

B.A (Arts) POLITICAL SCIENCE (HONOURS)

AS PER CBCS MODEL SYLLABUS

# UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL THEORY

Core-I  
First Semester

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# **SYLLABUS**

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## Unit-I

### **1. What is Politics–Theorizing the ‘Political’**

2. What is the meaning of ‘Political Theory’? To understand this, it is necessary to understand the two words ‘Political’ and ‘Theory’ separately. Here words ‘Theory’ and ‘Political’ are qualifying each other that Political Theory or Theory of Politics indicate to a specific subject. Lets understand minutely. First of all, what is the meaning of ‘Theory’? The word ‘Theory’ is a Greek word which is related to two other words (i) theoria which means the activity to understand whatever is happening around us. This is called theorizing. (ii) Theorema which means the outcome which is obtained by this activity of theorizing. These are called ‘Theorem’. The first speciality of both of these terms is that they differentiate between the activity of theorizing and outcome of the activity. This means that the word ‘Theorizing’ is related to the understanding of an incident. This does not imply to prove any result or outcome to make it valid. This is only a process of discovery, research or investigation. Theorizing starts around those incidents which happen around us and about which we know a little bit. The process of theorizing starts because theorist is dissatisfied with the incomplete knowledge and he wants to understand it in details and on logical level. Theorization is an activity to understand through research. As a result of this theorization, the conclusion i.e., ‘Theorem’ will make us understand an incident in a better manner about which we were not able to understand clearly earlier. This Theorization implies to a continuous ongoing and non obstructed effort.
3. This begins with such a subject or incident about which we know a little bit but we need to understand it clearly and elaborately. This means that it is a process of understanding an activity or a subject and to get the knowledge. Its basic motto is ‘Never Say the end ’ i.e., this process to understand will continue till the incident or the subject become totally transparent, till each and every mystery is solved or till the Theorist is left with no questions worth asking. A theorist's work is to understand the facts of an experience or an incident on the basis of some assumptions or on the basis of the arrangement of the assumption i.e., on the basis of the group of the related assumptions like objective, intention, outcome,

reason freedom, equality and satisfaction. is that condition, limit or central point which needs to be theorization. In political theory, 'Political' means political. Like 'Theory', 'Politics' is also a Greek word which has evolved from the word 'Polis' which is called 'City-State' i.e., the community to take decision for all the perspectives of the good life of a community philosophy like Aristotle have tried to define politics in context of understanding the political activities and their working. Aristotle's saying; "Man is a political creature". Indicates towards the underlying human need of the society and also towards the fact that man can achieve self-attainment only through the medium of politics. For Aristotle, 'Politics' was so important because it represents such a common political place in which all citizens can participate. In its modern context the word 'political' represents the state and its related institutions like Government, legislative or common policy.

4. In spite of various notions till date modern city-state or state has been a common subject for the political theorist in the context of politics. As Will Kimilika has said, "Most of the western political theorists have been working on such an ideal model of city state in which all citizen share an ordinary lineage, language and culture. "Here political aspect of the political theory has been related to form, nature and organization of the state and Government and the study of their relation with the individual citizens. This has been the prime focus of liberal tradition of political theory. On the contrary marxism totally rejects this 'Political' and 'Non-Political' difference of liberalists and gives a logic that politics is only power and is slave of economic power. But on the while, in spite of the dilemma, as per the assumption, the foundation of the political theorization is still the state. Even then, for the last three decade, there has been an increase in the dissatisfaction about the established assumption of the politics. This is mainly on the that these do not match with many facts of the contemporary life. In other words they are not able to manifest the contemporary belief of 'Politics'. Thus, apart from the assumption of State and Government, other claimant of 'Politics' are:
  5. (i) A political thought based on the assumptions of equality, freedom, logic, unprejudiced and justice.
  6. (ii) Relationship with the power, class, gender, colonial and particular class politics. Alongwith that these are some other important are as included in the present assumption of 'Politics' like Liberalization, marxism, conservatism, communism, variety, feminism, citizenship, democracy, power, rule, validity, nationalism

globalization and environment. The aim of the syllabus related to the political theory is to make the student aware about the experiences of such people who have been either involved in the day to day politics or with the ideas of those who have studied this very deeply.

**6.0.** 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.

### **6.0.1 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".

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.

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

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”.

### **1.3 The Scope & Horizon:**

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.

#### **1.3.1 The Subject Matter:**

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.

### **1.3.2 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 19<sup>th</sup> century. But in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

### **1.3.3 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 pendulum was swinging too far 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.

#### **1.3.4 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.

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.

#### **1.4 Key Words:**

1. Political Activity
2. Political Process
3. Political Power
4. Authoritative allocation
5. Vertical expansion.

## **UNIT – II**

### **BEHAVIORALISM**

#### **1. 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 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was towards the end of 19<sup>th</sup> 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. Merriam 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.

#### **1.1 BEHAVIOURAL REVOLUTION:**

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.

## **1.2 Meaning of Behavioralism:**

Behaviouralism 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 refers 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 behaviouralists 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.

## **1.3 Features of Behaviouralism:**

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.

#### **1.4 Achievements of Behaviouralism:**

- 1) Use of such methods as context analysis, case studies, sample survey, interviews and other sophisticated quantification.
- 2) Theory building.

#### **1.5 Criticisms:**

- 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.

## **2.0 Post-Behaviouralism:**

**Introduction:** Behaviouralism dominated in the study of political Science for a decade. However, the behaviouralists 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 behaviouralists. 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 convert political study into a discipline modeled on the methodology of the natural sciences. In their efforts at research and application of scientific method, the behaviouralists had gone far away from the realities of social behavior. In this way, political science again lost touch with the current and contemporary issues.

### **2.1 Reasons for the growth of Post-Behaviouralism:**

The chief reasons for the growth of post-behaviouralism are- failure of the behaviouralists in addressing the social problems for their solutions; over-emphasis on research methods and tools, and consuming more time on conceptualizing or theory-building.

### **2.2 Features of Post-Behaviouralism:**

Following are the characteristic features of post-behaviouralism-

1. 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-behaviourists 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.

## **2. 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".

## **3. 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 appearances of just another reaction to behaviouralism, it is in fact 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 or to destroy a particular methodological approach. It seeks rather to proper political science in new direction."

## **4. 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.

### **2.3 Conclusion:**

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."

### **3.0 Marxian Approach:**

#### **3.1 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.

#### **3.2 The 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 explicitly '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.”

### **3.3 Marx on Individual:**

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.

### **3.4 Marx on Society:**

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.

### **3.5 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.”

### **3.6 Conclusion:**

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.

## **David Easton's System Approach**

### **4.0 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 and 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.

### **4.1 Evolution:**

The concept of Systems Theory dates back to 1920s. Ludwig Von Bertalanffy 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 has 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, Robert K. Merton 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.

#### **4.2 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 difference 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.

#### **4.3 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 and 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 tried 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 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 of power with the help of threat or actual use of 'severe deprivations' for non-compliance. Robert Dahl 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. Laswell 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 Dahl also has failed in distinguishing political systems and other systems which also has failed in distinguishing political systems and other systems which also has

failed in undistinguishing political systems and other systems which also has failed in distinguishing political systems and other systems which also enjoy power.

#### **4.4 Easton's views on Political System:**

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.

#### **4.5 Almond's views:**

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 Eugene 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.

#### **4.6 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 Dahi, 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.

#### **4.7 Characteristics of Political System:**

The political system has the following characteristics:

1. It has its own boundary.
2. It lives in environment.

3. The political system is an open and adaptive system.
4. It is self regulatory in character.
5. It is comprehensive in nature.
6. It is composed of certain structures having specific functions.
7. There is interdependence of the parts of the political system.
8. 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 form 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 and physical surroundings. Environment of the political system can be categorized into two types: intrasocietal 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 refers 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 itself. 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 when 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. As 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.

#### **4.8 Conclusion:**

Today the term 'political system' has been preferred to the term state or government because it includes both formal informal political institutions 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 conceived 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 externally 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.

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## **4.9 INPUT-OUT ANALYSIS OF DAVID EASTON**

### **4.9.1 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.

### **4.9.2 Easton's Definition:**

Easton defines political system as "a set of interaction, abstracted from the totality 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-output 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.

#### **4.9.3 Environment of the 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.

#### **4.9.4 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 own 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

#### **4.9.5 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 laws, educational opportunities, transportation, 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 loyalty 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.

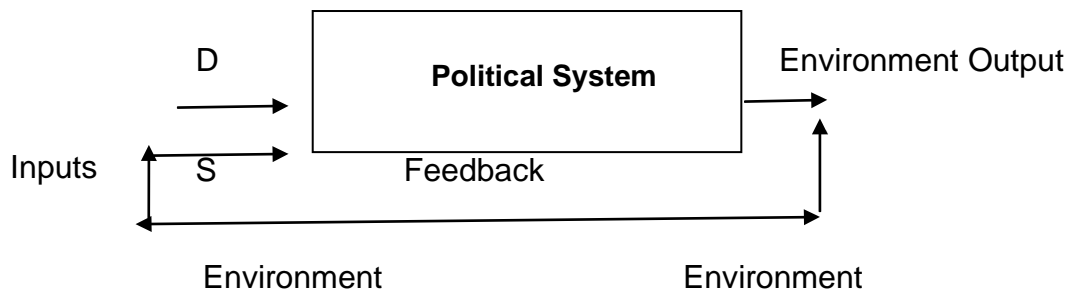
#### **4.9.6 Outputs of Political Systems:**

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 from 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".

#### **4.9.7 Merits of Easton's Approach:**

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 (a) emphasis on inter-disciplinary endeavour in theory construction.

#### **4.9.8 Criticisms:**

On the other hand, Easton's analysis has been criticized on certain grounds by different scholar. It is rightly said that his theory has less applicability in a dictatorial model of political system. Orex Young says that his model does not help us to analyze the problem of distribution power among men and closes in society. It does not answer the question posed by Lasswell as to the distribution of power between whom, where and why. R. H. Chilcote observes that his analysis can be criticized on three aspects.-

- (i) Conceptual prospectors,
- (ii) Operational possibilities and
- (iii) Ideological orientations.

#### **4.9.9 Conclusion:**

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.

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## **5. STRUCTURAL – FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF G. A. ALMOND**

### **5.1 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.

### **5.2 Evolution to the Approach:**

The approach, in a sense, dates back to the days of Aristotle, who classified forms of government in terms of their structure. However, Montesquieu gave it a proper shape during the 18<sup>th</sup> century by giving this theory of separation of powers. His analysis of the structure of government as comprising of legislature, executive and judiciary was nothing but the application of functionalism. The Federalist, written by Madison also referred to this theory, and further suggested an improvement by

incorporating in it the doctrine of checks and balances. But, the old theory of functional analysis of the structure of government, based on the theory of separation of powers, identified only three organs. In recent times, various new factors like adult franchise, mass political practices group etc. have given birth to a number of new functions like interest articulation, interest aggregation, and communication. The old functional approach has failed to explain this said new institutions and processes. This promoted the modern political thinkers to find out a definite theory to explain the total functions and structures of a political system. Among them, G. A. Almond, Coleman, Binder, Apter and Merton are noteworthy. However, Almond made this analysis more popular in the field of comparative politics.

### **5.3 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; (ii) 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 teleological, 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.

#### **5.4 Almond's views on Political System:**

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.

#### **5.5 Structural Functional Analysis: Its meaning :**

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.

#### **5.6 Meaning of Structure:**

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.

### **5.7 Meaning of Function and Functions of Political System:**

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.

### **5.8 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 specificity, 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.

### **5.9 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. It seeks to resolve conflicting situations. It provides a means of settling conflicts within the system without expanding the pressure on the rule-makers to make new laws.

It may be noted 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 of 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.

### **5.10 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 Easton talks of “demands” and “supports” as two forms of inputs. Almond identifies ‘interest articulation and ‘interest aggregation’ as the inputs. When these inputs flow into the political system through the ‘feedback loop’, the political system, through scrutiny, converts 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 are shaped.

### **5.11 Conclusion:**

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 of 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.



## Unit – III

### CONSTITUTIONALISM: MEANING AND DEVELOPMENT

#### 3.0 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 with 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.

#### 3.1 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 be 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.”

### **3.2 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.

### **3.3 Evolution of Constitutionalism:**

Constitutionalism as understood is not a product of one-day. It has been 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 of institutions 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.

### **3.4 Ancient Times:**

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 thought 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 12<sup>th</sup> 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 constitutionalising effect on medieval governments.

### **3.5 Medieval Times:**

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 theologian 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 and outside the Catholic Church. Thus arise the Councilor movement of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. In the secular sphere also by similar considerations, representative assemblies grew in many western countries especially in Spain, France and England.

### **3.6 Modern Period:**

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 (1642-49), the Glorious Revolution (1688) and the American and French revolutions of the late 18<sup>th</sup> 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”.

### **3.7 Conclusion:**

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 18<sup>th</sup> 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.



## **CONSTITUTIONS: TYPOLOGY, FUNCTIONS AND CAPABILITIES**

### **3.8 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.

### **3.9 Evolution:**

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> 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.

### **3.10 Classification:**

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 if there is a territorial distribution of power by the constitution making both the levels of government independent and coordinate, the constitution becomes a federal 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 into 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.

### **3.11 Other Approaches to categorization:**

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 of 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 fragility of stability is determined by Akzin the length of time constitutions last, that is constitutions retain their apparent validity without breach of continuity.

Leslie 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.

### **3.12 Function 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 fail 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 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 its 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' can not be established for all times to come, rather, it has always got time relevance.

### **3.13 Conclusion:**

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 can not 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.

## **Unit – IV**

### **POLITICAL ELITE**

#### **4.0 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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.

#### **4.1 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 possess 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.

#### **4.2 Theories of Elite:**

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

#### **4.3 Pareto's Views:**

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 strata: (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.

#### **4.4 Mosca's Views:**

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, Mosca'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.

#### **4.5 Marx's Views:**

Marx's theory of ruling class has been subjected to criticism from various quarters. Mosca and Pareto criticizing it suggest that it is a manocausal theory which could not do justice to the complexity of historical changes. Schumpeter and Max Weber explain that the social conflict has been quite often the result of non-economic factors.

#### **4.6 C. W. Mills Views:**

Curtis Wright Mills (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 form a 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 personnel 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 Mills'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, nowhere, then, 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. They 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, in fact, a cohesive group.

#### **4.7 Mitchell’s Views:**

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 has not tried to show how the changes in the psychological traits of human mind makes place leading to rise and decline of elite.

#### **4.8 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 material welfare. Burnham speaks that we are living in a period of transition from one type of society to another, from a capitalist society to a type which he proposes 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 individual ideology of capitalism is being replaced by a managerialistic ideology. They are the 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 Weber 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 and through 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”.

#### **4.9 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 compromises. Those who are in power, become considerate, because they themselves have been, and will one day again be in opposition.

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.

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