MASTER OF ARTS
IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER-I

PSC-1.1: COMPARATIVE POLITICS-CONCEPTS AND METHODS

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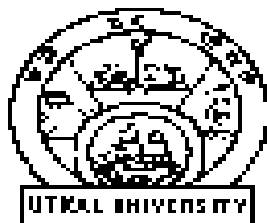
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C.D.O.E.

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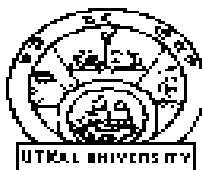
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DIRECTOR

PSC-1.1
COMPARATIVE POLITICS-CONCEPTS AND METHODS

Brief Contents

CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION, UTKAL UNIVERSITY, BHUBANESWAR

Program Name: Master in Political Science   Program Code: 010316
Course Name: Comparative Politics-Concepts and Methods

Course Code: PSC-1.1   Semester: I Credit: 4 Block No. 1 to 4 Unit No. 1 to 16

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PSC-1.1-COMPARATIVE POLITICS-CONCEPTS AND METHODS

Content

BLOCK-1: COMPARATIVE POLITICS: EVOLUTION, NATURE AND SCOPE

UNIT-1: INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Structure

1.1-OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Know what is comparative politics
- Understand diversity of the political systems
- Discover similarities and dissimilarities between oneself and others
- Find out behavior of political actors in different contexts

1.2-INTRODUCTION

Comparison' is man's instinctive tendency which impels him to appraise his own conduct vis-à-vis those of others. He is ever keen to know how people around him live, behave and act. Comparative politics is one of the results of the above human urges. Comparative politics is a branch of general discipline of political science and it does not constitute a separate field of study. As the name suggests, it is the study of political phenomena with a comparative approach and technique. It is a quest to study 'political reality' by means of new techniques and approaches in a way that the entire area of 'politics' is covered. As a result, it is not a study of the 'government', but of the 'governments' not a study of 'political system', but of the 'political systems', and thereby. It has covered the entire area of the study of political science.

Comparative politics involves the study of similarities and difference among and between

political systems. This may sound simple enough, but since the days of the ancient Greeks and Romans, every comparative political scientist has had to face with at least two basic questions, what to compare and how to compare? To answer the first question, it may be said that comparison is being made of the political phenomena which are mainly concerned with politics of different countries.

1.3- MEANING OF POLITICS

Politics is a continuous, timeless, ever changing and a universal activity. The term 'politics' has got three connotations namely, political activity, political process and political power. Political activity connotes a kind of human activity, "a form of human behavior". It refers to the making or taking a political decision in which the political activation is involved. David Easton treats it as an action or a political interaction for authoritative allocation of the values for the society. "What distinguishes predominantly oriented towards the authoritative allocation of values for a society? Harold Lass well and Robert A. Dahi describe it as "a special case in the exercise of power' and Jean Blundell lays emphasis on "decision making".

Politics refers to the activities, actions, and policies used by individuals, groups, or governments to gain and hold power, as well as to influence and control the decisions and behavior of a society. Politics can encompass a wide range of activities and processes, including elections, governance, policymaking, political parties, ideologies, and the negotiation and exercise of power.

1.4- MEANING OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Political process in the study of comparative politics includes three questions, namely, how the demands are formulated and for what sort of values, how the government is made aware of them how the machinery of government converts these demands of inputs into policy decisions applicable to the whole community, and what is the role of agencies who participate in the political process to implement the governmental decisions. Besides, political process refers also to the interaction between governmental and non-governmental agencies as well as between the governmental agencies and the environment.

Comparative politics is a subfield of political science that involves the systematic study and comparison of political systems, institutions, processes, and behavior across different countries. The primary goal of comparative politics is to analyze and understand the similarities and differences among various political entities to identify patterns, trends, and factors that influence political dynamics.

Power is taken to denote, the whole spectrum of those external influences that, by being

brought to bear upon an individual, can make him move in a required direction. Thus, the study of comparative politics is concerned with the description and analysis of the manner in which power is obtained, exercised and controlled, the purpose for which it is used, the manner in which the decisions are made, the factors which influences the making of these decisions, and the context in which those decisions take place. Thus, politics is not merely a study of state and government; it is a study of the "exercise of power". As Curtis Well says, "Politics is organized dispute about power and its use, involving choice among competing values, ideas, persons, interests and demands. The study of politics is concerned with the description and analysis of the manner in which power is obtained, exercised and controlled, the purpose for which it is used, the manner in which decisions are made, the factors which influence the making of those decisions, and the context in which those decisions take place".

1.5- DEFINITION OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Comparative politics is a subfield within political science that involves the systematic analysis and comparison of political systems, institutions, processes, and behavior across different countries or regions. The primary goal of comparative politics is to identify patterns, similarities, and differences among various political entities to gain a deeper understanding of the factors that shape political dynamics.

"Within political science comparative politics is a subfield that compares the struggle for power across the countries". (O'Neil 2009, p.3)

"Comparative politics is concerned with the study of all forms of government as well as nongovernmental political activity. The field of comparative politics has an 'all-encompassing' nature and comparative politics specialists tend to view it as the study of everything political". (Ronald Chilcote 1994, Introduction, Theories of Comparative Politics, p.4)

According to Daniele Caramani, a comparative study is a subject matter; it is concerned with the power relationship between individuals, groups and organisations, classes, and institutions within political systems. This subject does not ignore external influences on internal structures, but its ultimate concern is power configuration within systems (Daniele Caramani, 2008. p.3).

1.6- KEY ASPECTS OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

I- Cross National Analysis-Comparative politics involves the examination of political phenomena across different nations or regions. This can include the study of political systems, structures, processes, and outcomes.

II- Institutional Comparison- Scholars in comparative politics often compare political institutions such as governments, legislatures, judiciaries, and electoral systems. They investigate how these institutions function and how they shape political behavior and outcomes.

III-Cultural and Historical Context- Comparative politics considers the impact of cultural and historical factors on political development. Understanding the historical background and cultural context of a country is essential for analyzing its political system and behavior.

IV-Political Analysis- Researchers in comparative politics may also analyze public policies and their implementation across different countries. This involves examining the effectiveness and consequences of various policy choices.

V-Political Behavior- Comparative politics explores political behavior, including voting patterns, political participation, and the role of political culture. This includes understanding how citizens engage with politics in diverse contexts.

VI-Political Economy- The subfield often incorporates the study of political economy, examining the relationship between economic factors and political structures or outcomes in different countries.

VII-Regional Studies- Scholars may focus on specific regions or areas of the world, comparing political systems within those regions. This can provide insights into regional dynamics and variations.

VIII-Theory Development- Comparative politics contributes to the development of theories that explain political phenomena. By comparing different cases, scholars can develop generalizable concepts and frameworks that help understand political processes and outcomes.

1.7-SUMMARY

Overall, comparative politics helps scholars, students, and policymakers gain a deeper understanding of political systems and dynamics by systematically comparing and contrasting them. It contributes to the development of theories, informs policy decisions, and fosters a more nuanced appreciation of the complexities of governance and politics on a global scale.

In summary, comparative politics enriches our understanding of the multifaceted nature of politics, fostering a more informed and nuanced perspective on the global political landscape. It equips individuals with the knowledge and skills needed to engage meaningfully in political discourse, contribute to informed decision-making, and navigate the complexities of our interconnected world.

1.8-KEY TERMS

- **Politics-** Politics refers to the activities, actions, and policies used by individuals, groups, or governments to gain and hold power, as well as to influence and control the decisions and behavior of a society.

- **Power-** Power means by which one can influence the behavior of others. power can be exercised in various forms and may be legitimate, based on authority and consent, or illegitimate, relying on coercion and force. The concept of power is complex and multi-dimensional, and its interpretation can vary across different disciplines and contexts.

- **Government-** Government refers to the system or organization through which authority and control are exercised over a society or a political entity.

1.9- SELF-ASSESMENT QUESTIONS

- What is comparative Politics?

- Discuss the meaning of comparative Politics.

- Discuss what are the key aspects of politics.

- Critically analyze the similarities between politics and comparative politics.

1.10-REFERENCES

Almond, G.A. et., 2000: Comparative Politics: A World View, New York: Harper/Collins.

Johari, J.C., 2006: New Comparative Government, New Delhi: Lotus Press

UNIT-2: EVOLUTION OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Structure

2.1 Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Origin of the Comparative Politics

2.4 Development of the study of Comparative Politics

2.5 Summary

2.6 Key Terms

2.7 Self-assessment questions

2.8 References

2.1-OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:
- Know origin of the comparative politics
- Development of the comparative politics

2.2- INTRODUCTION

The origin of comparative politics as a formal field of study can be traced to the emergence of political science as an academic discipline in the 19th century. Comparative politics evolved as scholars sought to understand and analyze political systems beyond their own national boundaries. The establishment of political science as a distinct academic discipline in the 19th century provided a framework for the systematic study of political phenomena. Scholars began to explore political structures, institutions, and behaviors, laying the groundwork for comparative analysis. The colonial and imperial experiences of European powers exposed scholars to a variety of political systems and cultures around the world. This exposure sparked interest in understanding and comparing governance structures in different regions. Increased travel and globalization facilitated encounters with diverse political systems. Scholars had the opportunity to observe and study political institutions in different countries, contributing to the comparative approach in political science.

2.3- ORIGIN OF THE COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The evolution of comparative politics as a subfield within political science has undergone several phases, marked by changes in focus, methodologies, and theoretical approaches. While it is challenging to pinpoint specific milestones, some key trends and developments have shaped the evolution of comparative politics:

I- Rise of Political Science: The establishment of political science as a distinct academic discipline in the 19th century provided a framework for the systematic study of political phenomena. Scholars began to explore political structures, institutions, and behaviors, laying the groundwork for comparative analysis.

II- Anthropological Influence: The influence of anthropology, particularly cultural anthropology, played a role in shaping comparative politics. Anthropologists contributed to the understanding of societal structures, cultures, and institutions, influencing political scientists to adopt a comparative perspective.

III- Political Revolutions: The occurrence of political revolutions, such as the French and American Revolutions, prompted scholars to examine the causes and consequences of political change. Comparative analysis became a valuable tool for understanding the dynamics of revolutionary movements.

IV- Early Comparative Analysis (19th Century): The roots of comparative politics can be traced back to the 19th century when political scientists and scholars began comparing different political systems. This period was characterized by descriptive studies of political institutions and practices in various countries.

V- Formalization of Political Science (Late 19th to Early 20th Century): With the formalization of political science as an academic discipline, scholars began to develop systematic methods for studying political phenomena. Comparative politics became more structured, with a growing emphasis on rigorous methodologies and theoretical frameworks.

Throughout its evolution, comparative politics has adapted to changing intellectual currents, technological advancements, and global events. The field continues to evolve as scholars engage with new questions and challenges, contributing to our understanding of political systems and dynamics across the world.

2.4- DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The development of the study of comparative politics has been a dynamic and evolving process, shaped by intellectual trends, historical events, and changes in the field of political science. Here

is an overview of the key stages in the development of comparative politics:

I- 19th Century Development: The roots of comparative politics can be traced back to the 19th century when scholars like Alexis de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill engaged in descriptive comparisons of political systems. These early efforts focused on understanding the structures and functions of different governments.

II-Early 20th Century: The formalization of political science as an academic discipline in the early 20th century brought about a more systematic and methodological approach to comparative politics. Scholars sought to develop theoretical frameworks and research methods for the study of political systems.

III-   Behavioral Revolution (1950s-1960s): The behavioral revolution in political science had a significant impact on comparative politics. This period saw a shift towards empirical research, quantitative methods, and the study of political behavior, institutions, and processes.

IV-   Area Studies and Regional Focus (Mid-20th Century): The mid-20th century witnessed a growing interest in area studies, with scholars concentrating on specific regions or countries. This approach allowed for a deeper understanding of unique regional characteristics and political dynamics.

V- Comparative Methods and case study (Late 20th Century): Comparative politics saw the development of more sophisticated comparative methodologies, including case studies, cross-national statistical analyses, and controlled comparisons. Scholars began to emphasize the importance of context-specific analysis.

VI-   Qualitative Turn (Late 20th Century to Early 21st Century): In response to the limitations of purely quantitative approaches, there was a qualitative turn in comparative politics. Scholars increasingly incorporated qualitative methods, including in-depth case studies and ethnographic research, to provide richer insights into political phenomena.

VII-   Focus on Democratization and Authoritarianism (Post-cold war era): The end of the Cold War prompted a renewed interest in the study of democratization and transitions from authoritarianism. Comparative politics scholars explored the factors influencing political regime change and democratic consolidation.

VIII- Globalization and Political Economy (Late 20th Century): The study of comparative politics has adapted to the challenges posed by globalization. Scholars investigate how economic factors, international relations, and global forces impact domestic political systems.

IX-   Interdisciplinary Approaches (21st Century): Comparative politics has become increasingly integrated with other subfields within political science, such as international relations, political theory, and public policy. This interdisciplinary approach allows for a more holistic understanding of political phenomena.

X- Digital age and Data Revolution: Advances in technology and the availability of vast amounts of data have facilitated new avenues of research in comparative politics. Scholars use advanced computational methods and big data analysis to study political phenomena at a scale and depth previously not possible.

The study of comparative politics continues to evolve, incorporating new theoretical perspectives, research methods, and areas of focus. It remains a vibrant and essential field within political science, contributing to our understanding of the diverse political systems and dynamics across the world.

2.5-SUMMARY

Over time, comparative politics has evolved to encompass a wide range of topics, methodologies, and theoretical perspectives. Today, it remains a fundamental subfield within political science, providing valuable insights into the complexities of political systems, institutions, and behaviors across the globe. Throughout its evolution, comparative politics has adapted to changing intellectual currents, technological advancements, and global events. The field continues to evolve as scholars engage with new questions and challenges, contributing to our understanding of political systems and dynamics across the world.

2.6- KEY TERMS

- **Globalization:** Globalization is a term used to describe how trade and technology have made the world into a more connected and interdependent place.
- **Authoritarianism:** Authoritarianism is a political system characterized by the rejection of democracy, civil liberties, and political plurality. It involves the use of strong central power to preserve the political status quo, and reductions in the rule of law, separation of powers, and democratic voting.

2.7-SELF-ASSESMENT QUESTIONS

- Discuss the origin of the comparative politics.
- Discuss the origin and development of the comparative politics.

2.8-REFERNCES

Almond, G.A. et., 2000: Comparative Politics: A World View, New York: Harper/Collins.

Palekar, S.A., 2009: Comparative Politics and Government, New Delhi, PHI Learning Pvt.Ltd.

Johari, J.C., 2006: New Comparative Government, New Delhi: Lotus Press.

UNIT-3: NATURE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Structure

3.1 Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Nature of Comparative Politics

3.4 Key Aspects of Nature of Comparative Politics

3.5 Summary

3.6 Key Terms

3.7 Self-Assessment Questions

3.8 References

3.1-OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Describe the changing nature of comparative political analysis in various phases
- Understand the changing nature of Comparative Politics
- Difference between Comparative Government and Politics

3.2-INTRODUCTION

Comparative politics is a subfield within political science that involves the systematic study and comparison of political systems, structures, processes, and behavior across different countries. Comparative politics as a distinguishable sub-field within political science has emerged only in recent times. Since then, it has undergone tremendous transformation in terms of its nature and study. The modern study of comparative politics emerged in the late 19th century, and since then has evolved largely due to the research in U.S universities. The nature and scope of comparative politics have been determined historically by changes in subject matter, vocabulary and political perspective.

Comparative politics, political theory, and international relations constitute one of political science's three core components. Whereas political theory deals with normative and theoretical questions, comparative politics deal with empirical questions. According to Caramani, comparative politics is a discipline that analyses political phenomena as they appear in the real world. This study is value-neutral and empirical by nature and studies interactions within political systems.

3.3-NATURE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The modern study of comparative politics emerged in the late 19th century, and since then has

evolved largely due to the research in U.S universities. The nature and scope of comparative politics have been determined historically by changes in subject matter, vocabulary and political perspective.

Distinction between Comparative Government and Comparative Politics: Scholars have tended to use the terms 'comparative government' and 'comparative politics' for each other without realising the difference between the two. For example, Prof. S. E. Finer does not consider the two as different when he argues that "politics is neither the same thing as a government nor is it necessarily connected only with those great territorial associations which have a government and which are known as 'State'. For if we use government in the sense of 'governance' or the 'activity of governing' we shall find that government exists at three levels (1) for the vastest area of human conduct and activity in society proceeds quite unregulated by the public authorities. It forms a coherent set of patterns and regulates itself. (2) The second chief mode by which society forms its patterns and regulates itself is the process of so-called 'socialisation' of the individual, with which is associated the concept of 'social control'. Most societies in the modern world, however, are equipped with governments.

However, Edward Freeman is conscious of the fact that these two terms are not identical and tries to distinguish between them. The main differences between 'comparative politics' and 'comparative government' are as follows:

Firstly, while the comparative government is concerned with the study of formal political institutions like the legislature, executive, judiciary and bureaucracy alone in comparative politics the other factors which influence the working of the political institutions are taken into account. In other words 'comparative politics' makes a study of the formal as well as informal political institutions. This point has been summed up by a scholar thus: "The scope of comparative politics is wider than that of comparative government despite the search for making comparisons which is central to the study of both. The concern of a student of comparative politics does not end with the study of rulemaking, rule implementation and rule adjudicating organs of various political systems or even with the study of some extra-constitutional agencies (like political and pressure groups) having their immediate connection, visible or invisible with the departments of state activity. In addition to all this, he goes ahead to deal with...even those subjects hitherto considered as falling within the range of Economics, Sociology and Anthropology."

Secondly, the comparative government was chiefly confined to the study of the political institutions of western democratic countries. On the other hand, comparative politics concentrates on the study of the political institutions of all the countries of the world. It has laid special emphasis on the study of political institutions of the states which have emerged in the twentieth century.

Thirdly, comparative government involves only descriptive study of the political institutions and

makes only a formal study of the political institutions provided by the constitution. On the other hand, comparative politics concentrates on the analytical study of the various political institutions. Investigation and experimentation constitute prominent features of comparative politics.

Finally, comparative government concerns itself only with the political activities of the political institutions, while comparative politics also takes into account the economic, cultural and social factors. In other words, it tries to examine political institutions through an interdisciplinary approach.

3.4-KEY ASPECTS OF NATURE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The nature of comparative politics encompasses several key aspects:

1. **Cross-National Analysis:** Comparative politics involves the examination of political phenomena across multiple nations. This approach allows researchers to identify patterns, similarities, and differences in political systems and behavior.

2. **Methodological Diversity:** Researchers in comparative politics use various research methods, including case studies, surveys, interviews, and statistical analyses. This methodological diversity helps scholars gain a comprehensive understanding of political systems and their dynamics.

3. **Focus on Institutions:** Comparative politics often explores the role and impact of political institutions, such as government structures, electoral systems, and legal frameworks. Analyzing these institutions helps researchers understand how they shape political processes and outcomes.

4. **Cultural and Historical Context:** The study of comparative politics recognizes the importance of cultural and historical factors in shaping political systems. These factors influence political beliefs, behaviors, and institutions, contributing to the diversity observed across nations.

5. **Political Behavior:** Comparative politics examines the behavior of individuals and groups within different political contexts. This includes voting behavior, political participation, political culture, and the role of social movements in various countries.

6. **Global Perspective:** While focusing on differences between countries, comparative politics also considers the interconnectedness of global political systems. Scholars often analyze how international factors, such as globalization and regional integration, influence domestic politics.

7. **Theory Development:** Comparative politics contributes to the development and refinement of political theories. Researchers use cross-national evidence to test and modify existing theories or develop new frameworks to explain political phenomena.

8. **Policy Implications:** Comparative politics has practical applications, including informing policy decisions and recommendations. By studying the experiences of different countries, policymakers can gain insights into the potential successor challenges associated with specific political strategies.

3.5-SUMMARY

In summary, the nature of comparative politics involves the systematic and rigorous analysis of political systems, behaviors, and institutions across different nations. This field contributes to a deeper understanding of political dynamics and provides valuable insights for both academic research and practical policymaking.

3.6-KEY TERMS

- **Socialization:** socialization is the process of internalizing the norms and ideologies of society. Socialization encompasses both learning and teaching and is thus "the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained". Socialization is strongly connected to developmental psychology.
- **Diversity:** Diversity refers to the variety of differences among people, encompassing race, gender, age, experiences, talents, skills, and opinions.

3.7-SELF- ASSESMENT QUESTIONS

- Discuss the changing nature of comparative politics.
- What is comparative Politics? Trace out the difference between the Comparative Govt. and Politics.
- Discuss about the key aspects of the comparative Politics.

3.8-REFERENCES

Anderson, Christopher J. 2007a. "The Interaction of Structures and Voting Behavior." In Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior, eds. Dalton, Russell J. and Klingemann, Hans-Dieter. New York: Oxford University Press.

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UNIT-4: SCOPE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Structure

4.1 Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Scope of Comparative Politics

4.4 Summary

4.5 Key Terms

4.6 Self-Assessment Questions

4.7 References

4.1-OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Know about the subject matter of the Comparative Politics
- Aspects of the scope of the Comparative Politics

4.2- INTRODUCTION

The scope and horizon of comparative politics have been expanded both horizontally and vertically. However, there are three ways of delimiting the scope and horizon of comparative politics: by subject matter, by methods and by approaches. These categories of limitations are interdependent and can best be regarded as dimensions. The methods and approaches dimensions are to be dealt with in the next lesson and in the present lesson only the subject matter is dealt to define the horizon of comparative politics.

4.3-SCOPE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The horizon has become so widened that it is difficult to say what the subject includes and what it does not include. The reason may be that political science is inseparable from political life and political life is as diverse as there are divided interests, ideologies and interests. We have at presented a divided world ruled by diverse states, ideologies and interests. It is not seeking unity in the study of world system has expanded the scope of discipline. Secondly, the approaches and analysis of political phenomena in comparative politics are not unilinear but they are multivariate. Harry Eckstein has pointed out that comparative politics is a field acutely in dissent because it is in transition from one style of analysis to another. For just this reason it is a field in which many different styles of analysis are at present to be found. This being the case, we cannot give any

account of comparative politics.

Scholars Views:

Almond and Powell stated in the very first sentences of their book that during the last decade, that is, in the fifties an intellectual revolution had been taking place in the study of comparative government. This revolution was in reality, as Sidney Verba pointed out, a "revolution in comparative politics". For a long time, prior to the World War II, the study of political science was viewed as a study of only the state and government. But in both 1945 period methodological experimentation and studies in depth of the relation between social structure and process personality formation and political process and behavior intellectual innovations such as, psychoanalytic theory, group theory, the politico-development theory and the politico-sociological theories of Max Weber, Lasswell, Durkheim, Graham Wallas, Bentley, Pareto etc. brought revolution in the study of politics. Further, this revolution was accentuated by the intellectual innovation of studying comparative government in combination with the study of political theory. Historically, comparative government with the study of political theory had been closely connected. The theme of the qualities and attributes of the various forms of polity was a central concern of political theory from the Greek periods or through the 19th century. But in the early decades of the 20th century, the two fields separated with political theory becoming an essentially, philosophical and normative subject, and comparative government becoming a formal and descriptive study of the great powers of Western Europe.

Developments that widen the horizon:

Along with this intellectual innovation, three developments in the international field also became responsible, as Almond and Powell had pointed out, for the expansion of the horizon of comparative politics. These developments were as follows:

1) The national expansion in the Middle East, Africa and Asia; the emergence into statehood of a multitude of nations with a bewildering variety of cultures, social institutions and political characteristics.

2) The loss of dominance of the nations of the Atlantic community, the diffusion of international power, the influence of the former colonial and semi-colonial areas, and

3) The emergence of communism as a powerful competitor in the struggle to sphere the structure of national politics and of the international political system.

For the traditional scholars, the geographical and horizontal scope of comparative governments and laws of the western countries where the political institutions were quite developed and data were easily available for the study. The traditional scholars felt that studying politics outside the

nations of the West was a waste of time for non-western political patterns which were neither natural nor desirable. But in the post-Second World war period, these three developments in the international field which gave rise to the 'new nations' of Asia, Africa and Middle East posed inviting research setting for new generation of scholars. These scholars were to develop a comparatively based science of politics in the West and in the East, in the developed and developing countries both. As a result, the geographical scope of the study of politics began to expand rapidly beyond Europe and other Western-styled democracies. For some scholars, it was conceived that the pendium was swimming too for away from the study of politics in western nations. The interest in non-Western systems in political science was closely bound up with the crisis in Western Europe, the emergence of Italian and German totalitarianism the brutalization of Soviet Communism under Stalin, important upheavals in China and Turkey, rapid development in Japan and rise of India as a non-alignment nation. Hence, comparative politics is a study of politics of all the countries developed and developing western and non-western big and small on a comparative based approach.

All these developments in different political systems throughout the world expanded the subject matter of comparative politics in four dimensions. First, there was the task of understanding new states. There were many societies where the forms and western states had not grown from within, but had been improved or chosen by a political act of will. The match between political and social institutions was imperfect and the newly- created state was not intelligible except in relation to the political system of a preexisting social structure, for example, the structure of languages and castes in India, of tribes in Africa, of Islam in all Muslim countries. Secondly, there was the transformation of the relations between state and society in the West. It became difficult to draw a line between state organs and other public organization, and the growing number of large private organizations which were associated with public interest because of their strategic positions in economy and society. Thirdly, there was a changing environment of the social science. There were the beginnings of modern sociology, social psychology, social anthropology etc. And the facts of the case broadened the discipline and involved virtually all the social services in the study of comparative politics. Finally the progress made in the study of small groups in different settings and different societies had expanded the dimensions of the study.

Vertical Expansion:

All these dimensions have led to the vertical expansion of the subject matter of comparative politics. Vertical expansion refers to an attempt to relate the political process to broad social and economic conditions the attainment of depth and realism in the study of political system enables us to locate the dynamic forces of politics wherever they may exist in social class, in culture, in

economic and social change in the political elites, or in the international environment. These dynamic forces are studied with the behavioural approach in which the focus is on the study of the actual behavior of the incumbents in different political roles rather than on the content of only legal rules, ideological patterns or institutional functions. Therefore, the study of infrastructure, social setting, environmental planning, economic development and international events, all are but related with the political process and comparative politics. "In search for reality" includes the study of all these which are not necessarily and strictly political.

4.4-SUMMARY

Thus, the horizon of comparative politics is ever expanding and it is very difficult to delimit it. The reason is that it deals with political life and in the contemporary world; virtually every problem that confronts us tends to be political. All social and economic problems are but the raw-materials for political action. The Industrial revolution the technological change, the arms race, the military strategy, cybernetics and software development, all these have created a lot of problems which go beyond the ability of any individual or any group of private individuals to solve them. These problems can be effectively tackled only by the government which has a claim to be based on legitimacy of authority. As sphere of governmental action touching every aspect of human life political, economic social and cultural is expanding, so also the dimension for the study of comparative politics is expanding. And, now it has been expanded so much that it is very difficult to say what the subject matter includes and what it does not include. Even some scholars go to the extent of saying that because of the development of the study of comparative politics, the discipline of political science has lost its identity.

4.5-KEY TERMS

- **Authority**: he power or right to give orders, make decisions, and enforce obedience.
- **Middle East**: the area around the E Mediterranean, especially Israel and the Arab countries from Turkey to North Africa and eastwards to Iran.

4.5-SELF –ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- What is comparative politics? Discuss the subject matter of Comparative Politics.
- Discuss the scope of Comparative Politics.
- Discuss the nature and scope of Comparative Politics.

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BLOCK-2: APPROACHES TO STUDY COMPARATIVE POLITICS

UNIT-5- BEHAVIORALISM AND POST-BEHAVIORALISM

Structure

5.1-OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to

- Know about the Behavioral revolution in political science

- Features of the Behavioralism suggested by Eston

- Know about the Post-Behavioral revolution

5.2-INTRODUCTION

Behavioralism is one of the most modern approaches to the study of political science. But the development of this approach is spread over the whole of the 20th century. It was towards the end of 19th century that political scientists had realized the demerits of the traditional approaches. It was as early as 1908 that Graham Wales and A. F. Bentley strongly advocated on the study of psychology of the individual is meaningless. Behaviour of the person plays an important role in all political phenomena. Bentley emphasized on the role of the groups. In other words, he advocated the study of the behavior of the individual as a member of the groups. Charles, E. Miriam stressed on the 'way of functioning' of the individuals in the polity. To him, study of political science will be more scientific when one analyses the behavior of the man instead studying the institution. He presented his views in various international conferences during 1923 to 1925 which helped in the growth of behaviouralism.

It was after the second World War that Behaviouralism as a revolution entered into the field of the study of political science. Being influenced by the sociologists like Max Weber, Talcott Parsons, Robert Merton and many others; political scientists realized the importance of resolving social problems. Many scholars like, Lasswell, David Easton, G. A. Almond, Powell, Herbert Simmon etc; produced many commendable pieces of research which were based on behavioural approach. The committees on 'political behaviour' and 'comparative politics' instituted by the American Political Association also helped a lot in bringing about behavioral revolution. These efforts helped behavioralism to flourish in a short period of time.

5.3-MEANING OF BEHAVIORALISM

Behviouralism emphasizes scientific, objective and value-free study of the political phenomena as conditioned by the environment, categorically the behavior of the individuals involved in that phenomena. As such, it stresses on the role of the behavior of the individual at various levels and the scientific analysis. Behaviouralism is a reaction against traditional political science which did not take into account if human behavior as an actor in politics. Behaviouralism is different from behaviourism. Behaviourism is narrow in its application. It referes to the response of an organism as aroused by some stimulus. It does not consider the part played by the feelings , ideas, prejudices that determine the response of that individual. Behaviouralism, on the other hand, does take into account the role of the feelings, ideas and prejudices. David Easton distinguishes between behaviourism and behaviouralism through a paradigm. The paradigm adopted by behaviourists, according to him is S- R (Stimulus-Response). But the behavioural lists have improved it by making it as S-O-R (Stimulus-Organism-Response). David Easton regards behavioural revolution is an intellectual tendency on the part of the political scientists to study empirically the political behavior of individuals.

5.3-FEATURES OF BEHAVIORALISM

Commonly agreed features of Behaviouralism are the following;

1. It is a protest against the abstract nature of the traditional political theory. Traditional theorists dealt with only the institutions and not the behavior of the individuals involved. Behaviouralism, on the other hand, studies both the institutions and the behavior. However, behaviouralism ignores institutions only to the extent of their theoretical description. When the institutions provide a hint to the political behavior of the individuals involved, the institution becomes of

importance to the behaviouralists. And they consider institutions as "patterns of individual behavior that are more or less regular and uniform. They are treated as sources of influence that shape political behavior."

2. Behaviouralism adopts scientific method in studying political phenomena. It is more empirical. It comprises of such techniques as observation, interviews, survey research, case studies, data collection, statistical analysis, quantification, etc. Model building is another method of the behaviouralists like Easton's and Almond's model of political system and Cybernetics model of Karl Deutsch.

Features of Behaviouralism:

1. Empirical studies

2. Inter-disciplinary study

3. Scientific Theory building

As such, according to Easton behaviouralism has remarkable features like:-

1. Regularities

2. Verification

3. New techniques,

4. Quantification

5. Values – Value free

6. Systematization

7. Application of the theory.

8. Integration.

Regularities stand for discernible uniformities in Political behavior which can be expressed in theory-like statements facilitating explanation and prediction of political phenomena.

Verification implies acceptance of only that kind of knowledge which can be empirically tested and verified.

Technique symbolizes emphasis on the adoption of appropriate tools of data collection and analysis.

Quantification stands for the advocacy of rigorous measurement and data manipulation in political analysis.

Values, according to behaviouralists need to be separated from 'facts'. Ethical evaluation is one thing, empirical explanation is another. Objective scientific enquiry has to be value-free or value-neutral.

Systematisation implies the behaviouralist's conscious effort to build causal theories on the basis of logically interrelated structure of concepts and propositions.

The pure science advocacy is directed toward forging a link between theoretical understanding of politics and application of theory to practical problem-solving.

Integration aims at mixing political science with other social sciences. It marks a conscious move to encourage cross-fertilization ideas across the boundaries of separate social sciences.

5.4-CRITICISMS

The criticisms of the Behavioralism are:

1) Behaviouralism over emphasizes on techniques.

2) It is criticized as Pseudo-politics – as it aims at upholding only American institutions as the best in the world.

3) Emphasizes behavioural effect at the cost of institutional effect.

4) Emphasies static rather than current situations.

5) Value – free research, as it argues, is not possible.

5.5- POST-BEHAVIORALISM

Behaviouralism dominated in the study of political Science for a decade. However, the behviouralists drifted away from the path they had chosen for themselves. They got absorbed in finding out new techniques and methods for its study. In the process they lost the real subject matter. They got divided into two groups – the Theoretical behaviouralists and the positive behviouralists. While the former laid emphasis purely on theory building, the latter concerned themselves with finding out new methods for the study of political phenomena. Consequently, certain behaviouralists got disillusioned with behaviouralism towards the close of sixties. The main attack upon behaviouralism came from David Easton who was one of the leading

behaviouralists. According to him, there is a "post – behavioural revolution" underway which is born out of deep dissatisfaction with the attempt to covert political study into a discipline modeled on the methodology of the natural sciences. In their efforts at research and application of scientific method, the behaviouraists had gone far away from the realities of social behavior. In this way, political science again lost touch with the current and contemporary issues.

5.6-FEATURES OF POST-BEHAVIORALISM

Following are the characteristic features of post-behaviouralism-

It is a movement of Protest. It is a protest against the wrong direction which the behaviouralists had given to political science. As such, the post- behaviourasists stressed on "Relevance and Action". They held that political science should be directed towards solving actual problems. So that it would be more relevant to the society. Political Scientists, according to them, should once again try to view political situation as a whole and in a right manner. They should deliberate on the basic issues of society like justice, liberty, equality, democracy etc.

Opposition to 'Value-free' concept:

David Easton, in his modification says that "value are inextinguishable parts of the study of politics. Science cannot be and never has been evaluatively neutral despite protestations to the contrary. Hence to understand the limits of our knowledge we need to be aware of the value premises on which it stands and alternatives for which this knowledge could be used".

Future-oriented (Predictability):

Post-behaviouralism wants that the behaviouralists should link their empirical methods of research and approach for making theories that could solve present and future social problems. It must thus be future oriented. According to Easton, "Although the post-behavioural revolution may have all appearancesof just another reaction to behaviouralism, it is infact notably different. Behaviouralism was viewed as a threat to status quo; classicism and traditionalism the post –behavioural revolution is, however, future oriented. It does not seek to return to some golden age of political research or to conserve to destroy a particular methodological approach. It seeks rather to proper political science in new direction."

It is an Intellectual tendency:

Post-behaviouralism is both a movement and intellectual tendency. As a movement of protest, it has its followers among all sections of political scientists "in all generations from young, graduates to older members of the profession". Easton says, it was "a genuine revolution, not a reaction; a becoming, not a preservation; a reform not a counter reformation."

It would be wrong to identify post-behaviouralism with any particular political ideology. The whole improbable diversity-political, methodological and generational – was bound together by one sentiment alone, a deep discontext with the direction of contemporary political research. David Easton, as such, speaks of the following as important features of post-behaviouralism:

1. Importance to substance over technique:

Post-behaviouralists say, it may be good to have sophisticated tools of investigation, but the more important point is the purpose for which these tools are being applied. Unless scientific research is relevant and meaningful for contemporary social problems, it is not worth being undertaken.

2. Emphasis on social change and not social preservation.

3. Greater focus on Reality.

Political science should address the needs of mankind by identifying the future social problems and by suggesting solutions to such problems.

4. Recognition of the existing values:

According to post-behaviouralists, unless values are regarded as the propelling force behind knowledge there is a danger that knowledge would lose purposes. If knowledge is to be used for right goals, values have to be restored to the central position. Human values need protection.

5. It is Action-oriented:

Knowledge must be put to work. "To know", as Easton points out "is to bear the responsibility for acting, and to act is to engage in restoring society". The post-behaviouralists as such, ask for action-science in place of contemplative-science.

According to post-behaviouralists, once it is recognized that the intellectuals have a positive role to play in society, and that this role is to try to determine proper goals for society and make society move in the direction of these goals, it becomes inevitable to politicize the profession-all professional associations as well as universities thus become not only inseparable but highly desirable.

5.7-SUMMARY

While behavioralism has made significant contributions to the field of political science by promoting a more scientific and empirical approach, it has also faced criticism. Critics argue

that it tends to oversimplify political reality by focusing too narrowly on measurable behaviors and neglecting the importance of cultural, historical, and institutional factors in understanding political phenomena. Despite these critiques, behavioralism has had a lasting impact on the discipline, influencing the development of various subfields within political science. Post-behaviouralists advocate that political science should be related to urgent social problems. It should therefore be purposive. Political scientists should find out solutions to contemporary problems. The research should be relevant to the understanding of social issues. Political scientists must play the leading role in acting for the post-behavioural change. To quote Easton, "the post-behavioural movement in political science is presenting us with a new image of our discipline and the obligations of our profession."

5.8-KEY TERMS

- **Behavioralism:** Behavioralism in political science refers to an approach that emphasizes the systematic study of political behavior, focusing on observable and measurable actions rather than abstract or normative theories.

- **Empirical:** originating in or based on observation or experience. Relying on experience or observation alone often without due regard for system and theory.

5.9- SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- What is behavioralism. Discuss its features.
- What is Post-Beavioralism. Discuss its fetures given by Easton.
- Find out the difference between Behavioralism and Post Behavioralism.

5.10- REFERENCES

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UNIT-6: SYSTEM APPROACH

Structure

6.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to know

- The System Approach

- Easton's views on System Approach

- Almond's views on System Approach

6.2-INTRODUCTION

The concept of political system has acquired wide currency because it directs our attention to the entire scope of political activities within a society. System approach to political institutions and processes by the behavioural school has given birth to this new concept. Ever since the Greek philosophers spoke on Political Science, different institutions and processes which have in them some similarities explain the political institutions and processes which have in them some similarities an difference. In the contemporary world, however, a number of American political scientists have set-forth the systems approach as the most useful framework in this context. The credit for applying this approach in Political Science goes to David Easton, G. A. Almond and Morton A. Kaplan. This approach has served as a convenient tool for macro analysis of political phenomena. But the exponents of this approach differ in their visualization

of the political phenomena. But, the exponents of this approach differ in their visualization of the political system.

The concept of Systems Theory dates back ti 1920s. Ludwig Von Bertallanfy is regarded as the earliest exponent of the general systems theory. He employed this theory for the study of Biology. It is only after the Second World War, the social scientists demanded for the unification of sciences for which they took the help of the systems theory. However, when the general systems theory in its abstract form traced back to natural sciences like Biology, in its operational form they are found in Anthropology. Then it was adopted in Sociology and Psychology. It was in the mid sixties that the systems theory became an important tool in analysis and mode of inquiry in Political Science. Among political scientists, David Easton ahs been the first to apply this theory to political analysis. It may be noted that this theoretical developments in Social Anthropology have had a profound impact on Political Science. The name of two sociologists, Fobert K. Mertaon and Talcott Parsons are noteworthy in this respect. They had made significant contribution to systems framework. In Political Science, while David Easton and G. A. Almond have applied systems analysis to national politics Morton A. Kaplan has applied it to international politics.

6.3-MEANING OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

In order to understand the concept of political system, we must know what a system is. According to Ludwig Von, "it is a set of objects together with relations between the objects and between their attitudes." Morton A. Kaplan says, "………it is a set of interrelated variables, as distinguished from the environment….." An analysis of these definitions shows that system embodies the idea of group of objects or elements stating some characteristics process. Briefly speaking, a system implies the interdependence of parts and a boundary of one component in a system change, all other components and there systems as a whole are affected. Thus, systems mean a group of individuals or things which interact with one another and the environment around There are different types of systems, like solar system, social system, economic system, cultural system, organic system, mechanical systems etc. However, there is a different in the elements of other social systems from those of social system. Save the social system, in all other system, the elements are totally involved. But in social systems, the individuals are not totally involved. Only a particular of the individual is involved.

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other system, the elements are totally involved. But in social systems, the individuals are not totally involved. Only a particular of the individual is involved.

Pre-requisites:

There are three basic pre-requisites of the general system theory, namely, (i) concepts of a descriptive nature, (ii) concepts intended to highlight the factors which regulate and maintain the system and (iii) concepts concerning the dynamics of the system.

Concepts of a descriptive nature include those concepts which differentiate between open systems and closed systems or between organic and non-organic systems. Understanding of the working of the internal organization of the system, the concept of the boundary, inputs and outputs also fall under this category. Concepts intended to highlight the factors that regulate and maintain systems particularly deal with conditions responsible for regulating sand sustaining the functioning of the systems. These also involve many process variables like feedbacks, repair and reproduction entropy. On the other hand, concepts concerning dynamics of the system refer to the changes which involve fine distinction between nations of disruption, desolation and breakdown along with the study of such concepts as systemic crisis, stress, strains and the decay.

Many scholars have tired to give a precise meaning to the concept of political system. Common to most of their views is the association of political system with use of legitimate physical coercion in societies. According to Max Weber, "Political system is a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force a within a given territory". Weber also says that the legitimate force is the thread that runs through the action of the political system, giving it its special quality and importance and its coherence as a system. Laswell and Kaplan consider political system as shaping and sharing or power with the help of threat or actual use of 'severe deprivations' for non-compliance. Robert Dahi defines political system as "Any persistent pattern of human relations that involves power, rule or authority".

The aforesaid definitions of the political system have been severely criticized by Almond. According to him: Max Weber only provides a definition of a state that a political system. Lasswell and Kaplan fail to explain the concept, "severe deprivation" as such he has failed to distinguish between the political systems and other systems. To Almost Robert Dahi also has failed in distinguishing political systems and other systems enjoy power.

6.4: ESTON'S VIEWS ON POLITICAL POWER

David Easton defines political system as "Authoritative allocation of values with threat or actual use of deprivations to make them binding of all". An examination of Easton's definition

shows that it implies three things: (i) allocation of values (ii) allocation as authoritative and (iii) authoritative allocation is binding on society, which are the chief concern of the political system. As such, to David Easton, political system means systems of interaction in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made.

David Easton, a Canadian political scientist, made significant contributions to political science with his systems theory approach. His views on the political system are outlined in his influential work, "The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science" (1953).

6.5: ALMOND'S VIEWS ON POLITICAL POWER

Almond defines political system as, "The system of interaction to be found in independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaptation both internally and externally by means of employment of more or less, legitimate physical compulsion". This definition indicates three important aspects of the political system, namely; (i) a political system is a concrete whole which influences and is influenced by the environment. It uses legitimate force as a measure of last resort, (ii) there is no interaction between roles and play, and (iii) existence of boundaries. Comprehensiveness means that the political system includes all systems. Out of these above aspects, we find that the definition of Almond ascribes three characteristics to the political system: (i) comprehensiveness, (ii) interdependence and (iii) existence of boundaries. Comprehensiveness means that the political system includes all types of interactions that take place among the roles and structures of the systems. Further, political system includes both formal and informal institutions as well as processes. Interdependence means close connections between the components or elements of the political system. A change in one element produces changes in all other elements. Boundary implies a line of demarcation between the political systems and other systems. According to Egene Mehan, Almond's definition of political systems combines Weber's definition of the state, Easton's conception of authoritative allocation and Talcott Parson's view of the functions of political system in the society.

6.6: SYSTEM AND SUB-SYSTEM

Before analyzing the features of the political system we must make a distinction between systems and sub-systems. According to Robert Dahal, one system can be an element, or subsystem of another system. For example, earth is a subsystem of the universe. Accordingly, the legislature is a subsystem of the political system and the political system is a sub-system of the social system. It should be noted that the systems theory has been applied to political

analysis in three different ways; (i) political system is viewed as a "guided missile" seeking political goals, (ii) political system is viewed as "converter" of inputs into outputs and (iii) political system is considered as "kind of structures" performing particular types of functions. According to the first concept, political system acts like a guided missile, which automatically hits the target Its components operate in a way that automatically adjusts the course of the system in the light of pressures, both internal and external, towards its goal. In regard to the second concept, political system essentially functions as a converter. It converts the inputs into outputs. The third concept refers to the structural function analysis of Almond. Originally this was developed by Talcott Parsons and Marion Levy. However, Almond has adopted it in political science. This concept indicates that the political system is composed of particular for the maintenance of the system.

6.7: CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

The political system has the following characteristics:

1. It has its own boundary.

2. It lives in environment.

1. The political system is an open and adaptive system.

2. It is self regulatory in character.

3. It is comprehensive in nature.

4. It is composed of certain structures having specific functions.

5. There is interdependence of the parts of the political system.

6. Political system is an ongoing system and dynamic in character.

Political system, according to Easton, is the most inclusive system of behavior in a society for the authoritative allocation of values. It functions within certain boundary. It is this boundary that separates the political system from other social systems. Easton lays down four criteria on the basis of which the political system can be differentiated from other social systems. These are: (i) the extent of distinctions of political roles and activities from other roles and activities, or conversely, the extent to which they are all embedded in limited in limited structures, such as, the family or kinship groups, (ii) The extent to which occupants of political roles from a separate group in the society and possess a sense of internal solidarity and cohesion.

(iii) The extent to which other hierarchies, based upon wealth, prestige or other non-political

criteria and (iv) The extent to which the recruitment processes and criteria of selection differ for the occupants of political as contrasted with other roles.

Political system lives in environments. In other words, political life as a system of behavior is situated in the environment. The environment of the political system comprises of social land physical surroundings. Environment of the political system can be categorized into two types: intra societal and extra societal. Further, intrasocietal environment may be subdivided into ecological, biological personality and social environments. Extra societal environment is also equally subdivided. Intrasocietal environment referes to the environment that lays out side the national system. It means environment at the international level. It includes political system of all other countries and international political organizations like the UN, International Court of Justice, etc and the international economic, social, cultural and demographic systems.

All political systems are both open and adaptive in character. Since political systems lives in environment, it is open to influence from the environment. Political system is always exposed to influence from the intra and extra societal environments. It is constantly receiving from other systems, to which it is exposed to a stream of events and influences that shape the conditions under which its members act. Such influences put pressure on the functioning of the political systems, which are stresses of the system. However political systems continue to persist even in the fact of such stresses. Stress refers to the challenges that disturb the normal functioning of the political system, sometimes to the extent of its total failure. Sometimes stress may arise within the political system does not mean that there will be no change in the system. On the other hand, every political system undergoes changes. The degree of change determines the persistence or failure of the system. As long as the political system regulates the stresses, the political system continues to persist. It does so even through bringing changes within the system it-self. Hence, a changed political system is said to persist.

Political system is a self –regulating system. It can change, correct and readjust its processes and structures in face of activity which threatens to disrupt its own functioning. A political system even copes with the disturbances by seeking to change its environment. Consequently, the exchanges between its environment and itself are no longer stressful. It may be noted that a political system has the capacity for creative and constructive regulation of disturbance. It has, therefore dynamism of its own. It has a purpose of its own. It continues to move according to its fundamental purpose, as it is self-regulating. There are a large number of mechanisms in the political system on the basis of which the political system tries to cope with the environments. It has regulatory mechanisms of its own through which it can either push back the stresses or allow creeping into the system which may retard its velocity as well as volumes. There are four

broad types of regulatory mechanism and reduction mechanism.

Political system is comprehensive in character it includes all kinds of institutions, roles and functions as well as processes which are political in nature. In other words, both formal and informal structures, processes and functions concerning political life of a man come under the preview of the political system. As such, it comprises the executive, legislature, judiciary, political parties, pressure groups, interest groups, the press, radio, television elites etc who perform roles relating to the political sphere of mankind.

According to G. A. Almond, all political systems are composed of certain structures and these structures perform same kind of functions. And these functions are essential for the survival of the system these structures are well differentiated and some of such structures combine, a sub-system or a system emerges. It may be noted that political structures are 'multi- functional' in nature.

Political system performs a number of functions which are required to keep the system in working order. These are functional requirements of the system. According to Almond, political systems can be compared in terms of their structures and functions and accordingly can be classified as traditional, transitional and developed. Generally, a political system performs, two types of functions input and output functions. When David Easton divides input functions into demands and supports. Almond talks of interest articulation and interest aggregation, though initially he included in it both political socialization and recruitment and political communication. On the other hand, Easton refers to policy decisions as output functions, whereas, Almond points out to rule application and rule-adjudication as the output functions of the political system.

It is already pointed out that the political system is composed of certain structures. These are essential elements of the political system. There is interdependence among these elements or parts. It means whine one part is affected; disruption in the working of any one part affects the normal functioning of the entire system. There is close inter-connectedness among these elements, which make it a system. Ass such, Almond says "political system is that system of interaction which is found; in all independent societies, which performs the functions of integration and adoption.

Political system is an ongoing system. It continues to exist as long as it regulates the stresses successfully. In order to do so, it performs the capability functions, as Almond redress to. It is the ability of the political system to sustain in front of the challenges. The capability functions of the political system are categorized into four types, namely, extractive capability, regulative capability, distributive capability, symbolic capability and responsive capability. Through such

capabilities the political system maintains itself, if necessary brings changes in its structures and functions. Hence, the political system is dynamic.

6.8: SUMMARY

Today the term 'political system' has been preferred to the term state or government because it includes both formal informal political instructions and processes those continue to exist in a society. Systems approach to political institutions by the behavioural school has given birth to this new concept. The credit for applying this approach in Political Science goes to David Easton, G. A. Almond and Morton A. Kaplan. However, the concept of systems theory dates back to 1920s when Ludwig Von applied this theory for the study of Biology. Then the theory was adopted in Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology and Political Science. Easton happens to be the first political scientist to employ this theory in explaining political phenomena. Morton A. Kaplan made this theory more popular in explaining international issues. According to this theory, political behavior is conveived as a system and the political system is defined as "Authoritative allocation of values with threat or actual use of deprivations to make them binding on all". It is the system of interactions to be found in independent societies which performs the functions of integration and adaptation both internally and eternally by means of employment of, more or less, legitimate physical compulsion. A political system has three important characteristics, namely, comprehensiveness, interdependence and existence of boundaries. However the features of a political system are openness, adaptiveness, comprehensiveness, self-regulating, ongoing etc. It is composed of a number of structures which have specific functions. These functions are categorized as input and output functions. A political system performs these in order to maintain itself.

6.9: KEY TERMS

- **Political Culture:** the set of discourses and symbolic practices by means of which both individuals and groups articulate their relationship to power, elaborate their political demands and put them at stake."

- **Political System:** In political science, a political system means the type of political organization that can be recognized, observed or otherwise declared by a state. It defines the process for making official government decisions

6.10: SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- Discuss the systems approach as given by David Easton.

- Discuss the Almond's views on Political System.

- Discuss the features of Political system.

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UNIT-7: INPUT-OUT PUT ANALYSIS OF DAVID ESTON

Structure

7.1 Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Environment of Political System

7.4 Inputs of Political System

7.5 Outputs of Political Systems

7.6 Summary

7.7 Key Terms

7.8 Self-Assessment Questions

6.9 References

7.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to

- Know about the input –output method of Easton
- Environment of Political system

7.2: INTRODUCTION

David Easton is the first political scientist who introduced the concept of system to politics, together with a vocabulary of inputs and outputs, demands and supports and feedback during the early 1950s. He considered the political system as the basic unit of analysis and focused on the infra-system behavior of different systems as chief areas of investigation through the application of system theory. Easton emphasized the adaptive nature of political systems. They continuously adjust to changes in the environment to maintain stability. Feedback mechanisms play a crucial role in this adaptation process.

Easton defines political system as "a set of interaction, abstracted from the totally of social behavior, through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society". As such, political system is one among other forms of social systems. It is that part of the social system through which 'authoritative allocations of values are made'. Easton's systems analysis is also known as input-output analysis, or conversion process. To him, political system receives inputs from the environments in form of demands and supports and converts these into outputs in form of policies or decisions. Input-output analysis considers the political system as both open and adaptive. The chief focus of this approach is on the nature of communication and transaction

that take place between the political system and other systems that stands around it. The political system is exposed to various influences from other systems and accordingly reacts to such influences. Input-out theory therefore, systematically, or scientifically makes a study of the relationship between the political system and its total environment.

It should be noted that it is authoritative allocation as distinguished from mere allocation that makes it political in nature. Hence, all the roles and structures that constitute to make authoritative allocation as distinguished from mere allocation may be said to constitute the political system. According to Easton, "The Political system is the most inclusive system of behavior in a society for the authoritative allocation of values". Political system functions within a certain boundary, and it is this boundary which separates political system from other social systems.

7.3: ENVIRONMNET OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Political system lives in environment, which means political life as system of behavior dissertated in environments. The environment of the political system comprises of social and physical surroundings. Easton divides environment into two broad categories intra-societal and extra societal. Intra-societal environment comprises that part of the social and physical environment that lies outside the boundaries of a political system and yet within the same society. Intra-societal environment is further sub-divided into four types – (a) ecological (b) biological (c) personality and (d) environment.

Ecological environment refers to the physical environment and non-human organic conditions of human existence. Physical environment means geographical environments like climate, territory, topographic features like forests, rivers, mountains and physical resources, techno-human organic conditions, on the other hand, refer to the nature, location, and accessibility of good-supply and other flora and fauna that can be utilized by the members of a political system. Biological environment includes the genetic and hereditary traits of the individuals. So far as the political system is concerned, elements of cooperation and rationality inherited by an individual help the former to endure. Personality environment refers to the personality of a political system, and also outside it. Further, the other social systems that include the cultural, economic, religious, demographic systems etc. generally influence the functioning of any types of political system.

The extra societal environment, on the other hand, stands not only outside the political system but also outside the national boundary. In other words, it is the international environment which includes political systems of other countries and international organizations like the U.N.,

SEATO, NATO, International Court of Justice, and the International economic, social, cultural and demographic systems as well.

Regulatory Mechanism:

The political system is always exposed to the aforesaid environment and therefore it is influenced by the environments. The political system, according to Easton, is linked with its environment through the process of inputs and outputs. Influences of these flow into the political system put stress on the political system. Swerves are the challenges that disturb the normal functioning of the system, sometimes to the extent of its total failure. Stress may arise within the political system through authoritative allocation of values so that the system continues to persist. The system has its won regulatory mechanism as it is self-regulatory in character. There are four broad types of regulatory mechanism, namely, gate keeping, cultural, communication and reduction mechanisms.

Gate keeping mechanism operates at the boundary of the political system. It is designed to regulate the flow of wants, or demands from entering the system and becoming articulated demands. Cultural mechanism prevents any kind of demands which contradict the norms, culture, values or practices that are prevailing in a particular kind society. Through communication mechanism, on the other hand, the political system establishes certain communication channels through which demands are persuaded or pressurized to flow through in the process. The political system also has a number of reduction processes (mechanism) by which demands may be forced to convert themselves into specific issues without which they would not be able to feed to conversion process of the political system in a proper way.

7.4: INPUTS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

It should be noted that if the stresses are communicated to the political system in the form of inputs, chiefly, there are two types of inputs (a) demands and (b) supports. Demands and supports are received by the system from the environments-both intra-societal and extra societal.

Demand is an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so. Demands upon the political system may be sub-classified into four types like, (a) demands for hour laws, educational opportunities, transpiration, roads, health facilities, security etc; (b) demands for the regulation of behavior like provision for public safety, control over markets, rules pertaining to traffic control, etc; (c) demands for the participation in political processes-right to vote, to hold

official to organize political association etc. ;(d) Demands for information and communication, like, demands for the affirmation of norms, communication of policy intent from and degrees for intensity. These demands are communicated to the political system through such agents as religious leaders, elites, caste leaders, political parties, pressure groups, mass media etc.

Support, on the other hand, means giving obedience and showing loyalatery to the political system and its processes. There are also four types of supports that correspond to the demands, namely, (a) material, (b) obligatory (c) participatory and (d) symbolic supports. The citizens services at different political institutions. Obligatory supports include obedience to rules, laws and regulations. While participatory supports refer to exercise of franchise contesting in the elections and participation's decision making processes symbolic supports include giving attentions to government communication manifestation of deference, or respect to public authorities, symbols and ceremonials.

It should be noted that if the political system and the elites acting in their roles are to process demands effectively, supports must be received from other social systems, and also from individuals acting in the political system. Generally speaking, demands affect the policies or goals of the system, while supports provide the resources which enable a political system carry out its goals. According to Easton, supports can be classified into two types (a) specific and (b) diffuse supports. Support is specific when it is for a particular cause. It is diffuse, when it is in the form of loyalty, obedience of laws, or payment of taxes.

7.5: OUT PUTS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Outputs, on the other hand, as already stated are the 'decisions' and actions of the political system. There are four types of transactions on the output side, which correspond closely to the supports. These are extractions, regulations of behavior, allocation of goods and symbolic outputs. Outputs not only help to determine each succeeding round of inputs that finds its way into the political system. This process is described as the feedback loop.

Feedback is an important type of response to suppress stress in a political system. It is a dynamic process through which information about the reactions of the people on the decision of the system is communicated back to it, in such a way, as to affect the subsequent behavior of the political system. Since a political system, according to Easton, is primarily interested in persistence, this information is essential to the authorities who take decisions for the system. David Easton calls it a 'Flow model' of the political system as the political processes involve a continuous and interlinked flow of behavior.

Easton's explanations can be put forth in the following diagram.
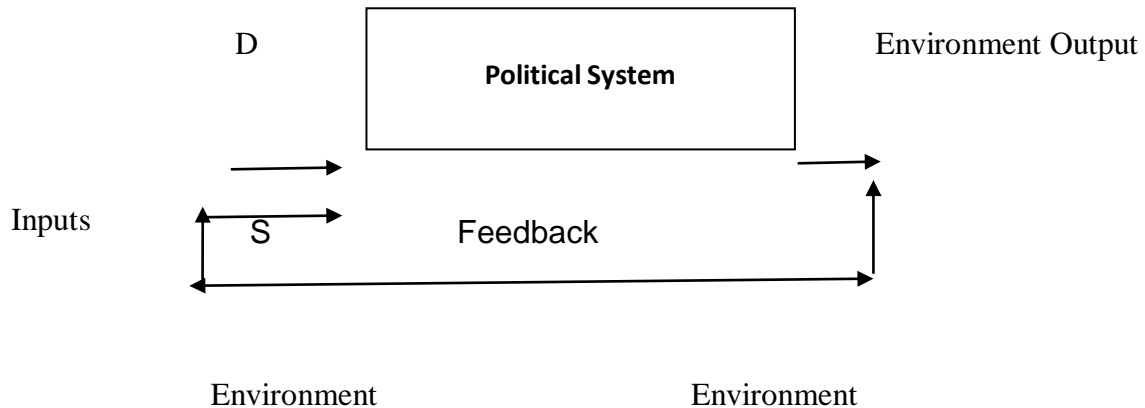
The aforesaid model is self explanatory. It is form this diagram we see that influences from the environments constantly flow into the political system in form of inputs, which are converted within the system into outputs in form of policy decisions. The reactions of the society to such policy-decisions are again transmitted to the political system in form of inputs through the feedback loop. The whole reactions are again transmitted to the political system as Easton brings us to the conclusion that for him, the political system is basically, 'the input- output mechanism dealing with political decisions and the activities associated with these conditions".

7.6: SUMMARY

Easton's analysis has been accepted as scientific and most systematic. His method of analysis has the merit of going beyond the equilibrium approach. It recognizes change and dynamism in the system. He draws clear distinction between system maintenance and system persistence, though he concentrates more on the study of system persistence. He has emphasized on the preservation of essential variable within their 'critical ranges'. His conceptual framework consists of standardized set of concepts. According to Oran Young, 'Easton's analysis" (a) rejection of traditional concepts, (b) use of new concepts, (c) setting fourth of comprehensive conceptions and (d)emphasis on inter-disciplinary endeavour in theory construction. However, it must be admitted that Easton's model of political system is a major tool of political analyses. It provides us with a broad framework for analysis of political roles. It has established a systemic approach to the study of political behavior.

7.7: KEY TERMS

- **Feedback:** Information about reactions to a product, a person's performance of a task, etc. which is used as a basis for improvement.

- **Input:** what is put in, taken in, or operated on by any process or system

- **Output:** he amount of something produced by a person, machine, or industry.

7.8: SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- Discuss in put out system of David Easton.
- How the input and output system is relevant to contemporary political system, discuss.

7.9: REFERENCES

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UNIT-8: STRUCTURAL- FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

Structure

8.1 Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Evolution of the Approach

8.4 Structural Functional Analysis

8.5 Input Functions

8.6 Output Functions

8.7 Self Modification of the Approach

8.8 Summary

8.9 Key Terms

8.10 Self-Assessment Questions

8.11 References

8.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to

- Know about the Structural Functional Approach
- Functional Analysis of Almond

8.2: INTRODUCTION

Gabriel Almond and James Coleman are the first scholars to apply the structural functional theory to the study of political science. This approach is closely related to the system analysis. It analyses social reality in terms of structures, processes, mechanisms and functions. The concepts of structures and functions are central to this analysis which asks three basic questions – what basic functions are performed in any given system? By what structures are such functions performed, and under what systems (conditions) are these functions performed? .The basic assumption of this approach is that all systems have some structures which can be identified. And these structures perform certain specific functions within the system.

The structural–functional analysis is one of the primary system derivatives in political science and a major framework for political research. As a result of the works of anthropologists of the early 20th century, particularly that of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, structural

functionalism emerged a political science through sociology. It has been adopted as a field of comparative politics by Gabriel Almond. This mode of analysis is primarily concerned with the phenomena of system maintenance and regulation. The basic theoretical proposition is that in all social systems, certain basic functions have to be performed. The central question is: 'What structures fulfil what basic functions and what conditions govern any given system?' According to this approach, a political system is composed of several structures that are 'patterns of action and resultant institutions.' These institutions and patterns of action have certain functions that are defined as 'objective consequences for the system'. A function is a regularly recurring pattern of action and behaviour that is carried on for the preservation and advancement of the system. Dysfunction is the opposite of function, which means an action detrimental to the existence and growth of the system. In the words of Robert Merton, 'Functions are those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of a system.' A certain level of dysfunction is unavoidable in the operation of any pattern of action. From time to time, it is possible to identify actions or decisions that are functional for the political system, as a whole, or for some of its components.

8.3: EVOLUTION OF THE APPROACH

Problems before Almond:

Almond and his associates were concerned chiefly with two problems –

(i) They wished to construct a theory which explains how political systems change from 'traditional' to 'modern'. In other words, they wished to devise a theory of political development;

(i) Almond wished to classify different types of political systems and regions according to the said process of development. Relating to the first problem, there is an assumption that political change can be seen in terms of development. According to Almond, there is to logic to the process of development. So that it is possible to explain and even predict cycles of short rang and long range changes of the political system to be teleogical, Almond refuses to claim that he could foresee the final end of the development process. For him, the development is an open ended process. Consequently, his approach is eclectic one. According to him, 'political systems are a class of social system'. His procedure of analysis was to identify the function of polity in modern western systems, and then to pursue his analysis of the political modernization in non-western regions by investigating how

these functions, which are association with distinctive political activities in Western systems, is performed elsewhere.

According to Almond, Political system is that system of interaction which is found in all independent societies that performs the functions of integration and adaptation, both internally and externally by means of employment or threat of employment of coercion, which is legitimate. He says that the political system is the legitimate, order-maintaining, or transforming system in the society. In order to ensure a scientific study of the political system, Almond applied the structural – functional approach, which needs a brief discussion at this point of our elaboration.

8.4: STRUCTURAL- FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Structural – Functional analysis is a form of systematic approach which looks at political systems as coherent wholes that influence and are influenced by their environments. The basic principle of this theory is that every system has some structures, which perform some functions which are very important for the survival of the system itself. As such, this approach revolves around the twin concepts of structures and functions. Before discussion the approach, let us look at the implications of these two concepts.

Structures are those which constitute the political system. According to Almond, structures have certain important features. First, there is universality of structures. Secondly, when these structures are well differentiated in a developed system, it is very difficult to make such differentiation in under developed system. Along with structural differentiation, there is functional specificity. Thirdly, structure is composed of roles. Fourthly, when a few structures are combined, a sub-system, or a system is emerged. Finally political structures are mostly multifunctional in character.

Functions are the consequences of the activities of the structures. Robert T. Holt says, only those activities of the system that have relevance to the system are included in functions. Robert K. Merton opines, "Function is observed consequences". According to Marian J. Levy, function, is a condition or set of affairs that result from the working of the structures. For Almond, every political system performs certain functions to maintain its existence. This function is essential to keep them in working order. In various political systems, these functions may be performed by different kinds of political structures, or even by non-political structures. According to Almond, political system can be compared in term of structures they maintain and

the functions which these structures perform. To him, political systems basically perform two types of functions, namely

(i)input functions and (ii) output functions.

8.5: INPUT FUNCTIONS

Input functions are otherwise known as political or non-governmental functions. It is the transactions between the environments and the political system. Contribution of Almond basically lies in enunciating these four types of input functions. According to him, the input functions are more important for the political systems of the developing countries. To him, these functions are universal to all kinds of political systems, although these vary in the mode, manner, or style or their functioning. Let us analyze each of these input functions in brief.

All Political systems perform the function of political socialization. Political socialization is a process through which individuals acquire the values and norms as well as pattern of behavior that are appropriate for a political system. All political systems tend to perpetuate their cultures and structures through time, and that they do this chiefly by means of the socializing influences of primary and secondary structure though which the young of the society pass in the process of nitration. According to Almond and Verba, it is, thus, a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. It is concerned with the orientation of the individuals towards political objects. In other words, political socialization is the process of induction into political culture and it promotes a set of attitudes among the members of the system. It is through political socialization that political values and norms are transmitted from generation to generation. It is a never ending process. The major agents through which political socialization is carried on include the family, the church, the school, the peer groups, the political parties, mass media etc. The process of socialization may be of different types. It may be latent or manifest, specific or diffuse, particular or general, and affective or instrumental. It is latent when it is in form of transmission of information. It is manifest when it takes the form of explicit transmission of information, values, feelings vis-à-vis the roles, inputs and outputs of the political system. It is diffuse, particularistic and ascriptive in a traditional society but as it modernizes itself, the process becomes specific, universalistic and instrumental.

Political recruitment starts where political socialization leaves off. It is concerned with the recruitment of citizens into the specialized role of the political system. In other words, it means the obtaining of political leaders. It refers to the recruitment of the members of the society out of particular sub-culture-religious communities and inducting them into the specialized roles of

the political system, training them in appropriate skill, providing them with the political cognitive map, values, experiences etc. Recruitment process is influenced both by ascriptive and performance criteria.

Interest Articulation is the process by which individuals and groups make demands upon the political decision makers. It is the first functional set up in the political conversion process. This can be done by many different structures and in many different styles. Interest articulation is particularly important because it marks the boundary between the society and the political system. Through this process, the conflicts inherent in political culture and social structures become evident. Hence, this function is closely related to the function of political socialization. Interest angles – (a) the kinds of structures which perform the function of interest articulation: (b) the variety of channels through which demands are articulated; (c) the styles of interest articulation, and (d) the effects of modernization on articulation.

Almond includes, various interest groups like non-associational interest groups, institutional interest groups and associational interest groups in the kinds of structures which perform the functions of interest articulation. These groups put forth the different demands, or interest to the political system for authoritative allocation of values.

Channels are otherwise known as the means of political communication. In communicating demands individuals wish to articulate their interest in the way most likely to gain a favourable response. The normal channels are physical demonstrations and violence which may be spontaneous or deliberate. Secondly, it may be done through personal connections. Thirdly, communication may be made through elite representation, and fourthly this may be performed through formal and informal institutions like legislatures, bureaucracy, cabinet, mass media and political parties.

The style of interest articulation, on the other hand, may be of four types, namely, (1) Manifest or Latent, (2) Specific or Diffuse; (3) General or particular and (4) instrumental or Affective. A manifest interest articulation is an explicit formulation of demands. A latent articulation, on the other hand, takes the form of behavioural which may be transmitted into the political system. In some articulation, there is a greater degree of specifically, when some are diffuse in nature. General articulation is made by the associational groups. Particular takes the form of bargain with an expected consequences; an affective articulation takes the form of a simple expression of gratitude, or disappointment.

It should be noted that these styles of articulation have certain consequences. First, it determines which groups do not influence the decision making process in the society.

Secondly, it shapes the relative effectiveness of the groups. Thirdly, it can mitigate or intensify the problem of resolving conflicts between groups.

Modernization is a process which aims at progress in every directions of human life. It is brought through scientific inventions, new technology and industrialization. Generally, modernization affects the structures of political communication, the political culture and the distribution of resources. And, as upon these the style of articulation rests-articulation itself is affected. The general trends in societies experiencing modernization are those, which are closely related to the emergence of "participant attitudes" in the political culture. On the other hand, the specializations of Labour leaders to the formation of a large number of social interests which can be the basis of associational interest groups. The emergence of mass media, of a more extended bureaucracy, and of other political structures provides additional channels through which emergent groups can act. The existence of such channels is in itself an incentive for group formation as the greater flow of political information.

Interest aggregation is a function of converting demands into general policy alternatives. It can be achieved through the recruitment of political roles, and by the legislature, the executive, the bureaucracy, the medial of communication, the interest groups and the political parties. This function also is performed within all sub-systems of a political system. Agencies performing interest articulation are generally involved in performing interest aggregation. The style of interest aggregation is of three types, namely (i) programmatic-bargaining style (ii) absolute value oriented style and (iii) traditionalistic style.

Political communication, according to Almond, is the crucial boundary maintenance function. A political system depends greatly on this function for its maintenance. It is a question of informing people about the policies and policy performance, and receiving the public opinion on the said policies. The political system achieves such function through different agencies like political elites, interest groups, political parties and mass- media.

8.6: OUTPUT FUNCTIONS

Output functions of a political system are classified into three types, (a) Rule Application and (b) Rule-Adjudication. Rule making function generally refers to law-making process of the political system. While rule application is the executive function, 'rule-adjudication' stands for the judicial functions of the political system.

All the aforesaid functions are internal to the political system. So far 'rule-making' function is concerned, the legislator, bureaucrats and various legislative and administrative committees constitute the structures for performance of this work. The legislators take account of the views

of both bureaucrats and the committees as well as of the pressure groups, while making the laws. Rule application, as pointed out earlier, is nothing but enforcement of rules. The problem that arises at this level is how to gather resources for effective execution of such rules and process as well as transmit information. In modern society, application of rules means high degree of administrative capacity in which role and importance of bureaucracy are considered to be very significant. An effective rule application system is pre-requisite for meeting new goals. Rule – adjudication, on the other hand, is closely associated with judicial structures. I seek to resolve conflicting situations. It provides a means of setting conflicts within the system without expanding the pressure on the rule-makers to make new laws.

It may be note that all the aforesaid functions have meaning in relation to the system and the structure of an ongoing system. These represent a certain ordering of determinate relationships by means or which they all contribute to the equilibrium of the system. The inter-relatedness of the structures and functions gives to the structural functional analysis of Almond the systemic character. The system comes to have identical boundaries which define the nature of interaction and exchanges within its boundaries. It receives inputs from the environments which undergo process of conversion and are given back as outputs. The outputs have again their impact upon the environment which leads to a new flow of inputs into the political system. The process of interaction and exchange is what Almond terms as feed-back.

Almond appears to be interested more in finding the relationship between structures and functions on the one hand and the nature of exchanges between the system and its environment on the other hand. According to him, the lower the level of structural differentiation and role specialization the more traditional and under developed the political system. Conversely, the higher the level more modern and developed the system is. Accordingly one can classify the political system.

Almond is very particular about locating the political system in its environment and also in identifying the transactions that take place from within the outside boundaries. This makes his system not only an open system but one dependent upon these transactions. It may be noted that the nature of the people. Political culture consists of attitudes, values and skills which are current in the whole population, the political system, and those special propensities and patterns which may be found within separate parts of the population. Political culture conditions the functioning of the structures by shaping the way people would relate to them and would behave in course of performing roles.

For Almond, development would be possible only if there is a movement towards

secularization of culture. Secularized culture will help proper discharge of functions by the differentiated structures. A proper classificatory-cum-developmental analysis must link up with the secularization of culture.

8.7: SELF MODIFICATION OF THE APPROACH

Due to criticisms, Almond realized that an emphasis on equilibrium given by him has given a static bias to his model and reduced its applicability to the developing systems. He also realized that his classification does not indicate the direction and level of developments. As such, he modified his analysis as follows.

At the outset, he included only Interest Articulation and interest Aggregation in input functions of the political system, and treated communication function as autonomous, or as part of both input and output functions. It is now considered more as a process and mechanism between inputs and outputs than as a pure input functions. Both political socialization and recruitment are taken as those functions which sustain the system as an entity in the environment. He also added capability function of the political system which he considered as the vital function for the pattern maintenance and survival of the system. Accordingly, he talked of following four major types of functions of the political system.

1. Capability function

2. Conversion function

3. Communication function and

4. Pattern maintenance and adaptation function.

The ability of the political system to sustain in front of stresses is called as its capability functions. According to Almond, this function is of five types, namely, extractive capability, regulative capability, distributive capability, symbolic capability and responsive capability. Extractive capability function refers to the capacity of the system to extract resources from the environment and human beings. Capacity of the system to exercise control over the individuals' behaviours is considered as the regulative capability. Distributive capability means allocation of goods and services, opportunities refers to creation of a sense of love and respect in the minds of the people for the political system. Finally, responsive capability aims at maintaining a relationship between the inputs and outputs.

Political system is primarily engaged in converting the inputs outputs. When Eastern talks of

"demands" and "supports" as two forms of inputs. Almond identifies 'inters articulation and 'interest aggregation' as the inputs. When these inputs flow into the political system through the 'feedback loop', the political system, through scrutiny, coverts these into outputs, which happen to be the policy decisions.

Communication function refers to gathering and transmission of information. No system can work without a proper system of communication. Both inputs and outputs have to be communicated to and from the political system. In fact, the outputs depend upon the proper communication of the inputs.

A number of structures are involved in the aforesaid communication function. These are; (a) informal face to face contact; (b) traditional social structures like well informed individuals, families, caste groups etc. That perform this function in traditional societies; (c) government structures like the bureaucracy; (d) interest groups and political parties and (e) the mass media structures like radio, television, news papers, magazines, etc.

This function relates to the maintenance of the existing pattern by adaptation to the changing environments. It involves political socialization and political recruitments. Through political socialization political cultures are maintained and modified. Individuals are inducted into the existing political culture, and their orientation towards political objects is shaped.

8.8: SUMMARY

Almond's analysis seems to be more representative than that of Easton's. Although both the scholars have the same goal. Almond's chief concern is how political systems change from traditional to modern. Accordingly, he want to classify political systems and establish the hierarchical orders of all existing political system. He, further, believes that political change can be seen in terms of development, or progress. It is through the application of 'structural-functional analysis, Almond has provided us with a scientific and systematic approach for the study or political system. Though his approach has been criticized on the ground that it can not be applied to explain the peculiar problems of developing political societies (like the tribal or racial problems, linguistic issues, sub- nationalism etc.) and its non-applicability to communist societies, his theory has provided a logical basis for the political analysis.

8.9: KEY TERMS

- **Communication:** Communication is the sending and receiving of information and can be one-on-one or between groups of people, and can be face-to-face or through communication devices.

- **Bureaucracy:** Relating to a system of controlling or managing a country, company, or organization that is operated by a large number of officials.

8.10: SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- Discuss the Structural Functional Analysis of G.A.Almond.

- Discuss the views of Almond in his input and out system.

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BLOCK-3: STATE IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Unit-9:   Marxist Approach

Unit-10:   Capitalist State

Unit-11:   Socialist State

Unit-12:   Post-Colonial Societies

UNIT-9: MARXIST APPROACH

Structure

9.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Know the Marxist approach on Comparative politics
- Find out views of the Karl Marx on approaches to study political science

9.2: INTRODUCTION

Karl Marx is in fact the greatest political thinker of all times. No other political philosopher has aroused greater controversy or exerted more influence on future generations as Marx. There have been other great thinkers like Plato, Hobbes or Rousseau but even they could not excite imagination of worth of millions of people in all the countries of the world. Marx is the only philosopher who enjoys this distinction. He is intensely hated by millions, admired by millions, and almost worshipped by millions. His greatness and influence is quite clear from the fact that great efforts have been made to refute him. Indeed the whole history of political thought in the twentieth century is a struggle between the opponents and supporters of Marxism.

9.3: MARXIST APPROACH

It may be pointed out that Marxian approach to politics means taking note of not only the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin but all those of a galaxy of later writers such as Luxemburg, Trotsky, Gramsci and many others. Further, an explicitely 'political' treatise cannot be found in the whole range of classical Marxist texts. Miliband rightly points out, "a

Marxist politics had to be constructed or reconstructed from the mass of variegated and fragmented material which forms the corpus of Marxism."

The individual, according to Marx, is individual-in-society. Individual has no meaning without the society. Marx says, "society does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of inter-relations, the relations within which these individuals stand." As such, Marx is different from the liberal view which conceives individual as atomized, insular and self-contained.

All societies, according to Marxists, in history, have been class societies. The contending classes from 'freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman to bourgeoisie and proletariat in the epoch of capitalism have stood in constant opposition to one another. All class societies are characterized by domination and conflict which are based on specific, concrete features of their mode of production. Class domination has been a historical process signifying a constant attempt on the part of the dominant classes to maintain and extend their domination on the society.

9.4: MARX ON POLITICS

Politics, in Marxian perspective, can be understood only with reference to the nature of prevailing societal conflict and domination. Politics, as such, conceived in terms of the 'specific articulation of class struggles.' Generally speaking, in Marxian view politics has a derivative and epiphenomenal character. The political life processes are considered as part of 'superstructure' standing on the economic structure of society. The subsidiary and derivative character of politics can be well deduced from the following quotation from the 'Preface' to A contribution to the critique of Political Economy:

"In the social production of their existence, men enter into definite, necessary relations, which are independent of their will, namely, relations of production corresponding to a determinate stage of development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which their arises a legal and political superstructure and to which there correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life-process in general."

Hence for Marx, Politics, economics, culture and ideology are all inseparably intertwined. The 'forces of production' at a particular stage of historical development, are matched by definite 'relations of production' that characterize the society. The relations of production taken together constitute the economic foundation of the society. The legal and political institutions (superstructure) stand on this "real foundation" of economic structure.

In the Marxist view, the real nature of politics, has to be understood from "the hidden basis of the entire social structure." Ralph Miliband rightly says that politics is thus 'a very determined and conditioned activity indeed – so determined' and 'conditioned' in fact, as to give politics a mostly derivative, subsidiary, and 'epiphenomenal' character."

9.5: SUMMARY

Marx laid greater emphasis on the materialistic or economic interpretation of history. According to him, the capitalists by controlling the means of production and distribution also controlled not only the political but social and economic structure of the society as well. Especially he stressed economic aspect of life. According to him, every other activity in the society revolved round economics. All social and political activities are based on economic activity. While Marxism has had a significant influence on social and political thought, it has also been subject to various interpretations and criticisms. Different scholars and movements have developed and adapted Marxist ideas to address specific historical and cultural contexts. It's important to note that the actual implementation of Marxist principles has varied widely, and the political and economic systems associated with Marxism have taken diverse forms in different regions and periods.

9.6: KEY WORDS

- **Capitalism:** Capitalism refers to an economic system in which a society's means of production are held by private individuals or organizations, not the government, and where products, prices, and the distribution of goods are determined mainly by competition in a free market.

- **Socialism:** Socialism is a populist economic and political system based on collective, common, or public ownership of the means of production.

9.6: SELF- ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- Discuss the Marxist approach of comparative politics.

- Find out the difference between capitalism and socialism.

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UNIT-10: CAPITALIST STATE

Structure

10.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Know about the Capitalist State

- Understand Capitalism

- Find out difference between capitalism and socialism

10.2: INTRODUCTION

Capitalism is an economic system in which private individuals or businesses own capital goods. At the same time, business owners (capitalists) employ workers (labor) who receive only wages; labor doesn't own the means of production but instead uses them on behalf of the owners of capital. The production of goods and services under capitalism is based on supply and demand in the general market—known as a market economy—rather than through central planning—which is known as a planned economy or command economy. The purest form of capitalism is free-market or laissez-faire capitalism. Here, private individuals are unrestrained. They may determine where to invest, what to produce or sell, and at which prices to exchange goods and services. The laissez-faire marketplace operates without checks or controls. Today, most countries practice a mixed capitalist system that includes some degree of government regulation of business and ownership of select industries. Private property promotes efficiency by giving the owner of resources an incentive to maximize the value of their property. So the more valuable the resource is, the more trading power it provides the owner. In a capitalist

system, the person who owns the property is entitled to any value associated with that property.

10.3: UNDERSTANDING CAPITALISM

Capitalism is essentially an economic system in which the means of production (i.e., factories, tools, machines, raw materials, etc.) are organized by one or more business owners (capitalists). Capitalists then hire workers to operate the means of production in return for wages. Workers have no claim on the means of production or on the profits generated from their labor—these belong to the capitalists. As such, private property rights are fundamental to capitalism. Most modern concepts of private property stem from John Locke's theory of homesteading, in which human beings claim ownership by mixing their labor with unclaimed resources. Once owned, the only legitimate means of transferring property are through voluntary exchange, gifts, inheritance, or the re-homesteading of abandoned property.

For individuals or businesses to deploy their capital goods confidently, a system must exist that protects their legal right to own or transfer private property. A capitalist society relies on the use of contracts, fair dealing, and tort law to facilitate and enforce these private property rights. When property isn't privately owned but rather is shared by the public, a problem known as the tragedy of the commons can emerge. With a common pool resource, which all people can use and none can limit access to, all individuals have an incentive to extract as much use-value as they can and no incentive to conserve or reinvest in the resource. Privatizing the resource is one possible solution to this problem, along with various voluntary or involuntary collective action approaches.

10.4: UNDERSTANDING CAPITALIST STATE

The capitalist society definition is a society based on the values which sustain the capitalist mode of production. A capitalist society will stress self-interest, the accumulation private property and the embrace of competition as key values to promote throughout the human lifespan. The power to vote with one's money and shape the economy through consumer demand will be upheld, and the government will generally be limited to promote competition between capitalist firms.

The answer to "what is a capitalist society" is often given by describing it as a **market economy**. This can be an oversimplification. Capitalism refers to a specific form of ownership of the means of production (private individuals) and a particular method of wealth creation (use of capital to make more capital, ie. profit). Markets refer to the way in which goods and funds are exchanged. What role does the government play in capitalism? The capitalist government

definition is a government which upholds the private property rights necessary for capitalism and the legal framework for functioning markets. Strong laws governing contracts, inheritance, fiduciary duties and trading are central to capitalist governments. A capitalist government will also not generally attempt to plan or overly direct the economy, but will allow market forces to work. Two cooperatively owned or state firms ,which exchange resources, may operate according to market mechanisms such as supply and demand, but are not capitalistic in the proper sense of the term. A barter economy where individuals are largely trading items that were produced elsewhere, such as Europe after the collapse of the Roman Empire would not be considered capitalistic, even though a market in items from a fallen civilization existed.

Likewise, the term free market does not strictly apply to capitalism only, but refers to any system where prices are set by consumers and producers, rather than the government. The market socialism existed in the Soviet states of Yugoslavia and Hungary, where market mechanisms were utilized to allocate resources, but enterprises remained socially owned, is an example of a free market within a non-capitalist system. State owned enterprises in China today will often operate according to free market principles.

10.5: KEY FEATURES OF CAPITALIST STATE

The features of a capitalist state include a combination of political, economic, and social elements that characterize a system where private individuals or entities own and control the means of production. Here are some key features of a capitalist state:

1. **Private Ownership:** In a capitalist state, private individuals or corporations have the right to own and control property, including land, resources, and businesses. The concept of private property is a foundational aspect of capitalism.

2. **Market Economy:** Capitalist states operate based on market principles, where the forces of supply and demand determine prices and resource allocation. The market is a mechanism for voluntary exchange of goods and services.

3. **Profit Motive:** The pursuit of profit is a fundamental incentive in capitalism. Individuals and businesses engage in economic activities with the goal of maximizing their financial gains. Profit serves as a signal for success and efficiency in the market.

4. **Competition:** Capitalism fosters competition among businesses and individuals. Competition is seen as a mechanism that encourages efficiency, innovation, and improvement in the quality of goods and services.

5. **Limited Government Intervention:** Capitalist states typically advocate for minimal government interference in economic affairs. Governments may play a role in enforcing contracts, protecting property rights, and ensuring fair competition, but extensive regulation is often avoided.

6. **Individual Freedom:** Capitalist systems emphasize individual freedom and economic liberty. Individuals have the freedom to make their own economic decisions, pursue entrepreneurship, and engage in voluntary transactions in the marketplace.

7. **Rule of Law:** A capitalist state relies on a legal framework that ensures the rule of law. Contracts are enforceable, property rights are protected, and individuals can seek legal remedies in case of disputes.

8. **Wage Labor:** In a capitalist state, the majority of people engage in wage labor, selling their labor to employers in exchange for a salary or wages. The employment relationship is a central aspect of the capitalist economic structure.

9. **Consumer Sovereignty:** Consumer preferences and choices play a significant role in shaping the market. Businesses respond to consumer demand, and consumers have the power to influence production and consumption patterns through their choices.

10. **Innovation and Entrepreneurship:** Capitalism encourages innovation and entrepreneurship by providing incentives for risk-taking and the development of new products, services, and technologies.

10.6: SUMMARY

A capitalist state is a political and economic system in which the means of production, distribution, and exchange are predominantly owned and operated by private individuals or corporations for profit. Key features include private ownership of property, a market-driven economy, the pursuit of profit as a primary motive, competition among businesses, limited government intervention, emphasis on individual freedom, and a legal framework ensuring the rule of law. In a capitalist state, economic activities are driven by market forces, and individuals engage in wage labor, selling their labor to employers. While capitalism has been a dominant economic system, different countries may adopt variations with varying degrees of government involvement, creating a spectrum of capitalist systems. Capitalism is an economic and political system characterized by private ownership of the means of production, a market-driven economy, and limited government intervention. Key features include private property, a market economy based on supply and demand, a profit motive driving economic activities, competition

among businesses, minimal government interference, emphasis on individual freedom, the rule of law, and a focus on innovation and entrepreneurship. In a capitalist system, individuals and corporations engage in voluntary exchanges, and the pursuit of profit serves as a fundamental incentive. Wage labor is prevalent, and consumer choices influence market dynamics. While capitalism has been a dominant economic system, variations exist, and many countries adopt mixed economies with elements of both capitalism and government intervention.

10.7: KEY TERMS

- **Consumer:** one that utilizes economic goods. specifically : an individual who purchases goods for personal use as distinguished from commercial use

- **Profit:** an amount of money that you gain when you are paid more for something than it cost you to make, get, or do it.

- **Sovereignty:** supreme power.

10.8: SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- What is capitalism. Discuss the difference between capitalism and socialism.

- Discuss the features of a capitalist state.

10.9: REFERENCES

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UNIT-11: SOCIALIST STATE

Structure

11.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to know:

- The concept of socialism and socialist state

- Emergence and working of socialist state

11.2: INTRODUCTION

Socialism has a rich tradition of political thought and practice which posits that the society (community) rather than individuals should own or control the *means of production*. Within its tradition are a variety of view and theories, often differencing in many of their conceptual, empirical and normative commitments. In this unit, we will present the main features of socialism, both as a critique of capitalism and as a proposal for its replacement. As an ideology, socialism has been understood in at least three different ways. First, it is seen as a political-economic system based on *social ownership* and *centralized* control of the means of production as opposed to private ownership and the free-market model of capitalism. Second, socialism also stands for certain political ideology, theory or dogma which embodies certain *values, beliefs, and principles* associated with what is often called the ‗socialist thought' or socialist ‗outlook' that may include values of egalitarianism, collectivism, cooperation, classless society, economic equality etc. Third, socialism is also identified with *political and social movements* aiming to overthrow capitalism and elimination of capitalist structures, such as private property and a free-market economy, and the replacement of it by 'socialist system' where the means of production is collectively owned and controlled by the state. Therefore, a

socialist state may be defined as a state having a socialist system where the means of production are owned or controlled by the state. In this unit, we introduce you to the political ideology of ‗socialism' and the nature and working of states based on socialism.

11.3: EVOLUTION OF SOCIALISM AND SOCIALIST THOUGHT

Although socialist ideas of egalitarianism, 'community' living and sharing of labour, resources etc. have existed throughout history, they lacked the means to convince that their arguments worked. It was only in the early 1800s that socialism made its first appearance in the writings of reformers (popularly ‗early socialists') like Comte Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Robert Owen (1771- 1858), Charles Fourier (1772–1837) and others who came to be known as the early socialist'.

These early socialist thinkers highlighted the structural inequalities, injustice and sufferings in the society which they conceived to be brought by the capitalist mode of production. According to them, the private ownership of the means of production was the source of all evils. Saint Simon argued for a system where the state controls the production and distribution for the benefit of all in the society, while Owen and Fourier proposed a system based on small collective ‗self- sufficient' communities rather than a centralized one. These early socialists believed that it is possible to achieve socialist goals by convincing the capitalists to change their attitude and behaviour towards the society, and also by improving the condition of the workers such as providing good wages, good housing, good healthcare, education etc.

Marxism and Scientific Socialism

Scientific socialism, according to Marx and Engels, is based on the scientific analysis of social problems and finding their practical solutions. Unlike the early socialists who believed in building a socialist society through moral correction, Marxism argued that the conditions of the working class could not improve as long as there is private ownership of the means of production. According to them, a socialist society cannot be planned by thinkers or reformers; it must arise out of the revolutionary activity and will be successful only when historically appropriate. Marxism also believes that socialism is a certain stage of historical development destined to be achieved through a revolution of the working class against the property-owning bourgeoisie class.

Marxism emerged as a popular and influential theory of socialism, partly because, it provided a scientific approach and methodology in the analysis of capitalism and provided the theoretical

and practical basis upon which socialism could develop.

Anarcho-Socialism

Another highly radical form of socialism is 'anarchist socialism' (also referred to as anarcho-socialism, Libertarian socialism, free socialism or stateless socialism) developed by people like Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865), Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921), Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) etc. This strand of socialism rejects coercive authority in all forms including the state which it considers to be undesirable, unnecessary and harmful. They believed that capitalism and state as inseparable, and that one could not be abolished without the other. Therefore, they called for the abolition of all forms of authoritarian institutions, including the state. This is in contrast to other forms of socialism which advocates for state socialism or state-controlled socialism. Instead, they emphasized on workers'self-management and decentralized control of the economy through a horizontal network of voluntary associations. For them, socialism can be achieved through direct participatory democracy at the grass-root level. Therefore they are also known as stateless socialism'.

11.4: SOCIALISM AND THE MARXIST PERSPECTIVE OF STATE

Unlike liberalism which regarded the state as a neutral arbitrator of the conflicting interests or a protector of individual rights and property, Marxism views the state as an instrument of _class', for the domination of one class over the other. Applying the dialectical method to the study of history, Marx and Engels argued that states came into existence at a certain stage of historical development due to the antagonistic class nature of the society and at every stage, it represents and serves the interest of the dominant class. In the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Marx and Engels highlighted the centrality of _class struggle' in historical change and wrote that _The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle'. They also introduced the materialist conception of history according to which each successive stage of development was a progression from the one that had preceded it. In other words, each stage contained within itself the elements of destruction on its own and transformation into a more progressive one. In was in this way that feudal society advanced into more complex and progressive capitalism. By this same process, Marxism argued, the internal contradictions of capitalism would inevitably lead to a higher stage of socialism. For instance, in *The Origin of Family, Private Property and the State*, Engels pointed out that the capitalist state is a product of irreconcilable class division arising out of the emergence of private property and capitalist mode of production. This view of Engels was further endorsed in the writings of Lenin who said _state is an organ of class oppression which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflicts between

the classes' (Lenin 1977: 11). Thus, the capitalist state system, in Marxist perspective, is an instrument of class exploitation and oppression in favour of the bourgeoisie class against the proletariat class.

Proletariat led by the vanguard party' (Lenin 1977: 11). Commenting on the task of the proletariat and its vanguard party, Lenin said that the proletariat's objective is to establish a socialist system by overthrowing capitalism and the bourgeoisie class. But this objective, according to him cannot be achieved at one stroke; it requires a fairly long period of transition from capitalism to socialism. This period of transition is called the _dictatorship of the proletariat', which is the socialist form of state. In his *State and Revolution*, Lenin (1967) wrote, the existence of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is needed to destroy the resistance of the capitalists after the proletariat takes over political power. In other words, the state under the dictatorship of the proletariatis still a class state and there will be class division. The purpose of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to use the state power for the removal of capitalist elements from society by transferring the means of production from private ownership to state property. In this regard Marx said, proletariat state is -first' stage (or lower' stage) of socialism and its ultimate objective will be to create the conditions for its eventual transition to a stateless and classless society known as communism'— which Marx called as the second stage' (or-higher' stage) of socialism. That is why Marx called socialism or the socialist state as immature' or -crude' form ofcommunism.

In communism, which is the ultimate stage of socialism, the society will be free from class and class antagonism, and the state will wither away'. In this regard, Marx in his *Critique to the Gotha Program* (1875) said, between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one to the other. And state during this transition period can be nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat' (Marx, 1875: 8). Therefore, in the Marxist perspective, the dictatorship of the proletariat is a temporary or interim stage of socialism towards communism. Thus, the Marxist theory of the state does not glorify the state; rather it is a theory for the eventual overthrow of the state.

11.5: EMERGENCE OF SOCIALIST STATE

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were a variety of socialist parties and groups in Europe ranging from a relatively moderate Fabian' socialists or guild' socialists to highly radical Marxian' and anarchist' socialists. While they agreed on the common principle that capitalism must be abolished, thereare diverse ideological and philosophical outlooks on how

the socialist agenda should be executed. While the reformist or evolutionary socialists believe in achieving socialist goals through peaceful and democratic means, the radical or revolutionary socialists believed in bringing socialism through a revolution led by the working class.

In 1917, the Bolshevik party led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1817-1924) seized power in Russia and established the first socialist state in history. The success of the Russian had a profound impact on the history of mankind in the Twentith century. You be reading about these developments in the other courses of this programme. Here you should note that the Russians revolutions posed a major challenge to the revolutionary and evolutionary socialist groups They could support Lenin and his allies as fellow socialists who succeeded in overthrowing the capitalist state through a worker's revolution, or they could oppose them as authoritarians who were abandoning the essentially democratic spirit of socialism. Socialist parties in Europe and America split into pro-Soviet communist parties and more traditional social democratic parties. In the United States, for instance, the two pro-Soviet parties (the Communist Labour Party and the Communist Party of America) split off from the Socialist Party of America, before merging to form the Communist Party USA. Similarly, in France, the French Communist Party was formed by a breakaway faction of the French Section of the Workers' International (SFIO). The non-communist socialist parties became members of the Socialist International (or the Second International' as it succeeded Marx's original International Workingmen's Association), while the Soviet Union organized the communist parties into the Communist International (also known as Comintern' or the Third International).

The Russian revolution also became an inspiration for various anti-colonial national liberation movements around the world. In 1920, with the formation of the Indonesian Communist Party under the guidance of the Comintern, Indonesia became the first country to establish a communist party outside the Soviet Union which was followed by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921. After end of the World War II, the Soviet model of socialism was adopted by most countries of Eastern Europe, including, Croatia, Romania, Hungary, Poland, East Germany etc. Later Mao Zedong led the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and established the People's Republic of China (PRC) as a socialist state which subsequently spread to North Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. In the 1960s and 1970s, socialism became the guiding *mantra* of many revolutionary struggles in Central and South America. For instance, the Cuban socialist Fidel Castro came to power after a successful revolution in 1959, overthrowing the US-backed Batista regime. The Argentine revolutionary Che Guevara also led various guerrilla struggles in several countries of South America (Bolivia, Venezuela, Chile etc), and after his

death in 1975, revolutionary socialism became a symbol of rebellion. As a result, many socialist leaders came to power, such as Salvador Allende in Chile in 1970, and the Sandinista guerrillas in Nicaragua in 1979. Socialism also developed in synthesized form, blending the ideas of socialism with traditional and tribal values such as the African socialism, or Arab socialismin West Asia and Northern Africa. However, the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, gave a major blow to the socialist ideology and the socialist state systemsin other parts of the world. Despite the upheaval, some states that identify themselves as the socialist state still survive. Currently, countries like the People's Republic of China, Republic of Cuba, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and North Korea are some of the self-declared socialist states which claim to follow the principle of socialism.

11.6: CRITIQUE OF SOCIALISM AND THE SOCIALIST STATE

Socialism and socialist states have been criticised by pro-capitalist thinkers on many grounds. Some critics consider socialism to be a purely theoretical concept, and criticism should be made on theoretical grounds; while others hold the view that since socialist state exists in one form or the other, it must be criticised on practical terms. The American economist and champion of free-market capitalism Milton Friedman (1962) argued that the socialist principle of state-ownership and elimination of private ownership would inevitably create worse economic conditions for the general population. According to him, private ownership and market exchange are 'natural entities' or 'moral rights' which are central to the conceptions of freedom and liberty. Therefore, any restriction on private ownership is an infringement upon liberty. Friedman also contended that economic restriction of socialism hinders scientific and technological progress due to stifled competition. He pointed out the technological backwardness in socialist countries as compare to advanced capitalist countries where individuals and companies are free to research and develop technologies. The strak disparity between capitalist South Korea and the Socialist North Korea is classical example in this case.

Friedman's view was shared by other liberal economists like Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig Von Mises and John Maynard Keynes, all of whom believed that capitalism is vital for freedom to survive and thrive. According to them, without the market, it would be impossible to have rational calculation over the allocation of resources in society. Besides, the sharing of wealth and income in the socialist system reduces individual's incentives to work which results to slow economic growth, less entrepreneurial opportunity, and less motivation or competition to work because under socialist system one does not receive rewards or incentives for extra work, he/she does.

Friedrich Hayek's book *The Road to Serfdom* (1944) was one of the most profound critiques of the socialist doctrine of collective ownership and state interventionism. According to him, merging of state power and economic power leads to totalitarian regime, because to achieve total control over the means of production, the state must acquire significant powers of coercion. Socialism cannot be possible without surrendering the political and economic rights of the general population, socialism cannot be possible. Therefore, he said _the road to socialism leads to totalitarianism'.

On the other hand, the track records of twentieth-century socialist states have been not very pleasing. The repressive despotic regimes of Stalin in the Soviet Union, Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia, Mao's Cultural Revolution in China, or Pinochet's regime in Chile were some of the darkest episodes in human history. Such brutal episodes, according to Hayek, were the inevitable outcomes of this socialist trend. Although some socialist states made some progress in terms of economic prosperity, authoritarianism, repression of democratic values, and restrictions on political freedom have been a major source of criticism from the outside world.

11.7: SUMMARY

Having discussed the nature of the socialist states in the world, we came to know that socialism is an ideology based on the principles of the social instinct of man and collective ownership of means of production. The establishment of the Soviet Union following the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia paved the way for the setting up of the first socialist state. However, the Soviet Union and other socialist states in Eastern Europe collapsed eventually marking the end of the Cold War period. These developments posed major challenges to the surviving socialist states. Therefore, the question of survival of socialist states like China, Cuba and Vietnam in the post-Soviet period cannot be completely ignored. To adjust to the changing international order, these socialist states have made necessary economic reforms and limited political reforms while maintaining the monopoly of the communist party in their political systems.

11.8: KEY TERMS

- **Marxism:** Marxism is a social, economic and political philosophy that analyses the impact of the ruling class on the laborers, leading to uneven distribution of wealth and privileges in the society.

- **Socialism:** it is an economic and political philosophy encompassing diverse economic and social systems characterised by social ownership of the means of production, as opposed to private ownership.

11.9: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- What is socialism? Discuss basic features of socialism.

- What do you mean by the socialistic state? Discuss its functions.

- Discuss the idea of Karl Marx to develop the socialism.

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UNIT-12: POST-COLONIAL STATE/SOCIETIES

Structure

12.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to know:

- The nature of the Post-colonial State

- Working of the post colonial states in India

12.2: INTRODUCTION

Johann Kaspar Bluntschli (1808-1881), a Swiss jurist and political theorist, described political science as a discipline or science concerned with the state. Writing almost a century later, Norman P. Barry (1944-2008), the British political theorist, reflected on how the "history of political theory has been mainly concerned with the state". The concept of state was intrinsic to modern society. As the British sociologist Ralph Miliband (1924-1994)) has observed: "there is nothing which is nearly as important as the state". Similarly, the American political scientist Martin Carnoy (1984) drew attention to the growing importance of the state. In his words, "in every society, from advanced industrial to a Third World primary good exporter, and in every aspect of society, not just politics, but in economics (production, finance, distribution), in ideology (schooling, media), and law enforcement (police, military)… the state appears to hold the key to economic development, to social security, to individual liberty, and through increasing weapons sophistication to life and death itself. To understand politics in today's world economic system, then, is to understand a society's fundamental dynamic." It is for this reason that the study of state occupies a prominent place in political science. Within the

discipline of political science, however, the state has been subject to intense debate about its nature across different schools of thought.

The centrality of the state in all spheres of public life also makes it elusive. This explains the intense debates surrounding the way the state has been conceptualised in political theory. We begin this unit by examining the main assumptions of the liberal and Marxist perspectives of the state and then proceed to specificities of the post-colonial state bringing out their historically rooted distinct social and political features. In this process, we engage with the debate on the nature of the post-colonial state, its social formations and capacity for relative autonomy from classes.

12.3: HISTORICAL SPECIFICITIES OF POST-COLONIAL STATE

All states are products of historical trajectories. The political domain is historically constituted, and therefore a historical enquiry is a theoretical prerequisite for a deeper analysis of the nature of the state. For Marx and Engels, the advanced capitalist societies like Britain and Germany. provided the actual empirical material that they sifted for their theorisation of the nature of the state. The concept of relative autonomy elaborated by subsequent Marxists also mainly refers to the nature and role of the state in the advanced capitalist societies situated in the west. The natural question that emerges is whether the classical formulation about the nature of state in capitalist societies as articulated in the writings of Marx and Engels and developed further by the Marxists can be applicable or relevant for historically different states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The question becomes relevant as the social structure as well as economies of these states were distorted by colonial capitalist exploitation.

As is well known, the actual process of class formation and restructuring in Asia, Africa and Latin America as a consequence of the impact of long-term colonial domination has been historically distinct from the capitalist countries of the west. There is a broad agreement among state theorists that the theorisation of the nature of the post-colonial state has to be adapted to the very different circumstances that prevail in the Latin American, Asian and African societies. In the words of Ralph Miliband (1978) 'Marxism primarily fashioned in and for a bourgeois/capitalist context has, to say the least, to be adapted to the very different circumstances subsumed under the notion of under-development.'

The historical specificity of the post-colonial state has also been underlined by the neo-Marxists as they argue that the colonial domination for centuries impacted the social, economic and political structure of the society, imparting them with uniqueness. Colonialism signified the

exploitation of the entire society with its complexities, class divisions, internal relations of power, domination, cultural ambiguities by another society, spatially rooted elsewhere. Thus, differences related to the nature of pre-capitalist social formations, mode of capitalist intervention and experience of colonisation have been among the factors which make the transposition of the categories of analysis used for the state in the western societies by the Marxist theorists to these different economic, social, political post-colonial formations problematic.

12.4: THE STATE AND CLASS IN POST-COLONIAL SOCIETIES

The concept of the post-colonial state that emerged in the Seventies was epitomised in the seminal work of Hamza Alavi (1972). Alavi provided an early starting point for the analysis of the state in post-colonial societies. He premised his arguments on the historical specificity of post-colonial societies. This specificity, he argued, arose from structural changes brought about by 1) the colonial experiences and alignment of classes and, by the superstructure of political and administrative institutions which were established in that context and, 2) the realignment of class forces which have been brought about in in the context of post-colonial situation.

Alavi argued that the post-colonial state dispenses with the mediation of politics because the state is 'over-developed', a superstructure capable of dominating all indigenous social forces. This allows aspects of the state itself (the military and/bureaucracy) to play the dominant part in the state and among social classes. Alavi ascribed the genesis of the overdeveloped superstructure or state apparatus to the colonial past of the post-colonial societies, where the task of carrying out the bourgeois revolution was exercised by the metropolitan capital in the process of imposition of colonial rule. In that process, it was necessary for the colonial regime to create a state apparatus that was sufficiently powerful to subordinate the indigenous social classes. It was this overdeveloped state apparatus that the post-colonial state inherited after decolonisation. Alavi refers to this syndrome thus: 'the excessive enlargement of powers of control and regulation that the state acquires extends far beyond the logic of what is necessary in the interests of the orderly functioning of the peripheral capitalist economies over which the state presides and specific needs of each of the dominant classes. The centrality of the state in the post-colonial society can be explained with the help of the following three factors.

First, the continued dominance of the state apparatus in the post-colonial societies was due to the matrix of class society. At the time of independence, no single class had exclusive command over the state. Alavi argued that 'the special role of the military-bureaucratic

oligarchy has become all too common a phenomenon in post-colonial societies. This role now needs to be interpreted in terms of a new alignment of the respective interests of the three propertied exploiting classes, namely the indigenous bourgeoisie, the metropolitan neo-colonialist bourgeoisie, and the landed classes, under metropolitan patronage...If a colony had a weak and underdeveloped indigenous bourgeoisie, it would be unable to subordinate the relatively highly developed colonial state apparatus through which the metropolitan power had exercised domination over it. However, a new convergence of interests of the three competing propertied classes, under metropolitan patronage, allows a bureaucratic-military oligarchy to mediate their competing but no longer contradictory interests and demands'.

It follows that in the writings of the underdevelopment/ dependency theorists, the state managers, politicians constituting overdeveloped state apparatus mediate into the interests of the propertied classes. For this purpose, the state needs relative autonomy because competing interests have to be reconciled within the peripheral structure. The post-colonial state is thus not an instrument of a single class. It is relatively autonomous and mediates between the competing interests of three dominant propertied classes and preserves the social order based on peripheral capitalist order.

Second, a complementary point that can be drawn from the writings of Alavi is that the state in post-colonial societies directly appropriates a very large part of the economic surplus and deploys it in bureaucratically directed economic activities under peripheral capitalism.

Third, according to Alavi and John Saul, yet another factor that underlines the crucial significance of the state in post-colonial societies is the particular ideological function of the state. In the words of Saul: 'state's function of providing ideological cement for the capitalist system is one which has gradually evolved in the core countries in step with their economic transformation. However, in post-colonial societies, this hegemonic position has to be created; and created within territorial boundaries, which often appears quite artificial. once the powerful force of direct colonial fiat has been removed.' Like advanced capitalism, even peripheral capitalism requires territorial unity and legitimacy, which has to be created by the post-colonial state.

The above three factors taken together illuminate the centrality of the state to the post-colonial social formations, as the neo-Marxists have argued. In such a situation of high relative autonomy, the bureaucracy figures as an essential component in its own right to determine the state policies. The focus of the neo- Marxist theorisations on the post-colonial state has been on the special role of the bureaucracy/bureaucratic oligarchy in post-colonial societies as state

power belongs to the bureaucratic class. This segment was an extension of the colonial state's military bureaucratic apparatus as it maintained and even extended its dominant power in society. John Saul has argued that due to the weak character of the indigenous bourgeoisie, it finds itself enmeshed in bureaucratic control. In fact, in some countries like East Africa, the indigenous bourgeoisie is not even fully developed and cannot formulate its class interests. Thus, given the apparent inability of indigenous capital to constitute a dominant class, state bureaucracy plays a dominant role. Ziemann and Lanzendorfer refer to the central role of bureaucracy in the determination of policy in the post-colonial states. State bureaucracy is all the more likely to govern as a class when formal political institutions are suppressed as it then plays the role of an intermediary between transnational capital and interest groups. The very extent of post-colonial state intervention in a peripheral economy thrusts the state personnel to centre stage. Moreover, being linked to the distributive mechanisms of a state surplus, they appear to have a particular facility for ensuring their relative advantage.

12.5: THE POST-COLONIAL STATES IN INDIA

Having established some general theoretical premises with reference to the nature and dynamics of state in the post-colonial societies, let us move to the nature of the state in India to see how the above formulation about relatively autonomy thesis applies in the Indian context.

One of the most significant efforts in this direction has been undertaken by Pranab Bardhan. Bardhan argues that the post-colonial Indian state is an autonomous actor playing a far more important role in shaping and moulding class power than vice versa. In the early decades after political independence, the personnel of the state elite in India enjoyed an independent authority and prestige that made them the main actors in the process of the socio-economic development of India. 'It redirected and restructured the economy, and in the process exerted great pressure on the proprietary classes' on the pretext of using state intervention to promote national economic development. With the gradual strengthening of the main proprietary classes i.e., the industrial capitalist class and the rich peasantry, the autonomous behaviour of the post-colonial state in India has been confined more and more to its regulatory rather than its developmental functions. Also, in comparison to African and Latin American countries, foreign capital has far lesser importance. The indigenous industrial capitalist class in India is far more autonomous and sheltered from foreign capital in the domestic market, even after implementing the policies of pro-market economic reforms in 1991. Interestingly Bardhan refers to the third proprietary class in India, namely the 'professionals in public sectors', which comprises the public bureaucracy and white-collar employees in the state sectors. The

three proprietary classes belonging roughly to the top twenty per cent of the Indian population have a significant conflict of interest though they all have been beneficiaries of state economic policies under the development planning model. As none of the three proprietary classes dominates the others, it increases the autonomous power of the post-colonial state in India, which performs the vital task of mediation among the three competing classes under a democratic system. One finds a similar argument in favour of the state enjoying a relatively autonomous role due to the presence of more than one dominant class and the role of state bureaucracy under the development planning model.

12.6: SUMMARY

The states in Asia, Africa and Latin America were lacking in terms of political cohesion and economic dynamism, which enabled the imperial states of the west to colonised them. While colonial exploitation did explain the lack of development in these states, as the dependency theorists argue, it was also 'historically rooted in their distinctive social and political traits… brittle state structures that were over centralised or fragmented, and control of economic resources by non- productive groups'. During colonial dominance, states in Asia, Africa and Latin America witnessed the consolidation of non-productive dominant classes and a centralised state structure to appropriate economic surplus and maintain order. The surplus was used by the imperial states for non- developmental purposes to maintain law and order, further their imperial interests and direct appropriation. All these factors contributed to the economic underdevelopment of the colonies. As Kohli observes: 'colonialism bequeathed a twin historical legacy: the absence of socio-structural dynamism on the one hand, and on the other hand the consequent emergence of political forces aimed not only at the creation of sovereign states but also at remedying the absence of this dynamism'.

Asian, African and Latin American countries inherited the overdeveloped colonial state apparatus and its institutionalized practices, through which the operations of the indigenous social classes in these dependent/peripheral states were regulated and controlled by the imperial states. This allowed aspects of the state itself to play the dominant role in the state. Arguably, no indigenous propertied class in the post-colonial society i.e., the indigenous capitalist class or the landed rich peasantry, was sufficiently strong to assume political dominance within the post-colonial societies. As for the metropolitan bourgeoisie based in the imperialist states, it enjoyed relative economic dominance within the peripheral states. However, the fact of independence precluded it from occupying the role of ruling class as it was formally excluded from party politics. In such a situation, weak social classes found

themselves trapped in bureaucratic controls. The running argument in the neo-Marxist literature on the nature of the post- colonial state has been that the state enjoys autonomy mainly due to the weak iindigenous propertied classes.

The need felt in civil society to bring about social and economic change and achieve modernisation or development allows the authorities in the post-colonial state to play a central role in all spheres of society. The liberal perspective, as discussed at the outset, also viewed the post-colonial state as playing a central role as modernising state. Being led by the western educated, modern political elite, they were entrusted with the task of following the growth trajectory of the developed western countries. However, the processes of globalisation have led to qualitative changes in the role and significance of the post-colonial state, bringing them under the influence of the transnational capital once again in an incremental manner.

12.7: KEY TERMS

- **Post-Colonial State:** The term post-colonialism is also applied to denote the Mother Country's neocolonial control of the decolonized country, affected by the legalistic continuation of the economic, cultural, and linguistic power relationships that controlled the colonial politics of knowledge.

- **Colonialism:** Colonialism is defined as "control by one power over a dependent area or people." It occurs when one nation subjugates another, conquering its population and exploiting it, often while forcing its own language and cultural values upon its people.

12.8: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- What is Post-colonialism? Discuss the features of post-colonial state.

- Find out the difference between colonialism and post colonialism.

12.9: REFRENCES

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BLOCK-4: CONSTITUTIONALISM AND POLITICAL ELITE

Unit-13: Concepts of Constitutionalism

Unit-14: Evolution of Constitutionalism

Unit-15: Constitution: Types & Function

Unit-16: Elitist Theory of Democracy

UNIT-13: CONCEPTS OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

Structure

13.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to know:

- The meaning of constitution

- What is constitutionalism

13.2: INTRODUCTION

Constitutions, however they differ from each other, have become universal today for a country which is independent and autonomous and constitutionalism has become a way of life which has been identified with liberalism and democracy. The term 'constitution' has been used in two different sense. First of all, it is used to approach, to describe the whole system of government of a country, the collection of rules which establish and regulate or govern the government. These rules are partly legal in the sense that courts of law will recognize and apply them and partly non-legal or extralegal, taking the form of usages, understandings, customs or conventions which courts do not the rules of law strictly so called. But the use of the term in its broad sense is really common i3wth use and 'constitution' to us is a written constitution which is embodied in a document. A written codified document makes a body of rules ensuring fair play and rendering the government responsible. But the students of British Political System like Lord Bryce do not agree with this definition as the British laws makes considerable use of the concept of a constitution without having a written document to argue from. The British scholars always take broader view of constitutionalism to include laws, rules as well as usages, customs and conventions which have developed and which are important for the governance of the country.

13.3: MEANING OF CONSTITUTION

Herman Finer explains a constitution in terms of a system which contains fundamental institutions embodying the power relationship between the individual and the state. He further describes that modern constitutions exhibit such as wide variety of forms, and so marked a difference in their substance, that no definition of reasonable length can include the main facts. Therefore, a constitution is to be understood in terms of system and fundamental.

Constitution is a system as it has got a boundary and it works within the boundary that is within a particular political order. As a system, it is constituted of different parts like different rules, regulation, clauses, sub- clauses, schedules, Acts etc. Which are related to each other and to the constitution as whole? Again, a constitution, as a system, has its interactions with the environment of which it is a product and in which it functions.

The constitution is understood in relation for a fundamental which it contains. But fundamentally is a relative term. Institutions are fundamental in a particular time, at a particular place and for a particular generation. Institutions are never fundamental for all the people and for all times to come. Hence, a constitution always contains institutions which are fundamental in context to the present generation and at the present time. Therefore a constitution is always living and it is not dead letters of law.

Constitutions are sometimes understood in terms of the institutional organizations of the political system. Bryce has thus defined a constitution as 'a frame of political society; organized through and by law, that is to say one in which law has established permanent institutions with recognized functions and definite rights". C. F. Strong also writes that a true constitution will contain the following elements; first how the various agencies are organized; secondly, what power is to been trusted to those agencies and thereby, in what manner such power is to be exercised. Thus, strong, in explaining the meaning of a constitution, speaks of the various agencies of a government, their assigned powers and the exercise of those powers.

Lowenstein and Friedrich added the "restraint" element to the meaning of the constitution. As the powers entrusted are important so also the powers limited are important for a constitution analyst. Limited or restrained power is important as the constitution itself is identified with liberalism and democracy. Therefore, the power of the government, the rights of the people and the powers of different agencies in a government need bridle which is provided by the constitution. Lowenstein thus, writes of a constitution as "the articulation of devices for limitation and control of political power". For Friedrich, the constitution is the "process by

which the governmental action is effectively restrained" and "is understood as the process of the function of which it is not only to organize but to restrain."

13.4: MEANING OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

Giving such definition of what a constitution, is, we may give separate meanings to constitutional state, constitutional government and constitutionalism. A constitutionalism state is "one in which the powers of the Government, the rights of the governed and the relations between the two are adjusted". Hence, a state is a constitutional one, when it defines the powers of the government on the one hand and the powers of the governed on the other.

Constitutional government means "government" according to rule as opposed to arbitrary government, it means government limited by the terms of a constitution, not government limited only by the desires and capacities of those who exercise power". Hence, constitutional government establishes rule of law and government is being created and is functioning in accordance of law.

But constitutionalism, as distinguished from constitutional government is a modern concept that defines a political order by law and regulations. It stands for the supremacy of law and not of the individuals; it imbibes the principles of nationalism, democracy and limited government. It may be identified with the system of 'divided power'. Constitutionalism, thus stands for the existence of a constitution in a state since it is the instrument of government or the fundamental law of the land whose objects" are to limit the arbitrary action of the government, to guarantee the rights of the governed, and to define the operation of the sovereign power".

Constitutionalism can be viewed from democratic as well as from totalitarian standpoint. Constitutionalism, democratically conceived, stands for a system having division of powers, and an arrangement of checks and balances so that the government remains responsible to the governed. It does not stand for particular form of government, though it may be described as essential for a democratic polity in view of the fact that it limits the powers of the government and seeks to check the "abuse of power". In this sense, constitutionalism has been identified with democracy.

Different from this is the case of totalitarian or the 'communist' concept of constitutionalism. People in Russia or in China are governed by the constitutions. But in such countries, the constitution is not an end in itself. It is just a means to implement the ideology of "scientific socialism". It is a tool in the hands of the "directorship of the proletariat". The communist concept of constitutionalism is based on the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The

constitution is a sort of manifesto, a confession of faith, a statement of ideals. In communist countries, though the constitution is a brief document, it announces the basic principles of state power, military, organization, economic, cultural and educational policy and foreign policy.

13.5: SUMMARY

Constitutionalism is a political and legal philosophy centered around the principles of limited government, the rule of law, and the protection of individual rights. It emphasizes the importance of having a constitution, a foundational legal document, that sets out the structure of government, defines the powers and limitations of various branches, and guarantees certain fundamental rights to citizens. Constitutionalism seeks to prevent arbitrary use of power by establishing a framework that governs the exercise of authority and ensures accountability. Overall, constitutionalism serves as a framework for organizing and limiting government power, protecting individual liberties, and fostering a system of governance that adheres to the principles of justice, fairness, and accountability.

13.6: KEY TERMS

- **Constitution:** A constitution is a set of fundamental rules that determine how a country or state is run. Almost all constitutions are "codified", which simply means they are written down clearly in a specific document called "the constitution".

- **Communism:** Communism is a left-wing to far-left sociopolitical, philosophical, and economic ideology within the socialist movement, whose goal is the creation of a communist society, a socioeconomic order centered around common ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange that allocates products to everyone in the society based on need. A communist society would entail the absence of private property and social classes, and ultimately money and the state (or nation state).

13.7: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- What is a constitution. Discuss its nature.

- What do you mean by constitutionalism.

13.8: REFERENCES

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UNIT-14: EVOLUTION OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

Structure

14.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to know:

- Origin of the constitutionalism
- Development of the constitutionalism

14.2: INTRODUCTION

Constitutionalism is a foundational political and legal philosophy that shapes the principles and structures of modern governance. Rooted in the idea of limiting government power and safeguarding individual rights, constitutionalism establishes a framework for organizing and regulating the exercise of authority within a state. At its core, it emphasizes the importance of having a constitution—a written or unwritten foundational document—that serves as the supreme law of the land, guiding the actions of government officials and ensuring a just and accountable system. The concept of constitutionalism is characterized by several key principles. First and foremost is the "Rule of Law," which asserts that all individuals, including government authorities, are subject to and accountable under the law. This principle promotes legal clarity, consistency, and equal application of laws to prevent arbitrary use of power. Constitutionalism also advocates for "Limited Government," advocating for clearly defined and restricted government powers to prevent the potential abuse of authority. This often involves the separation of powers among different branches of government, each with distinct roles and responsibilities. Individual rights play a crucial role in constitutionalism. Constitutions typically include a bill of rights or similar provisions that enumerate and protect fundamental rights, such

as freedom of expression, religion, and due process. These rights are considered inviolable and serve as a check against potential government overreach. "Checks and Balances" are another integral component of constitutionalism, ensuring that no single branch of government becomes too dominant. By distributing powers among different branches, such as the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, constitutional systems aim to prevent the concentration of authority and encourage a system of shared governance. Moreover, constitutionalism upholds the principle of "Popular Sovereignty," asserting that the legitimacy of government arises from the consent of the governed. This implies that the people have the right to participate in the political process, elect their representatives, and hold those in power accountable.

In essence, constitutionalism provides a framework for building just and accountable societies, promoting the rule of law, limiting government power, protecting individual rights, and fostering a system of governance that reflects the values and aspirations of the people it serves.

14.3: EVOLUTION OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

Constitutionalism as understood is not a product of one-day. It hasbeen growth through a long evolutionary process from early civilization of Greek periods. The materials for it are to be found not only in the history ofinstitutions themselves but also in the history of the political ideas. Greek law-givers, statesmen and philosophers were the first to experiment with different forms of government and to reflect critically upon the ever changing features of politics and government. Aristotle was one of the first to offer a definition of the rule or constitutional rule as rule by means general law and generally known customs and conventions and in the interest of all the members of a body politic.

14.3.1: Ancient Time;

Polybius, though a Greek philosopher, studied the Roman history and spoke of the mixed constitution as the main contributor to the stability and strength to the roman Republic. Mixed constitution refers to a combination of monarchic, aristocratic and democratic institutions which he professed to see in the sharing of power by the Roman consuls, the senate and the popular assemblies. This has the idea of limitations and sharing of power which was reflected in the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. Roman Laws were the basis of the state and the emperor. These laws were based upon customs convention and upon the consent of the people. These constitutional ideas state power and limitations of state power by law prevailed for many centuries to come. Constitutional though and practices in the middle age present a somewhat confusing and self –contradictory picture. However, there are three most significant themes of the development of constitutional ideas, namely, the law, doctrine of popular sovereignty, and representative government.

In the 12th Century the idea of common law was emerged and this law was based upon the customs and consent of the people. It was St. Thomas Aquinas, who, in order to distinguish human or customary law had spoken of four kinds of law-divine law, natural and human law. Even if the human laws were made by kings, the kings were careful to undertake to declare this customary law on the authority of the people and with the advice and consent for their nobles and bishops. Such an all pervading faith in the customary law, rooted in the people, had a powerful stabilizing and constitutionalsing effect on medieval governments.

14.3.2: Medieval Time:

During this period there developed the medieval notion of popular sovereignty which distinguished itself, in particular, by considering the people of the community to be a fellowship, or a corporate body, that was capable of possessing certain rights, duties, and privileges. The medieval theologician Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464), for example, spoke of a divinely inspired popular will of the community to which the ruler must confirm. Marsilio of Padua (1275-1313) derived from popular sovereignty essential rights of self-government by which an organized body politic can make its own laws, elect its own rulers and hold them to account.

Marsilio of Padua also wanted to bring reforms in church organization in the light of constitutinalizing it on the basis of representation. Thus grew the idea of representation in government. Marsillio proposed representation for the community of clergy of the mediaeval church in answer to the demands for the great reform by many voices inside can outside the Catholic Church. Thus arise the Councilor movement of the 14th Century. In the secular sphere also by similar considerations, representative assemblies grew in many western countries especially in Spain, France and England.

14.3.3: Modern Time:

Modern age started with Renaissance and the medieval institutions were on decline. In post-renaissance period, there was the emergence of Humanism of the Enlightenment which culminated in him "self-evident natural rights". The concept that "Man is born with certain inalienable rights" gave rise to the doctrine that men have got every right to choose their own government and also to overthrow a government. The government is based on the concept of the people. This concept of constitutionalism emerged and became strengthened through the British Civil War (1942-42), the Glorious Revolution (1688) and the American and French revolutions of the late 18th century.

This idea of representative democracy and the development of representative group process started with the Civil War in Great Britain (1642-49), American War of Independence 1776 and French Revolution, 1789. The Civil War in Great Britain destroyed the base of enlightened despotism, made the parliament a representative body of the people and entrusted power upon it. Similarly, the influence of American war of independence itself towards the growth of constitutionalism in general and representative process in particular can not be ignored. The war began with an economic slogan, 'No taxation without representation'. The declaration of Independence (1776) states categorically, "that all men are created equal; but they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights…………. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers government becomes destructives of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem not likely to effect their safety and happiness". Upon this ideology, the American Constitution was drawn up.

The "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens" which was drawn up by the National Assembly of 1789 in France as a by-product of the French Revolution became a historic document of individual rights, liberties and representative government. The document declared: "Men are born free and equal in rights…………. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the political and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights   are   liberty, security   and   resistance   to oppression Liberty consists in the power to do anything that does not injure others; accordingly, the exercise of the natural rights of each man has for its only limits those that secure to the other members of society, the enjoyment of these same rights. These limits can be determined by law………….. No one ought to be disturbed on account of his opinions….. The free communication for ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man".

14.4: SUMMARY

The political development in the modern age as a consequence of the civil war in Great Britain, American War of Independence and French Revolution resulted in the growth of the concept of popular sovereignty. Popular sovereignty means people wield real powers of governing themselves, power of the government is limited, no government is absolute and therefore, people are sovereign, Government exercises the powers which are entrusted to it by the people.

Making him government a representative body and limiting its powers led to the growth of the concept of responsible government. The government is accountable to the people, as the people possess every power to make and unmake a government.

During the 18ᵗʰ Century began a movement for writing down every rule in black and white which created the climate for constitution-making. From the British people, there was not need of calling a convention or constituent Assembly to sit down and write a constitution for them, as power was shifted from the crown to the parliament gradually and the parliament's authority was established through some acts only. But documentary constitutions flourished with the framing of the Philadelphia Constitution of 1787 which was followed by the French people and now, every independent nation has a written document by which the country is to be governed. By the end of the Second World War, there was harvest of constitutionalism for a host of new states emerging from the war, Constitutionalism thus becomes the life-breadth of a nation and constitution has become a birth certificate for every independent nation.

14.5: KEY TERMS

- **Ideology:** An ideology is a set of opinions or beliefs of a group or an individual. Very often ideology refers to a set of political beliefs or a set of ideas that characterize a particular culture.
- **Responsible:** To have control and authority over something or someone and the duty of taking care of it, him, or her.

14.6: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- Discuss the development of Constitution during ancient times.
- Discuss the development of the Constitution during Medieval times.
- Discuss the development of the constitution during modern times.

14.7: REFERENCES

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UNIT-15: CONSTITTUTION: TYPES & FUNCTIONS

Structure

15.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to know:

- Different types of the constitution
- Various approaches to categorieses the constitution
- Function of the constitution

15.2: INTRODUCTION

Constitutions differ in context to different countries as well as to different items. Hence, scholars have tried to classify the various constitutions taking mainly two variables, namely, the structure of the constitution and the functions which a constitution performs in a state. So also, two different approaches have been developed to classify the constitution, such as, the traditional approach and the modern approach. The approach followed by Bryce, K.C. where and C.F. Strong is described as traditional approach, while the approach followed by Karl Lowenstein, Benjamin Akzin, and Leslie Wolf-Phillips for classifying constitutions is described as modern approach. Towards the end of the 19th Century Bryce in his book Studies in History and Jurisprudence classified the constitutions into written and unwritten and rigid and flexible. The constitutions which are expressly set forth in a document known as written ones and those which began in surges and customs without resorting to write down everything in a formal document are known as unwritten rules have the force of law as they are important for the governance of the country. But Bryce himself admitted that in all written constitutions, there is and must be an element of unwritten usages, while unwritten constitutions always include some statues.

15.3: TYPES OF CONSTITUTION

Again, Bryce made a distinction between rigid and flexible constitutions. The essential point of difference is that in rigid constitutions, the fundamental law is superior to ordinary law and it can not be changed by the ordinary legislative authority. There is a distinction between the amendment procedure and law-making process in a rigid constitution. It is clear from Bryce's usages of the terms that rigid and flexible relate to the way in which a constitution may be amended or changed and that a rigid constitution needs special procedure for its amendment, whereas a flexible constitution requires no special procedure for amendment.

K. C. Where proposed six-for classifications, such as-

1. Written and unwritten;
2. Rigid and flexible;
3. Supreme and subordinate,
4. Federal and unitary
5. Separated and fused powers
6. Republican and monarchical

Where accepts the distinction made by Bryce of the written and unwritten constitutions and of rigid and flexible constitutions. Apart from these distinctions, where makes distinction between supreme and subordinate constitutions. Those constitutions are supreme which can be amended not only by the legislature but by a specially convened Assembly for the purpose. Here the constitution is the supreme law of the land and all other agencies like legislature or executive are created by the constitution and are subordinate to it. A constitution, on the other hand, becomes subordinate when it becomes amended by the legislature.

Where makes distinction between federal and unitary constitution on the basis of location of governmental powers. If the governmental powers are located at the centre which may develop the power to the local authorities, the constitution is a unitary one. But is there is a territorial distribution of power by the constitution making both the levels of government independent and coordinate, the constitution becomes a feudal one. The next classification of the constitutions made by Where is on the basis of internal distributions of power between the various agencies of government. If the executive becomes part of the legislature, the constitution becomes one of fused powers. Finally, there is the classification of constitutions in to republican and monarchical on the basis of hereditary principle and lineage, the constitution becomes one of the monarchical, but if the head of the state becomes elective, the constitution becomes a republican one.

C. F. Strong introduced bases of classifying modern constitutions under five following heads:

1. The nature of the state to which the constitution applies;
2. The nature of the constitution itself;
3. The nature of the legislature;
4. The nature of the executive;
5. The nature of the judiciary.

On the basis of the nature of the state, the constitution may be unitary or federal. On the basis of the nature of the constitution itself the constitution may be classified as written or unwritten, and rigid or flexible. On the basis of legislature of bicameral legislature. On the nature of the executive, the constitution is classified as parliamentary or non- parliamentary. On the basis of the nature of judiciary the constitution may be one of common law states or may be one of prerogative state.

15.4: APPROCHES TO CATEGORIZATIONS

However, Karl Lowenstein criticizes all these approaches of classifying the constitutions as traditional. He says there is no meaning of making the distinction between written and unwritten constitution, as all constitutions of today are written. Again, to him the classification of flexible and rigid constitution is highly formalistic and unrealistic. Other classifications like parliamentary or presidential, monarchy or republican actually refer more to the patterns of government they embody than to the constitution themselves. Finally, there remains the distinction between the federal and the unitary state organizations which has lost much of its realistic value because today no country is truly federal without having no bias towards centralization.

As opposed to this approach, Lowenstein provides some sort of new approaches of classifying the constitutions. He is conscious of the fact that the foregoing classifications have a fundamental defect that these classifications do not take account of infrastructural realities nor they do deal with processes of governmental machinery. He therefore, proposes what he describes as the "Ontological" a classification if the constitutions by which the means of the investigation of what a written constitution means in reality within a specific national environment. In other words, how real a constitution is for the common people? Thus taking the ontological classification that is, normative, nominal and semantic.

In normative constitutions, the norms are faithfully implemented in reality and there is fewer gaps between norms and practices of the constitutions. What the constitution declares, that is

observed in reality. Hence in constitutions, norms and practices are coincided and they do not differ from each other.

There are some constitutions which are accepted, but which are not fully developed to be observed, these constitutions are known as nominal constitutions. In such cases, the intention is not to create the gap between norms and practices, but the body polity has not grown to the extent of full application of the norms of the constitution. Rightly speaking, the norms though not observed fully, have got educational value and they are regarded as "standards of achievement".

Finally, there is the situation where the constitution is fully applied and activated but its reality is nothing by the formalization of the powers of the power holders. Such type of constitution is known as semantic constitution and in this pattern there is a great gap between the norms and reality of the constitution. What declarations the constitutions make are only for exhibit purpose and have no real value.

Benzamin Akzin makes a two-fold classification of constitutions, namely, normative and normal. He also tried to establish the interrelationship between normatively and stability and between nominally and fragility of the constitutions. The normative constitutions are stable while the nominal constitutions are fragile. Therefore, a normative constitution reflects the actual conditions and are obeyed and become stable, while a nominal constitution indicates the gap between the norms and reality, and thus become fragile. The measure of gragility of stability is determined by Akzin the length of time constitutions last, that is constitutions retain their apparent validity without breach of continuity.

Lesile Wolf – Philips had criticized Lowenstein – Akzin model of classifying constitutions on several grounds as given below.

1. Neither Lowenstein nor Akzin gives a clear guide as to the method of designating a constitution as normative or nominal. Though both of them distinguish, normative from a nominal constitution on the basis of "realistic" observation, they are silent to state what 'realism' constitution refer to.

2. Akzin's formulae of calling a constitution "stable" is also not correct, as a constitution still endures with a number of amendments both in its operation and in its content and it is called as a stable constitution.

3. Akzin in classifying the constitution into normative and nominal misunderstood Lowenstein who distinguished semantic constitutions from nominal constitutions. To Akzin, 'nominal' and 'semantic' constitutions are the same an interchangeable. But it is very difficult to place the socialist constitutions in the normative-nominal spectrum.

4. Lowenstein also criticizes Akzin model as too mechanical. He says that is a constitution is stable, it does not imply that it is observed and even if a constitution is being observed, it goes total change by a revolution and becomes fragile.

5. A fundamental objection to the Lowenstein Akzin model is that the categories they use are too large and too inelastic. The categories (normative-nominal – semantic and stable-fragile) are vaguest as they do not clearly indicate their specific characteristics by which classifications are to be made.

Leslie Wolf-Philips thus concludes the analysis of typology of constitutions by stating forth a reformulated approach which combines both the traditional approach of Bryce, Where and Strong as well as the ontological approach of Lowenstein and Akzin. Neither the traditional approach is wrong, nor is the modern approach alone adequate. Therefore, the discussion on typology of constitutions is based on the structure functions performance based classifications which includes all the foregoing types of constitutions.

15.5: FUNCTIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION

First of all, constitution refers to the organization of a state. The state institutions are created and empowered by the constitution. These institutions work according to the norms of the constitutions. When they fall to do so, they are liable to change. Hence, a constitution organizes the institutions in a state.

Constitution governs the relationship between government and citizen and the relationship of one governmental authority to another. Constitutionalism refers to "limited government". It limits the powers of the government t and the rights of the people. Neither the people have neither unlimited powers to foil the constitutional norms and to make the government unworkable, nor the government has unrestricted authority to interfere with the private affairs of the people. Therefore, it is the function of the government to define in clear terms the power and authority of the government and the rights of the people. Again, a government is a body

composed of different organs like legislature, executive, judiciary etc. and each organ has been assigned by the constitution with definite powers and authority. Each organ of the government has to operate within its jurisdiction and if anyone will surpass i6ts boundary of operation, the act of the that organ will be declared as null and void. Hence, it is the function of the constitution not only to create the different organs of the government but to prescribe their specific and definite powers in order to avoid any sort of constitutional deadlock.

Constitution leads to stability of a political system. Constitutions are created with an intention to provide continuity, stability or internal preservation of the political community and the constitution lives as long as it performs this function. Stability does not mean that a constitution is static, as static constitution is not a living one; it becomes dead letters of law. Therefore constitution allows change to the extent that the society is changing. But changes come within the framework of the constitution and not with the fundamentals of the constitution. Frequent changes in the fundamentals of the constitution to provide stability, continuity and growth of the political system.

Constitution guarantees liberties to the citizens. As the constitution is another name of democracy and limited government, it guarantees liberty to the individuals and groups. Individuals and groups become free from the governmental authority in certain spheres and the minorities also enjoy freedom from the dominant majority group as declared by the constitution.

Constitution establishes justice at least in procedural sense procedures according to which laws are to be made and implemented and thereby justice is to be maintained. Constitution enshrines laws which are applicable to all under similar circumstance and thereby establishes justice for all.

Maintenance of law and order is not the only function of a modern state, but the modern state is obliged to bring rapid socio-economic development through framing and implementing public policies from time to time. But policies are not made haphazardly or whimsically, Policies have some goals or invent which are prescribed in the constitution. What should be nature of the public policies and how these policies are to be made are prescribed by the norms of the constitution. Therefore, constitution helps in formulation of public policies.

Last but not the least; the constitution performs the symbolic function. The constitution acts as a national symbol, because every independent nation makes its own constitution for its governance. Constitution is another name of nationalism and it acts as a baptismal certificate for an independent state.

The making of capability is the extent to which a constitution is able to perform its above mentioned functions in order to sustain itself. If the constitution is not able to perform its functions, it fails to persist and endure. Therefore, capability is correlated with performance and efficiency. If the performance level of constitution increases, its efficiency increase and its capability increase.

'Performance' is not a normative study, it is always empirical one based on observable data, hence 'performance' is a matter not of the past, but of the present. Therefore, 'capability' of the constitutions is not a problem of normative importance but it is an empirical one and 'capability' cannot be established for all times to come, rather, it has always got time relevance.

15.6: SUMMARY

If the "constitution" is to be studied with system approach, as it has been mentioned earlier, Almond's study of capability of political system can be applied to the study of capability of political system, such as, extractive capability, regulative capability, distributive capability, symbolic capability and responsive capability. With the same approach, it can be said that a constitution is a capable one so long as it can extort resources from both national and international market, can regulate the behavior of individuals and groups in a political system, can distribute goods, services, honours, statuses and opportunities of various kinds among the individuals and groups in society, can act as a symbol of nationalism and democracy and can maintain a responsive relationship between input and output of a system.

Capability of a constitution depends upon several factors which affect it very much. First of all, constitution is a written document only and its capability depends upon the people who are in power, as they have to interpret and implement the constitution correctly and properly. Nevertheless, the goals and actions of the political system itself. A stable political system leads to an increasing capability of the constitution. But if a political system is itself unstable, governments are changing frequently, capability of the constitution suffers. Finally, capability of the constitution depends upon the level of support of the people to whom it is addressed. If the people will withdraw their support from the constitution, the constitution cannot work properly. Furthermore, if there will be constant turmoil due to disagreement of parties and interest groups on the values of the constitutions, the capability level will be low.

15.7: KEY TERMS

- **Rigidity:** Rigidity means about the same thing as inflexibility, another word that describes rock-solid, unyielding people and substances.

- **Flexibility:** The ability to change or be changed easily according to the situation: The advantage of this system is its flexibility.

15.8: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- What is a constitution? Discuss its types.
- Discuss the functions of a constitution.
- Discuss the function of Indian Constitution.

15.9: REFERENCES

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UNIT-16: ELITIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

Structure

16.1: OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to know:

- Meaning of Elites
- Different theories of elites
- Circulation of elites
- Democratic theory of elites

16.2: INTRODUCTION

History is neither made by the masses nor by ideas, nor by silently working forces but by elite who from time to time assert themselves. Governing elite from its position of control of government and having power of the state determines which values shall be expressed in public policy and which values shall be realized in government operations. There are as many elite as there are values. The word "elite" was used in the 17th century to describe commodities of excellence and then it was used to refer to superior social groups as military chiefs or men of higher social nobility. But it came to use in social and political writings in 1930s in Britain and America through the sociological theories of elites notably in the writings of Pareto and Mosca.

The concept of the political elite refers to a select group of individuals within a society who wield significant influence and control over political decision-making. These individuals typically occupy key positions in government, institutions, or other centers of power, enabling them to shape policies, guide political processes, and impact the direction of a nation. The notion of a political elite is rooted in the recognition that not all members of a society have equal access to political power or influence. Political elites can emerge from various backgrounds, such as elected officials, bureaucrats, business leaders, intellectuals, and influential individuals within social and cultural spheres. Their influence may be formal, as seen in the case of government officials, or informal, stemming from connections, wealth, or expertise.

16.3: MEANING OF ELITE

In general, the term 'elite' refers to those people who hold social and political powers in a society and who have the highest indices in their branch of activity. The concept refers to inequality in virtue, knowledge, capability, status and position. One is treated as a member of the elite group in that particular field or branch in which one is better placed vis-à- vis the rest of one's companions. If "elite" as a general term is applied to those who enjoy a higher status in their fields because of their excellence, we need another term or the minority, who posses the power to rule and we give the name 'political elite' to them. Political class refers to all those groups in society which exercise political power of influence and are directly engaged in struggles for political leadership. The political elite is a smaller group within the political class. It comprises those individual who actually exercise political power in a society at any given time. It includes members of the government and of the higher administration, military choices and leaders of powerful economic enterprises.The term "elite" generally refers to a select group of individuals or entities that are considered superior or outstanding in a particular field, often due to characteristics such as wealth, power, education, skill, or influence. The concept of elite can be applied in various contexts, including social, economic, political, cultural, or academic spheres.

16.4: THEORIES OF ELITE

Theory of elites started from Pareto and Mosca (Italians), Michels (Swiss-German), Gasset (Spaniard), and then it was dealth with by Schumpeter (Economist). Lasswell (Political Scientist) and C. Wright Mills (Sociologist).

16.4.1: Pareto's View

Pareto (The mind and society) defines 'elite' in two different ways. He begins with a very general definition that, that people who have highest in their branch of activity, to that class, we give the name of elite. But in the second sense, which was more important than the former one, he uses the term 'elite' to the minority that possesses the qualities necessary for its action to full social and political powers. Those who occupy the top position are always the best. So he points out that in every population one finds two starta: (I) a lower stratum, the non – elite, and (II) a higher stratum, the elite which is again divided into two, namely (i) the governing elite, and (ii) the non-governing elite. Pareto observed that the upper stratum of society, the elite, nominally is composed of certain groups of people that are called aristocracies and plutocracies.

16.4.2: Mosca's View

Mosca (the ruling class) makes a distinction between 'elite' and 'masses'. He writes: in all societies two classes of people appear a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The former is always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings to them; whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and violent. For governing elite Mosca uses that term 'political classes. The minority is usually composed of superior individuals who possess some special attributes for which they become influential in society. But, Mosque's elite is not an autocrat, as he says that the political class itself is influenced and restrained by a variety of 'social forces' representing numerous different interests in society, and also by moral unity which can be expressed in the form of rule of law. Mosca later on admits that, the governing classes are also controlled by the representative system of government, voting and numerous social forces. In Mosca's theory, the elite does not rule by force and fraud, but 'represents' in some sense, the interests and purpose of important influential groups in society. The 'class' concept may referred to Marx's theory which states that in every society two categories of people may be distinguished: (a) a ruling class, and (b) one or more subject classes. The ruling class, being in posses or classes and the class struggle and only with the victory of the working class, followed by the emergence of a classless society.

16.4.3: C.W.Mill's View

Curtis Wright Mils (the power elite) explains his performance for the term 'Power Elite' rather than "Ruling Class" by saying "Ruling Class" is a badly loaded phrase, "Class" is an economic

term; "Rule" is a political one. The phrase "Ruling Class" thus contains the theory that an economic class rules politically. According to Mills, in every society power has been concentrated not only in the hands of economic cases, but also in the hands of political and military classes. The higher agents of each of these domains have a notable degree of autonomy and that by way of coalition they make up and carry important decisions. Men exercising power in these spheres constitute a cohesive class and to this class, Mills gives the name 'Power elite'.

Mills defines the power elite in much the same way as Pareto defines his 'governing elite', for he says, "we may define the power elite in terms of the names of power as those who occupy the command posts". Mills distinguishes three major elite the corporation heads, the political leaders and the military chiefs. He goes on to enquire whether these three groups together. His answer to these questions is that these groups do gore single elite because they are representatives of an upper class, which has to be regarded as a ruling class. Mills has emphasized the unity of the elite which has to be regarded as a ruling class. Mills has emphasized the unity of the elite which can be obtained by the homogeneity of its social origins. Mills further argues that the interchange of personal between the three spheres also provides the cohesiveness to the elite group.

By 'power elite', Mills means a contrast between the organized ruling minorities with the unorganized majority or masses and thereby distinguishes it from the "ruling class" as used by Marx. In Mill's study of the "Power elite", there is an attempt to explain the power position of three principal elite taken separately that of business executives by the growth in size and complexity of business corporation; that of the military chiefs by the growing scale and expense of the weapons of war, determined by technology and the state of international conflict; and that of the national political leaders, by the decline of the legislature, of local politics and of voluntary organizations. However, no where, them, the division is natural and predetermined and Mills had regarded it as unfortunate and unavoidable. Carl J. Friedrich observes that one of the most problematical parts of all elite doctrines is the assumption that the men of power do constitute a cohesive group. In the light of continuous change in the composition of the majority, it is not possible to say under conditions prevailing in functioning of democracy, that those who play some considerable part in government constitute a cohesive group. This view of elite is stated "the rulers are not at all close knit or united. The are not so much in the centre of a solar system, as in a cluster of interlocking circles, each one largely occupied with its own professionalism and expertise, and touching others only at one edge. They are not a single establishment but a ring of establishments, with slender connections. The friction and balance

between the different circles is the supreme safeguard of democracy. No one man can stand in the centre, for there is no centre". Mills rejects this fashionable liberal –minded doctrine, which he summarizes as follows: "Far from being omnipotent, the elite are though to be so scattered as to lack any coherence as a historically force…… Those who occupy the formal places of authority are so checkmated-by other elite exerting pressure, or by the public as an electorate or by constitutional codes- that although there may be upper classes, there is no ruling class; although there may be a system of stratification, it has not executive top. "He insists that the three principal elite-economic, political and military are, infect, a cohesive group.

16.4.4: Mitchell's View:

 The name of Roberto Mitchell's (1876-1936) is associated with that is known as the Iron Law of Oligarchy, which he declares as "One of the iron laws of history, from which the most democratic modern societies and, within those societies, the most advanced parties, have been unable to escape". The primary factor supporting this law is the element of organization. No movement or party can hope to succeed in modern times without organization. "Organization" is simply another way of spelling "Oligarchy". As a movement or party grows in size, more and more functions have to be delegated to inner circles of leaders, and, in course of time, the members of the organization are officers acquire great freedom of action and vested interest in their position. The growth of this kind of oligarchy is supported by Mitchell's who had made a through study of mass mind. The majorities of human beings, according to Mitchells is apathetic, indolent and slavish, and are permanently incapable of self-government? They are susceptible to flattery. Leaders easily take advantages of these qualities to perpetuate themselves in power. Once the leaders reached the pinnacle of power,, nothing could bring them down. "If laws are posed to control the dominion of leaders, it is the laws which gradually weaken and not the leaders". Revolutions occur in history and tyrants are deposited but new tyrants arise, and the world goes on as before.

The conceptual scheme of elite theories thus comprises the following notions; in every society there is and must be a minority which rules over the rest of society. The minority is the 'Political class' or 'governing elite' or power elite' composed of those who occupy the posts of political command and those who can directly influence political decisions. They believe that, the minority undergoes changes in its membership over a period of time, ordinarily by the recruitment of new individual members from the lower strata of society, sometimes by the incorporation of new social groups and occasionally by the complete revolutions. According to Pareto, if there will be no circulation of elite, it may result in considerable increase of the

degenerate elements in the class which still hold power and on the other hand, an increase of elements of superior quality in subject class. In such a case, the social equilibrium becomes unstable and the slightest shock will destroy it. A conquest or revolution produces an upheaval, brings new elite to power and establishes a new equilibrium.

The question arises: What leads to the degeneration of the governing elite which destroys the social equilibrium and gives rise to the circulation of elite? Pareto answers the question in terms of changes taking place in the psychological characteristics of the elite. In order to assess the value of this explanation, it is necessary to consider briefly Pareto's concept of 'residues'. By 'residues' Pareto means the qualities through which a person can rise in life. He has made a list of six residues, namely, residues of combinations, persistence of aggregates, of sociability, of activity of the integrity of the individual and of sex. But, he attaches the primary importance to the residues of 'combinations' and the 'persistence of aggregates' with the help of which the governing elite tries to maintain itself in power. The 'residues of combination' means 'cunnings' and the 'residues of persistent aggregates' means force, Elite must possess at least these two residues, namely 'cunningness' and force. When there is a change and force', there is degeneration of the qualities of elite and the same qualities are cultivated in some of the mass, which leads to circulation of elite. Pareto's explanation for circulation of elite is based upon the historical examples. But the history, he uses is not comprehensive and broad-based to support his explanation of circulation of elite. Moreover his study or rise and decline of elite as such is equally unsatisfactory as Pareto ahs not tried to show how the changes in the psychological traits of human mind makes place leading to rise and decline of elite.

16.5: CIRCULATION OF ELITES

Like Pareto, Masco also believed in the theory of circulation of elite. According to Masco, the distinguishing characteristic of the elite is that should possess the "aptitude to command and to exercise political control". Then he describes the circulation of elite as follows: "When the aptitude to command and to exercise political control is no longer the sole possession of the legal rulers but has become common enough among other people, when outside the ruling class another class has formed which finds itself deprived of power though it does have the capacity to share in the responsibilities of government then that law has become as capacity to an obstacle in the path of an elemental force and must, by one way or another , go "Again he writes"…Within the lower classes, another ruling class, or directing minority, necessarily forms, and often this new class is antagonistic to the class that holds possession of the legal government".

Like Pareto, Mosca does not attach supreme importance to the psychological characteristics of individual in his explanation of the rise and fall of elite but he refers to the germination of new ideas, ideals, interests or problem in the society. If a new source of wealth develops in a society. If the practical importance of knowledge grows, if an old religion declines, or a new one is born, if a new current ideas spread, thus simultaneously far reaching dislocations occur in the ruling classes.

Mosca speaks of 'political formulae' which the elite must know in order to command and remain in power. The political formulate may not and generally does not embody absolute truth. It may as well be merely a plausible myth, which is accepted by the people. Even by simple fraud or myth, if the elite can cajole and move the people and keep them in subjugation, they can remain in power. When the elite forget about this political formula, the circulation of elite becomes inevitable.

Schumpeter made a similar observation in an essay on 'Social Classes in an Ethically Homogeneous Milieu". One of the most valuable features of Schumpeter's study is that it considers together the individual and social factors in the circulation of elite. In the movement of families between classes, he argues, social assent is influenced by individual endowment in energy and intelligence, and also by social circumstances such as, the openness of the upper class, and the opportunities for enterprise in new fields of activity. Similarly, in the rise and fall of whole classes, some weight must be attributed to the qualities of individuals, but a more important influence is exerted by structural changes affecting the functions of the elite groups"……… The position of each class in the total national structure depends on the one hand, on the significance that is attributed to (its) function, and on the other hand, on the degree to which class successfully performs the function". Thus Schumpeter recognizes that new social groups may be formed in a society as a result of economic or cultural changes, that such groups may then increase their social influence in so far as the kinds of activity in which they engage become of vital importance to society at large, and that these activities may in due course, produce changes in the political system and in the social structure as a whole. However Schumpeter, in a latter work, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy, discusses, the changes in culture which are helping to bring about the decline of capitalism, but he treats these changes as secondary and largely dependent upon changes in the economic order.

Thus, we find there is not one type of political elite but there are different types of elite. As in the society, different interests and different values, systems coexist, so also there are different elite groups who have ascended to the top on their spheres. T. B. Bottom ore says that among

the social groups, which have risen to prominence in the tremendous social and political changes of the 20th century, there are three types of elites, namely, the intellectuals, the managers of industry and the high government officials. They have often been singled out as the inheritors of the functions of earlier ruling classes and as vital agents in the creation of new forms of society.

Of these groups, the intellectuals are the most difficult to define, and their social influence is the most difficult. The intellectuals include the persons who contribute directly to the creation, transmission and criticism of ideas; they include writer, artists, scientists, philosophers, religious thinkers, social theories, political commentators. They have direct concern with the culture of the society and they are the catalysts of social change. Intellectuals are found in almost all societies, but their functions and their social importance very considerable. In some societies, the intellectuals have come close to being governing elite. Intellectual, are more or less independent group and they taken prominent part in radical and revolutionary movement.

A second group which has attracted attention as potential ruling elite is that constituted by managers of industry. They are the keepers of the community's materials welfare. Burnham speaks that we are living in a period of transition from one type of society to another, form a capitalist society to a type which he prospers to call the "Managerial Society". Burnham's argument is that the managers are taking over the economic power which was formerly in the hands of the capitalist owner of industry and are thus acquiring the power to shape the whole social system. The managers shall be a distinct social group, but they shall be a cohesive group, aware of their group interests in struggle for power by attempting to show the individuals ideology of capitalism is being replaced by a managerialistic ideology. They are he elite in the sense that they have high prestige and take important economic decisions, and that they are increasingly aware of their position as a functional group.

The third social group-the high government officials, appear to be a powerful elite in modern societies. High government officials are of two types, namely, the political executives and the bureaucratic executives. The idea of bureaucratic elite originated in the works of Max Webber who did not believe that the power of bureaucracy could be checked by political authorities, even in a democratic system. Power of bureaucracy has been increased because of the increase in the range of activities undertaken by the state and by the growing complexity of public administration. They are also a functional group who shape public policies and implement them andthrough that bring economic changes in society.

This account of three elite suggests a number of interesting conclusions about the relation between elite and classes. No one can be regarded as contenders for the place of the governing

elite. None of these groups is sufficiently cohesive or sufficiently independent to be considered in such light.

In the developing countries, the problem is somewhat different. In these countries the society is changing fast due to rapid industrialization and economic advancement. With this, there is the problem of competition intrude and economic advancement. With this, there is the problem of commute in trade and investment with this, advanced counties of the world, to contend with political instability, with popular demands for high levels of consumption and welfare and with the powerful opposing forces of traditional ways of life. In such conditions five types of elite are found in such developing societies. These elite customarily and variously take the leadership of the industrialization, modernization and development process. These five types are 1) a dynastic elite 2) the middle class 3) the revolutionary, intellectuals 4) the colonial administrators, and 5) the nationalist leaders.

In every society, development or developing, totalitarian or democratic, there is a minority who effectively rules over the majority. Elite theory believes in government by chosen few, while democracy is a government by law. Some the question arises how elite rule in a democracy, or in other words, how democracy and government by elite reconcile.

Karl, Mannheim, who in his earlier written had connected elite theories with fascism, played an important role in reconciling the two. In his letter, writings, he finds no contradiction between elite and democracy, when he writes that "The actual shaping of policy is in the hands of elite; but this does not mean that the society is not democratic".

16.6: DEMOCRATIC THEORY

- Now the question arises what is the meaning of democratic theory of elite? This theory explains that as a form of government democracy permits elite to form freely and establishes a regulated competition between elite for the position of power. On the other hand, the mass of the population is able to participate in ruling society at least in the sense that it can exercise a choice between the rival elite. It is sufficient for democracy that the individual citizens, though prevented from taking directorate in government al the time, have at least the possibility of making the aspirations felt at certain intervals. Even if the elite rule in a democracy, they are restrained and controlled by the people and they make policies in the interest of the people, because they come to power by the people. The difference between a totalitarian system and democracy was that whereas in the former the minority rule despotically, in the latter it

is not possible as there is the fear that if the minority would be autocrat, they would be removed from office by the people. The democratic elite have a mass background; that is why it can mean something for the mass. The theorists of democracy discover a more general system of checks and balances in the plurality of elite, which characterizes democratic societies. As different groups of men looking for different ways of obtaining support from the masses, different political parties are formed and enter into a competition with each other to obtain support for power, the governing elite can not rule despotically and the government becomes a business of comprises. Those who are in power, become considerate, because they themselves have been, and will one day again be in opposition. The democratic theory of elites, also known as elite theory or elite pluralism, is a perspective within political theory that acknowledges the existence and influence of elites in democratic societies. Unlike more idealistic views of democracy that emphasize equal participation and representation for all citizens, elite theory recognizes that certain individuals or groups, often termed elites, have a disproportionate impact on political decision-making.

Key elements of the democratic theory of elites include:

1. **Pluralism:** Elite theory is closely associated with pluralism, which posits that power is distributed among various competing groups and interests in society. Pluralists argue that no single group monopolizes power, and different elites may exert influence in different policy areas.

2. **Elites as Specialized Actors:** According to this theory, elites are individuals or groups with specialized knowledge, skills, or resources that give them a comparative advantage in certain areas. These elites may include business leaders, intellectuals, political leaders, or other influential figures.

3. **Competition among Elites:** Rather than viewing elites as a unified and conspiratorial force, the democratic theory of elites emphasizes competition and conflict among different elite groups. The competition between elites is seen as a driving force in shaping public policy.

4. **Public Participation:** While elites may play a significant role in decision-making, democratic theorists of elites do not necessarily argue against popular participation in politics. They contend that citizens can influence decision-making through voting, activism, and other forms of civic engagement.

5. **Instrumental Role of Government:** Elites are often seen as playing an instrumental role in the functioning of government. Their expertise and resources can contribute to effective governance, but the theory acknowledges the potential for elites to pursue their own interests at the expense of broader societal interests.

6. **Checks and Balances:** Similar to other democratic theories, the democratic theory of elites recognizes the importance of checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power. This can involve institutional mechanisms, legal frameworks, and the role of the media in holding elites accountable.

16.7: SUMMARY

Again, in a democracy, there is a more rapid and extensive movement of individuals into and out of the elite. There are increasing number of elite positions in relation to the population as a whole and the elite develop a less "aristocratic" outlook and regard themselves as being closely linked with the masses, and that, in consequence of various leveling influences, they come closer to the masses in their style of life. While the democratic theory of elites provides a more realistic portrayal of power dynamics in democratic societies, it is not without criticism. Some argue that it may downplay the influence of socioeconomic inequalities and structural factors that can limit the ability of all citizens to participate equally in the political process. Despite debates, the theory remains influential in understanding how power is distributed and contested in democratic systems.

16.8: KEY TERMS

- **Elite:** the most powerful, rich, gifted, or educated members of a group, community, etc
- **Executive:** The executive refers to a person or group of persons having administrative or supervisory authority in an organization or in government authority.
- **Pluralism:** a situation in which people of different social classes, religions, races, etc., are together in a society but continue to have their different traditions and interests.

16.9: SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

- What is an elite? Discuss different types of elite.
- Discuss the features of democratic theory of elite.
- Discuss Mosca's views on circulation of elites.

16.10: REFERENCES

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