outcomes at societal level, understood objectively by sociologist.

Persistence of dowry.

⊕ Manifest functions/dysfunctions

○ Increase in wealth of bride taker. Kumari argues that globalisation's stress on luxury has increased dowry.

① Increase in status of bride  
gives → middle class for  
status, lower class for  
compensation & upper for affluence  
(Utsa Patnaik)

② Latent functions / dysfunctions

① Increased violence towards  
women

① Changes in laws → as an  
instrument of social change  
eg → Prohibition of Dowry Act

① Increasing patriarchy, distorted  
self identity (Patnaik) of women

Dowry's evil can be explained  
sociologically.

7. (a) Evaluate the role of religion in shaping individual and collective identities. How do religious beliefs and practices intersect with other social identities such as race, gender, and class? 20

Religion is a set of beliefs & practices related to sacred, which binds people together in a moral community.

Role of religion in shaping individual & collective identities

- Theological states:- Nationalistic identity based on religion as seen in Middle East.
- Social movements based on religion form new identities & strengthen old ones.
- Feminists argue that religion has patriarchal practices which form gender identity (Leela Dubé's study)

① Fundamentalists form religious scriptures' guidelines as the basis of identity & lifestyle (e.g. Taliban)

① Berger argues that religion provides us with a universe of meaning which forms our ethos & identity.  
e.g. → charitable identity promoted by most religions. (virtue of charity)

However, religion may not form the sole factor for identities

① Secularism: Modern nation states believe in secular identity as seen in Western countries (wall of separation)

① Globalisation:- Consumerism, lifestyle & class status forms identity.

- Achievement :- Income, status, occupation, education basis of identity formation.
- Technology :- Identity of 'influencer' (how many likes one get) to anonymity provided by social media.

Religious beliefs & practices → race

- Different social groups follow different practices

Gender

- Feminists argue that religious rituals augment gender stratification like 'virginity rituals'.

↳ 'Brahminical patriarchy' (Uma Chokrasaty) & so on.

- ① Religion sanctions differentiated  
roles for males & females  
in a marriage.

### Religion & class

- ① Marxists argue that  
religion prevents class solidarity  
makes virtue of suffering, hope  
of paradise ~~to~~ preventing class  
strife.

- ① ~~to~~ Neo-Marxists argue  
that religion promotes subtle  
class ideology.

Religion is a sociological  
institution.

7. (b) "Social movements typically arise as a response to certain structural strains in the society and take various forms depending on the context and type of leadership provided to them" Analyse the statement in view of contemporary social movements in India? 20

Social movements are a form of sustained collective action aimed at bringing or resisting social change.

Social movements → arise due to structural strains

○ Farmer movements :- Strain

between discrepancy of rural vs urban development (Shard Joshi), rise of input prices, demands for MSP, electricity etc. (eg recent farm laws protest)  
(Dhanagare)

○ Women movements :- Against old value system of patriarchy. Modern egalitarian structures in both private & public space sought.

○ Dalit movements :- Discrimination  
in universities, IT jobs, global  
institutions giving rise to movements  
eg → California senate passed  
resolution against caste discrimina  
tion

○ Ethnicity :- movements against  
'internal colonialism' (Hechter)  
against majoritarian subversion  
(Rajni Kothari) & disparity in  
development give rise to ethnic  
movements. (eg) → ~~These~~ movement  
for separate state of Jharkhand  
for tribals

○ Environment :- Disparity between  
development & rights of those  
dependent on environmental resources  
(eg) → Sujata Patel's study of Baliapal  
agitation ~~for~~ Bheetamati

## 2. 'sonarmati' (land)

### Various forms - based on leadership

○ Methods adopted :- Range from non-violence, sail orko, sasta orko etc. to violence at times.

⊙ → Anna Hazare led India Against Corruption was non violent

○ Ideology :- leadership provides guidance & ideological justification

⊙ → Sharad Joshi's ideology of rural vs urban → 'Bharat' vs 'India'

○ Organisation :- movements become institutionalised or remain symbolic guided by leaders.

① Leadership guides whether movement remains in confrontation with the state or engages in negotiation.

② Leadership also articulates the viewpoint of movement & becomes a spokesperson.

eg → Medha Patkar for Narmada Bachao Andolan

Social movements in contemporary times have evolved to new social movements in India for quality of life & human rights.

7. (c) Nationalism is an ideology which is inherently narrow and parochial. Do you agree? 10

Nationalism is an ideology based on common history, culture, language, origin etc. a set of people belong to a common political community, aspiring for state & sovereignty.

Nationalism - narrow & parochial

○ Tagore argued that nationalism leads to exclusion & is against natural order of society.

○ Parochial identity based nationalism like race, religion leads to exclusion of others.

○ Western societies enact anti-immigration policies

Nationalism - not narrow & parochial

○ Composite & plural nationalism  
based on multiple identities  
like 'melting pot' in USA.

○ Post world war II, nationalism  
guided anti-colonization &  
anti-imperialism.

○ It forges an 'imagined  
Community' ( Benedict Anderson )  
which leads to unity based on  
Psychological satisfaction.  
( Clifford Geertz )

Nationalism guided by patriotism  
& multi-culturalism remains  
broad based.

8. (a) Analyse the impact of feminist theories on the discipline of sociology. How have feminist theorists challenged traditional sociological concepts and methodologies, and what new insights have they offered into the study of gender and inequality? 20

Feminist theories argue for keeping gender at the centre of sociological analysis.

Impact of feminist theories on sociology

① Broadened the perspective & scope leading to discovery of latent & latent functions & dysfunctions of social institutions.

② → capitalism gets free labour of women (Benston)

③ Challenged common sense theories like biological & sexual sel.

④ Provided new research methods & methodologies, theories & concepts.

Challenged traditional sociological concepts & methodologies

○ Against 'malestream' analysis where only males analysed, & it is generalised to all.

② → class analysis without taking female poverty separately.

○ stereotypical concepts like 'expressive authority' in family of females (Parsons) challenged → It is cultural not biological (Oakley)

○ Distinct feminist methodologies

↳ feminist interview method (Kn Oakley) where there is no hierarchy between interviewee & respondent & respondent allowed to ask.

① Distinct epistemological approaches  
 ↳ Sandra Harding's feminist standpoint epistemology. She argues that the different experiences of women, give a better insight into working of social institutions.

New insights in study of gender & inequality

① Patriarchy :- A system where men oppress women. Feminists analyse patriarchy in both private (household) & public arena.

① Family & marriage :- Women as wives, mothers & daughters ~~get less~~ suffer inequality in family. Wives suffer depression while husband gains (Germaine Greer)

① Culture :- Gender is a cultural concept, where socialization leads to formation of male vs female  
eg → 'Brahminical patriarchy' concept of Uma Chakravarty.

① Paid labour :- sexual harassment, pink collarisation, glass ceiling & 'double shifts' → added by feminists as new concept.

① Violence :- It is a source of expressing differential power relationship between genders  
eg → Tech assisted violence on social media.

Feminists provided an emancipatory reflexive role to sociology.

8. (b) No society treats all its members in exactly the same way under all conditions. The smooth functioning of society requires division of work and functions and people often enjoy different status and rewards on account of it. Discuss. 20

Division of labour & differential rewards attached to it leads to social stratification in society.

Smooth functioning of society due to differential rewards

This is analysed by functional perspective to stratification

○ Parsons :- He argues that those who perform as per value consensus receive better rewards. This leads to maintenance of order.

Further, division based on talent & ability leads to few exercising power. This is

beneficial to society as they  
work for benefit of everyone  
 Today's representative democracy  
 where few exercise power is functional  
 for all.

○ Davis and Moore:- they argue  
 that based on differential  
 capabilities & to attract right  
talent to functionally important  
 positions, we need differential  
 rewards. This leads to better  
role allocation in society.

○ Stratification ensures that all  
kinds of work gets done. Herbert  
Crano gives a functional analysis  
 of poverty on this basis.

However, differential status & awards  
— inequality & stratification are not  
always functional :-

① Wilkinson & Pickett argue that  
inequality leads to breeding  
distrust, hatred & anger,  
leading to conflict, not harmony.

② Melvin Tumin in his critique of  
Davis & Moore highlights ⇒

i) Inequality act as a barrier  
to some, leading to loss of  
talent to society.

ii) It is a way for powerful,  
ruled elite to enforce status  
quo

iii) Talent is not scarce &  
there is no way to ascertain

which positions are functionally more important.

① Social movements arise ~~to~~ due to differential rewards & disparities like women movements.

② Marxists argue that current division of labour is for benefit of capitalists only, who exploit surplus of labour, while labour faces alienation.

With competitive inequality with adequate sources of social ~~mobility~~ mobility becomes acceptable, rigid division of labour based on absolute inequality leads to conflict & tension in society.

8. (c) "Civil society is the oxygen of democracy, and without it, democracy suffocates." Comment.

10

Civil society is the <sup>set of</sup> voluntary groups formed outside family, state & market.

Civil society → oxygen of democracy

① Diamond argues that civil society is necessary for democracy because it controls state & empowers citizens.

② Habermass argues that civil society converts intra citizens who lack rights into sub or even supra citizens, who control institutions.

③ Civil society allows dissent, freedom of speech,

interest articulation & an  
arena of debate & new ideas.

However, civil society at times  
goes against democracy :-

- ① Organisations formed on  
parochial identities like caste,  
religion, etc.
- ② Public choice theory argues  
that pressure groups & politicians  
are hand in glove leading to  
displacement of public goals.
- ③ Lack of democracy ~~within~~  
within civil society where  
there is deficit of leadership.

Civil society must be strengthened  
to ensure voice for all.