



M.A. PART - II
OPTIONAL PAPER SUB GROUP - E
COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ANALYSIS

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I

SYLLABUS M.A. PART - II OPTIONAL PAPER SUB GROUP - E COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ANALYSIS

- 1) Comparative Politics : Meaning, Nature and Scope.
- 2) Theoretical Framework : Systems theory, Structural Functionalism, dependency theory; Strategies of Comparison : Most Similar Systems and Most Different Systems Designs.
- 3) The State : Its Nature, Development and Functioning : Welfarism, Corporatism and Neo-Corporatism; Constitutionalism : Its theory and practice.
- 4) Patterns of Political Culture, Socialisation and Recruitment.
- 5) Theories of Political Modernisation, Development and Decay.
- 6) Elites, Classes and Masses : Pluralist, Elitist, Marxist and Consociationalist Perspectives.
- 7) Theories of Political Participation : Role of Leadership, Parties, Interest Groups and People's Movements.
- 8) Political Conflict and Cooperation : Functionalist and Dialectical Perspectives.
- 9) Political Stability and Change : Theories of Order and Revolution.
- 10) Nations nationalism and the right to secession.

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COMPARATIVE POLITICS – MEANING NATURE & SCOPE

Unit Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
 - 1.1.1 Meaning of Comparative Politics
 - 1.1.2 Nature of Comparative Politics
 - 1.1.3 Scope of Comparative Politics
- 1.2 Conclusion / summary
- 1.3 Unit End Questions
- 1.4 Suggested Reading

1.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand and grasp the meaning of 'Comparative Politics'.
- 2) To get introduced to the nature of Comparative Politics as an analytical, objective and dynamic subject
- 3) To become aware of the current and expanding scope of Comparative Politics

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Political Science is a science which deals with the study of 'Politics'.

'Politics' is a continuous, time-less, ever-changing and universal activity having its manifestation in the making of a decision to solve a predicament. It flows from a special kind of activity, a form of human behaviour. It refers to the making and taking of a decision in which some political action is involved. This decision is taken mostly by the state agencies or Government. Therefore, political science, is a science, studying about the State, Government and other theories of 'State' such as power, sovereignty, citizenship etc.

'Comparative Politics' is a subject of study in the direction of the expanding horizon of political science. It brings new techniques and theories as well as approaches to the study of politics.

'Comparative Politics' is one of the branch of political science, which involves study of Government. In Comparative Politics, we study power, sovereignty and other theories in broader sense and bring new dimensions to these theories. Thus the branch of Comparative Government and Politics is commonly understood, means the comparative study of government, politics and political systems of one country with another country or at times within the country with itself. It is said to be an examination of past history and present politics. In the field of Comparative Politics, we analyse the political experience, institutions behaviour and processes of the major systems of the modern Government. Its purpose is to analyse the similarities and dissimilarities of the Government and politics of different countries, so that it may be possible to predict for the future. The material for comparative study that is available today has made the comparative analysis central basis of the study of Political Science. The field of Comparative Government and Politics includes political experience, institutions, behaviour and working of major governments. The comparative study proceeds on the assumption that the government is of a universal nature and therefore its scientific study is possible.

The objectives of Comparative Study.

- 1) First of its objectives is to develop a body of knowledge about government and politics that can be verified.
- 2) Second, to evaluate political experience, institutions, behaviour etc. in terms of cause and effect and its desirability and undesirability. However, exact scientific conclusion are not possible, but we may be able to explain what generally happens under given conditions. The predictions normally come true, but unimpeachable conclusions cannot be arrived at.
- 3) Third, to be able to predict events, trends and consequences. This is a very controversial objective. It may not be possible to compare and measure all political institutions. It has been suggested that, in view of this difficulty, "Political Science seems to studied as a science of explanations or diagnosis rather than that of prediction.

However, it cannot be denied that Comparative Politics is at the heart of Contemporary Political Science.

1.1.1 Meaning of Comparative Politics :

"The study of Comparative Government is one of the oldest, most difficult and most important which have attracted the attention of mankind".

J. Blondel

The above words of J. Blondel explain the nature and importance of Comparative politics. Hence Comparative politics aims to analyse and compare the political systems operating in various societies. In doing so, it takes into account all the three connotations of Politics – Political Activity, Political Process and Political Power. Thus, Political Activity consists of all the activities involved in Conflict Resolution. Political Process involves the study of all formal as well as informal agencies, the governmental and non-governmental agencies through which the political processes gets institutionalised and operationalised. The political process receives information and signals from environment (non-state agencies) and transforms these signals and information into authoritative values. Finally politics is a struggle for power or a process of conflict resolution through use of legitimate power. Thus it involves the study of power or power relations in a society. Moreover, it is now widely felt that a realistic evaluation of the government and politics or political system of one's our country is made possible by understanding the governmental processes in other countries or their political systems. A comparative study of governments not only facilitates objective and rational judgment about political systems, but at the same time dispels the 'dangerously misleading form of ethnocentrism' that one's own country is superior to any other. Thus the study of governments is an important part of the study of Politics. The structure and behaviour of governments constitute an exciting and challenging area of concern for the students of Political Science. Modern government are emerging more and more as instrumentalities of multifaceted development especially in the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It also serves as an active force in forming of economic, social and environmental conditions. The world's political systems encompass enormous variety of institutions, process and interactions, and no two governments, past or present have been identical. In other words, government vary in complexity. Moreover, with the decolonisation process and emergence of newly independent nations as well as decline of some former great power has resulted in the process of inclusion and exclusion. Thus the comparative analysis of political structure's and process both within and across political systems is therefore, an indispensable obligation for the students of Political Science. Therefore, in a very genuine and realistic sense, Comparative government is not only the most significant Sub-system of the discipline of political science, but its very core and substantial.

1.1.2 Thus it becomes apt to understand the 'Nature of Comparative Politics' which is as follows :

1) Analytical Research:

Contemporary Comparative Politics gives more stress on analytical research. It is no longer confined to descriptive analysis.

On a wider connotation, it seeks to analysis, empirically and analytically the actual activities of the governments and their structures and functions.

2) Objective study of Political Science:

Comparative Politics involves a value-free empirical study of the various processes of politics in different environment. Only those values are admitted whose validity can be a scientifically demonstrated. It concentrates upon the study of 'what is' and not on 'what ought to be'. It has rejected the traditional normative prescriptive approach thereby aiming to develop an empirical and objective theory of Politics capable of explaining and comparing all phenomena of politics.

3) Study of Infra-Structures:

Comparative Politics seek to analyse the actualbehaviour of individuals, groups, structures, sub-systems and systems in relation to the environment in which the behaviour manifests. It is now not confined to the study of formal structures of governments in terms of their legal powers and functions. It seeks to analyse their behaviour in the environment. To study the dynamics of politics – its actual operation in the environment, is regarded as the essential feature of Comparative Politics. The study of decision making process in a given environment is, for example, an integral part of Comparative Political Analysis.

4) Study of both Developed and Developing Societies:

Traditionally, Comparative Politics involved only the study of political systems of the developed societies, however, in contemporary times it lays great stress on the study of the Political Systems of developing societies as well. The biased and parochial nature of traditional studies stands replaced by all-embracing studies of developing as well as developed societies. Thus the study of Political Systems of Asia, Africa and Latin America enjoys equal importance with American and European political systems. Modern political scientists like Almond, Coleman, Sidney Verba, David Easton, Powell and Edward Shills, have given considerable rather, added importance to the study of politics of developing societies. It has been accepted by all the political scientists that comparative politics must include all political systems of our times, developed as well as developing, European as well as non-European, and major as well as minor.

5) Horizontal and vertical comparisons:

Comparative politics involves both a Comparative study of the political structures and functions of national political systems of various states and also a comparative study of the political

institution at work within a single state. The former is called horizontal comparative studies and the latter is called vertical comparative studies. Traditionally, under comparative analysis emphasis was placed only upon horizontal comparative studies. However, in the comparative times, emphasis has been laid on both types of comparisons.

6) Inter-disciplinary Focus:

Comparative politics accepts the desirability and need for adopting inter-disciplinary focus. It accepts the need to study politics in an inter-disciplinary **focus**, that is, the study of political process with the help of psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics and other social sciences. This is because political behaviour is a part and parcel of the general social behaviour and it is intimately related to all other aspects of human behaviour. Therefore, it can be systematically analysed only with reference to other social sciences. Further, the study of political structures and this again makes it imperative for the students of comparative politics to adopt inter-disciplinary focus.

With all these features, comparative politics is almost a novel science of politics. Comparative politics has rejected the normative and prescriptive approach and parochial nature of traditional comparative politics. It is fast developing as a comprehensive, precise and realistic study of politics, capable of explaining and comparing all phenomena in all parts of globe.

1.1.3 Scope of Comparative Politics :

Traditionally the scope of Comparative Politics was limited and parochial. It was confined to the study of constitutions and political institutions in respect of their features, powers and positions. It was parochial in the sense that it involved a study of only European Constitutions and amongst the European constitutions. The British Constitution was regarded as the mother constitution – a standard constitution for measuring the worth of all other constitutions. The emphasis was on the study of government and institution. As R. C. Macridis has observed that students of governments, “were more concerned with studying foreign governments than with Comparative Politics. Their efforts were directed to the collection of facts rather than to testing of hypothesis about political behaviour.”

In contemporary times, comparative politics has come out of its parochialism and limited scope. It has come to acquire a very wide scope which includes the analysis and comparison of the political processes, political activities, political functions, political structures of all political systems, developed as well as developing and European as well as Asian, African and Latin American. After

the Second World War, it has undergone revolutionary changes in respect of its scope and methodology. The students of politics have realised the short-comings of the traditional studies and have decided to eliminate formalistic, legal institutionalism, crude empiricism and normativism of the traditionalists. They accept that the study of politics must include all mechanisms of politics and not only legal institutions, and actual functioning of all political structures, formal governmental as well as non-formal extra-constitutional political structures like interest groups, pressure groups and political parties. They came forward to develop new tools and concepts and to construct models and theories of the political processes for comprehensively and realistically analysing and comparing the political processes of all the political systems. They have borrowed many new concepts from other social sciences and even from the natural sciences, for analysing, explaining and comparing all political phenomena.

Today, comparative politics has secured a very wide scope. It, in fact, includes all that comes within the purview of politics. It includes the study of all political processes political activities and power relations found in every part of the globe.

The following aspects forms the core of the Scope of Comparative Politics –

1) All Political Structures :-

The scope of comparative politics includes the study of all structures formal and informal, governmental and extra-governmental, which directly or indirectly involved in the struggle for power taking place in all states. It is not confined to the study of the three governmental organs – legislature, executive and judiciary. Along with these Bureaucracy, Interest Groups, Pressure Groups, Elites, Political Parties and other associations of human beings form the part of the scope of comparative politics.

2) Study of Political Behaviour :-

Another important part of the scope of comparative politics is the study of the scope of the actual behaviour of the people in the process of politics. Voting behaviour, political participation, leadership, recruitment, elite behaviour, mass politics, populism etc., form integral part of the study of comparative politics.

3) Functional Studies :-

Comparative politics seeks to study politics less from the point of view of the legal institutions in terms of their powers and more from the point of view of the functions which constitute the political process and their actual operation in the environment. It

studies the functions of interest articulation, interest aggregation, political communications, rule-making, rule-applications, rule-adjudication, socialisation, decision making, policy-making etc.

4) Environment Studies :-

The study of politics demands a study of psychological, sociological, economic and anthropological environments, in fact, the social environments in which the political systems operate. For studying this the political scientists have developed concepts like political culture, political socialisations, political modernisation etc. The study of political culture of various political systems forms a very popular focus in comparative politics. This concept has definitely enhanced the ability of political scientists to explain and compare the functioning of various political systems. It has further helped them to analyse the difference in the working of similar political systems and gaps between micro politics and macro politics in various states.

Thus the scope of Comparative Politics has become very good. It includes everything that falls within the purview of political activity and political process. It seeks to study all mechanisms of politics with a view to build a science of politics capable of explaining and comparing all political activities, process and systems. It involves the study of all structures and functions, which directly or indirectly vigorously or passively affect and characterise the political processes in all states. In the words of P. Sharon, "Comparative Politics aims at studying political processes and institutions in a truly comparative manner for the purpose of answering common problems and questions. In doing so it broadens the scope of comparison to as many political systems as possible."

Thus it involves conscious comparison in studying political structures, political behaviour political processes and political experience of all political system. It rejects the parochialism, configurativism and formalism of the Pre-World War II studies of comparative governments. In fact new innovations in the discipline of comparative politics have been well summarised by Gabriel A Almond and G. Bingham Powell, as follows :-

1)The Search for More Comprehensive Scope :- This is the effort

- (i) break out of parochialism and ethnocentrism.
- (ii) to give equal importance to the study of non-western governments and political process along with studies of political systems.

- (iii) to make comparative politics studies comprehensive by including the efforts of all political scientists and area specialists for theory building in political science. Past as well as present political systems form an integral part of contemporary studies in comparative politics.

2) The Search for Realism :-

This includes under the political systems as 'what it is'. It includes examination of structures and process involved in politics and policy making study of governmental process, namely, rulemaking, rule application and rule-adjudication, political parties, electoral process, interest groups, political socialisation dealing with European and non-Western areas are included in its scope. It emphasises the study of dynamic forces of politics. It involves the techniques of behavioural studies of politics undertaking realistic empirical approach.

3) The search for precision :-

Like other social sciences namely psychology, sociology etc., political science also involves the methods to reach precise outcomes of political phenomenon with the emergence of voting behaviour and electoral behaviour studies, precise measurement and controlled observations have started becoming very popular with American, European and non-Western and non-European political scientists. A large number of political scientists have produced "studies of electoral trends based on voting statistics, studies of factors affecting voter's choices based upon samples, surveys studies co-relating quantitative social data and the characteristic of political system, studies of political culture and socialisation based on sample surveys, clinical case studies, and anthropological field observation, quantitative studies of political elite recruitment, quantitative content analysis of political communications, observational studies of judicial decisions, and the mathematical models for the analysis of political processes." All the attempts have been directed in the direction of securing precision in comparative political studies.

4) The Search for New Intellectual Order :-

The above three tendencies have strained the traditional theoretical frame work and conceptional vocabularies beyond their capacity to codify and assimilate the new insights and findings of political science research. Concept such as state, the constitution, presentation, rights, duties etc., cannot codify such activities as the extra-constitutional activities of political parties, pressure groups and the media of mass communication. Theoretical experimentation, relying primarily on sociological, psychological and anthropological concepts and frame work have become

common and new concepts such as political culture, political elite etc. have become increasingly popular.

Thus the above four directions have greatly revolutionised the contemporary comparative politics studies. These definitely point out towards the building of science of politics and comparative politics. The comparative study of political systems of the globe, the study of international systems and all sub-disciplines of political science have made the scope of comparative politics very broad.

1.2 CONCLUSION / SUMMARY

Comparative politics seeks to compare. Hence it must be scientific in order to be able to compare. Thus it lays emphasis on theories, ideas, concepts and frameworks that form a large part of the subject and aid as tools in comparison. For example, it explains theories of political participation, theories of political conflict, and theories of political system and functioning. It has refined its tools of analysis and shown sensitivity to large number of variables in politics.

1.3 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Comparative Politics is at the Heart of Political Science. Elaborate.
- 2) Analyse the changing nature and scope of Comparative Politics

1.4 SUGGESTED READING

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**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SYSTEMS
THEORY, STRUCTURAL
FUNCTIONALISM, DEPENDENCY
THEORY; STRATEGIES OF
COMPARISON: MOST SIMILAR SYSTEMS
AND MOST DIFFERENT SYSTEMS
DESIGNS**

Unit Structure :

- 2.0 Objective
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Easton's System Analysis
- 2.3 Input Output Analysis
- 2.4 Merits and Demerits
- 2.5 Structural Functional Model
- 2.6 Gabriel Almond's Structural Functional Models
- 2.7 Merits and Demerits
- 2.8 Dependency Theory
- 2.9 Baran's Centre Periphery Model
- 2.10 Frank's Theory of Underdevelopment
- 2.11 Wallerstein Modern World System Theories
- 2.12 Most Similar and Most Different System Design
- 2.13 Summary
- 2.14 Unit End Questions
- 2.15 Selected Bibliography

2.0 OBJECTIVE

- 1) To understand meaning of system analysis
- 2) To understand David Easton's system model
- 3) To comprehend Almond's Structural Functional model
- 4) To critically analyze different models of dependency models
- 5) To understand methods in comparative politics

2.1 INTRODUCTION

System theory is an important theory in comparative politics. Its roots lie in biological science and it was fully articulated by Ludwig von Bertalanffy in his general system theory. The system theory was used by David Easton and Karl Deutsch to explain the political processes. A system is defined as a set of related units who interact with each other on a continuous basis. The overall interaction within the units of the system allows the system to function and an equilibrium is attained.

2.2 EASTON'S SYSTEM ANALYSIS

David Easton was the first thinker to use system analysis to understand the political processes. He has explained system theory in his books *A Framework for Political Analysis*. Easton defines political system as "a set of interactions abstracted from the totality of social behavior, through which values are authoritatively allocated for society". These values are binding on the society. He divided the political environment into two parts: the intra societal and the extra societal. Intra societal refers to various sets of units existing in the same society along with the political system but they do not have political interactions with each other. For e.g. a society may have economic, social, cultural systems and changes in these systems will have impact on the political system as well. Extra societal refers to the system that is outside the society like international organizations or regional organizations that will also shape the political system of the given society.

Political system is separated from other systems by means of boundaries but these boundaries are difficult to identify as various subsystems in a society are closely enmeshed with each other. Political system is an open system and is adaptive in nature and this makes political system dynamic. Further, political system interacts with other subsystems through means of exchanges and transactions. Easton explains the concept of exchanges by using the input-output model.

2.3 INPUT OUTPUT ANALYSIS

Easton says that any political system has two components: input and output. The inputs comprise of demands and support. Demand refers to the set of claims, desires, wants or needs made by the public before the government. A demand can be made by the general public or particular groups. The demands can be in the forms of appeals, agitation, elections, rioting etc. These demands can be classified in four types. First, people can demand allocation

of goods and services like education, food, electricity, roads, security etc. Second, it can be in the form of regulations like controlling crime, regulating prices, regulations of marriages, property etc. Third there can be political demands like voting rights, political rights for minority groups, electoral reforms, opening channels of political participation for some groups etc. And, finally there can be demands for political communication between the government and the public like more transparency or accountability on part of the government. Like demands there is also a support mechanism that sustains the system. Support refers to political obedience or values or ideologies or belief system that people have towards the system. The totality of support mechanisms gives legitimacy to the system. It may be symbolic like waving the flag of the country or singing of national anthem or substantial like voting regularly, attending political meetings or reading or watching political news.

The inputs then flow into the output mechanism which manifests in the form of policies, laws, regulations, guidelines, norms etc. Not all that goes as inputs flows in the output unit. In every political system there are certain gate keeping mechanisms that decide what valid and invalid demands is. In democratic system political parties play the role of gate keepers they choose certain demands made by the public as valid and legitimate and other demands get rejected. There are certain cultural mechanisms like media, culture, ideologies or values that act like strainer. For instance in USA any kind of communist thoughts or policies are rejected by the media or general public. The demands made by the public on the input gets processed and scrutinized and flows in the output unit and finally come out as policies. The legislature or the executive, bureaucracies or judiciary can be considered as part of output units.

The policies of the government may have varying effects on the different sections of the society. For instance Barack Obama's Affordable Health Care Act has benefitted to large sections of the society who earlier didn't receive health care benefits. The positive effects on the society helped him to win second term of Presidency. The process whereby the negative and positive effects of government's policies on the society and the society's response in form of new demand is called as feedback loop. The feedback mechanism connects the output unit to the input unit.

Thus input output system is dynamic because there is seamless flow of information from input to output and again back to the input due to feedback mechanism.

2.4 MERITS AND DEMERITS

Merits of the System Analysis

1. It offers a framework for scientific analysis of political process.
2. Easton model is dynamic and is able to explain the changes that take place in politics.
3. It has normative dimension.
4. Easton's model is unified model that can be used to study both national and international system.

Demerits of the System Analysis

1. System analysis has been criticized for being too abstract and not conforming to reality.
2. System analysis is not able to explain certain drastic political events like revolution, civil strife or ethnic conflicts.
3. Easton model does not clearly articulate how the conversion or feedback system functions.
4. It is said that System Analysis supports status quo and slide into the elitist model.

Check Your Progress

Examine the features of system analysis.

2.5 STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

The structural functional approach had its origin in anthropology and sociology. Some of the thinkers associated with this approach are Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown, Talcott Parson and Robert Merton. After the rise of Behavioral Revolution, structural functionalism applied to study political processes.

Structures and Function

It is important to understand the meaning of structures and function. Structures refer to the observable activities which make up the political system and it consists of some regularities or patterns. The political economy, society or culture is examples of structure. These structures perform certain function. Function is actions that are perform to maintain the system. Not all actions are called as

function only those actions which maintain the system are important. For instance the role of legislature is to make laws and the role of executive is to implement laws. So law making and implementing become functions of the legislature and judiciary.

2.6 GABRIEL ALMOND'S STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL MODEL

Gabriel Almond has used the structural functional model in politics. According to Almond every political system has four common characteristics. First political systems have political structures and they can be compared with one another in terms of degree and specialization. Second different political system perform universal functions like rule making or rule implementing. Third political system performs several functions depending on the degree of their specialization. Political system has a blend of tradition and modernity and it can be known by finding the ratio of modern and traditional values.

Almond says that functions of the political system can be divided into two parts input functions and output functions. Further input functions can be sub divided into (a) Political Socialization and recruitment (b) Interest articulation (c) Interest aggregation (d) Political Communication. The output function is divided into (a) Rule making (b) Rule application (c) Rule Application.

Input Functions

1. Political Socialization is a process where the individual learns the political values, beliefs and attitudes of the political system. It is a slow process of learning and includes institutions like family, schools, university, media, workplace etc. Some political socialization is direct like participating in political rallies or meetings. Sometimes it is indirect process where an individual imitate or imbues values by observing other members of the society. For instance an individual may learn political values of democracy by observing family members.

2. Interest Articulation refers to the process where demands are raise and transmitted to the political system. In democratic system public can raise demands through the political parties or pressure groups or media. Different groups in the society have multiple demands and political parties have to understand these demands. Different parties or pressure groups can cater to demands of different sections of the society.

3. Interest Aggregation is the process whereby demands are processed and refined into policies. Parties in the legislature perform this task of turning the demands into concrete policy proposals.

4. Political Communication refers to the process of politically relevant messages from non political structures to the political structures and vice versa. It is broad process of flow of information between the government and the society. Media is an important instrument of political communication whereby it acts as conveyor belt of information between the two.

Output Functions

Almond says that output function comprise three structures rule making, rule application and rule adjudication.

1. Rule making is the process of law making which is done in modern times by the legislature. In democratic rule making can have different levels due to federal system. In federal system there exists federal and state legislature. Often bureaucracies can also have the power to make legislation and policies.

2. Rule application is the process of implementing laws. The executive organs of the state perform the work of rule application. In USA the President has the power to implement the rule while in India it is the Prime Minister and the Council of ministers who perform executive duties.

3. Rule adjudication is the process of interpreting laws which is done by the courts. Courts have the power to interpret the laws in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. Some in the process of adjudication the courts can limit the powers of the executive and judiciary.

2.7 MERITS AND DEMERITS

Merits

1. Structural functionalism provides universal framework for understanding different political system.
2. It provides standard set of variables that can be used different forms of political system whether it is traditional or modern, unitary or federal.
3. Almond's seven fold variable is an important methodological tools in comparative politics to study different countries.
4. It can be used for studying the pattern of conflicts that emerges in the political system by examining the multiple variables.

Demerits

1. It is said that structural functionalism is a static model unable to explain changes in the system.

2. Structural functionalism has been charged of Euro centrism as it is not capable of explaining non European political system.
3. Structural Functionalism has been charged of status quo because it focuses heavily on equilibrium.

Check your Progress

Discuss the structural functional analysis of Almond

2.8 DEPENDENCY THEORY

Dependency theory aims to explain the economic disparities between the rich western countries known as North and poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America known as Global South. They presented a collection of approaches to the political economy of developing countries and opposed the mainstream approach of modernization theory, whose foremost proponent, W. W. Rostow. The modernization theory saw the development of all countries in the South will reflect the pattern of development of the North. This perspective argued that the economic and political factors that had been important for explaining the rapid development of the countries in the North— resource endowments, labor inputs, technology, and investment capital—could similarly drive the development of the poor countries.

Dependency theorists argued that the characteristics of the poor countries and their position in the global political economy strongly conditioned their prospects for growth. In fact, the relative poverty of the developing world could not be explained as a function of their relative isolation from the global political economy, but instead could be explained by the manner in which they were integrated into the global capitalist system. To explain the shortcomings of Rostow's approach, dependency theorists drew on the whole panoply of Marxist and neo-Marxist thought, while adding some theoretical refinements that better explained the pattern of development they observed in the 1960s and 1970s.

2.9 BARAN'S CENTRE- PERIPHERY MODEL

Baran is considered as a pioneer of dependency theory. Baran's work incorporated many of Marx's basic assumptions about political economy and refined them to better explain the

development of poor countries in the mid-20th century. He began with the basic observation that the capitalist system rests on an exploitative relationship between the industrialized countries of the center and the developing countries of the periphery. For Baran, the functioning of a capitalist economy requires exchange relations that produce more rapid economic growth in one group of countries at the expense of development in the second group of countries. Thus, the functional relationship between development and underdevelopment is a necessary characteristic of capitalism. And it is in the interest of the rich countries to keep the global south

2.10 FRANK'S THEORY OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Frank's theory of Underdevelopment

Frank extended many of Baran's observations about the underdevelopment of poor countries, beginning with the assertion that the industrialized center realizes more relative gains in its economic relationships with the developing countries of the periphery. Instead, in Frank's view, development and underdevelopment are two interrelated parts of the international capitalist system, which is divided into the metropole of developed countries in the center and the LDCs of the periphery. The capitalist system binds together the economic and political fortunes of the core and periphery in an exploitative system of exchange. The very design of the capitalist system produces economic surplus that is drawn out of the periphery to enrich the metropole countries. To describe this dynamic, Frank coined the pithy phrase the development of underdevelopment. He even argued that this exploitative system replicated itself within developing countries, where industrialization can be found in the urban centers at the expense of the rural poor, who remain subjugated to the political and economic dominance of the urban elite.

2.11 WALLERSTEIN MODERN WORLD SYSTEM THEORY

Wallerstein propounded dependency model by dividing the world countries into three parts. The rich western countries are called as core. On the other extreme are very poor countries called as periphery and between the two extreme are group of somewhat developing countries that he calls as semi periphery. In the core countries there is capital accumulation which makes the core rich countries. On the other hand the core countries exploits the periphery using political and economic power.

The political systems of the semi-periphery allowed them to marginally resist the political power of the core and to capture some of the economic surplus that would otherwise be transferred out of their country. The addition of the semi-periphery also made Wallerstein's world capitalist system more closely reflect the economic and political development of countries in the mid-20th century, when a number of countries, such as Brazil, Korea, and Taiwan, had significant manufacturing sectors that competed with industries in the center. Modern World System theorists argue that the same dynamic capitalist forces that drive economic development in the core countries also produce underdevelopment in the countries of the periphery.

To do comparative analysis properly it is important to know the general logic or general principles of comparing and good comparative analysis requires researchers to be guided by basic principles. These principles are meant to ensure sound reasoning and valid conclusions based on valid comparisons. In comparative politics there are many logics or principles of comparative analysis, but perhaps the two simplest are known as most similar systems and most different/least similar systems.

Check your progress

What are the features of dependency theory?

2.12 MOST SIMILAR AND MOST DIFFERENT SYSTEM DESIGN

Comparative politics is the study of political events, processes and political institutions across different geographical and temporal dimensions. This essentially involves the use of case studies using proper methodological tools and techniques. One such method is the use of most similar and most different system design advanced by Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune. This is the difference between *most similar* and *most different* systems designs. The question here is how to select the cases for comparative analysis. Does one select cases that are apparently the most similar, or should the researcher attempt to select cases that are the most different? Further, like much of the other logic of comparative analysis, this logic can be applied to both quantitative and qualitative work

Theda Skocpol has argued for a most *different* systems design in her historical analysis of revolutions in France, Russia and China. In all these countries there were revolutions where the old regimes were overthrown and new political dispensation was installed. The question for that arises here is what was sufficiently common among those systems to produce political events that were essentially similar. Theda Skocpol has given structural reasons for cause of revolution in these countries.

In the most similar system design two cases can be compared that have several common variables but at least there should be one different variable otherwise there is no point in comparison because the two cases will be totally identical. There can be comparison between federal system of India and Canada as both countries have common features when it comes to federal polity but then differences arise when we study the federal features in context of the growth of political parties. Thus different analyst will use either of the methods depending on the cases that we are examining.

2.13 SUMMARY

In this chapter, we discussed the system theory which is used to understand the political process such as for eg. The impact of social dynamics on the political system. It provides a framework for scientific analysis of political process, that can be analyzed by understanding the set of interactions of "system". The next concept that was discussed was the structural - Functional methodological approach in which structures that are observable have certain functions that enable us to analyze the political process in politics.

The third approach is the dependency theory that provides a framework for understanding economic disparities between countries, causes of underdevelopment and inequality in a global system.

Lastly, the method of comparison was discussed. The question learned is what should be Criteria for choosing countries for comparison and further should most similar countries be chosen for comparison or most different countries be chosen. If the most similar countries are chosen one must specify what are the reasons for similarity. The topic thus describes three methods or tools for comparative political analysis.

2.14 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1 Explain the main features of system analysis.
Q.2 Critically examine the structural functional theory.
Q.3 Explain the significance of dependency theory.

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THE STATE: ITS NATURE, DEVELOPMENT AND FUNCTIONING: WELFARISM, CORPORATISM AND NEO CORPORATISM; CONSTITUTIONALISM: ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
 - 3.1.1 Nature and Development of State
 - 3.1.2 Nature of State in Socialist States
 - 3.1.3 People's Democracy as a Transitional State
 - 3.1.4 State in the Third World
- 3.2 Welfarism
- 3.3 Corporatism and Neo Corporatism
- 3.4 Constitutionalism
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Unit End Questions
- 3.7 References

3.0 OBJECTIVES

From following points students will able to understand

1. The Emergence and Development of State
2. The functioning of Welfare State, Corporatism and New Corporatism.
3. The concept of Constitutionalism

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of '**State**' assumes an important place in the subject of Political Science. It is not only desirable but also necessary to define it. However, there is no accepted definition of state. In the words of Professor Sidgwick, 'state is a political society or community, that is, a body of human beings deriving its corporate

unity from the fact that its members acknowledge permanent obedience to the same Government, which represents the society in any transactions that it may carry on as a body with other political societies'.

"The state is an association which, acting through law as promulgated by a Government endowed to this end with coercive power, maintains within a community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions of social order".

Thus from the above definitions, it can be derived that 'State' assumes the place of being the basic institution in study of politics.

In the realm of Comparative Politics, the characteristics and the changing nature of state needs to be studied from various perspectives namely, capitalist & socialist economics; Advanced Industrial and the developing societies.

Thus the evolution of 'State', in the words of Gettell, has led to following analysis:

1) As far as the aspect of organisation of 'State' is concerned, the evolution of state has been from simple to complex. The Government in the present times has become more complex and complicated than in earlier times.

2) The Evolution of State has meant 'the growth of political consciousness and purposeful action'. This is because state has not come into being through man's deliberate action, but largely due to natural causes. But in the process of evolution of state, man discovered reasons for its existence and modeled the state according to its ideals. Thus the state authority came to be based on a more rational and stable foundation. The spread of political consciousness among the people resulted in the formation of democracies.

3) As a general rule, the evolution of the state has meant the bringing together under a single state system, larger areas and greater numbers of people. Factors which contributed for the development of larger states are rapid means of transportations and communication, unprecedented economic development the growth of self-governing institutions and the increasing respect of modern man for law and order.

4) State development has resulted in the restriction of state power in some areas and corresponding increase of it in certain others. In early stages, religion and state evolved together. But in modern times, in all civilised countries the Church and the state are completely separate and distinct from each other. It is generally admitted that the state should not interfere in matters like domestic

life, and personal likes and dislikes as regards food, clothing, fashion etc., so long as such freedom is not contrary to public order and safety or laws of decency. At the same time, there is an increasing demand for state action in the sphere of public welfare that is, in fields like education, sanitation, care of defectives, punishment and prevention of crime etc.

5) In many ways, the most important has been the increasing measure of compromise which has been achieved between state sovereignty and individual liberty. However, modern totalitarian states are exception to the rule. In the early days, rigid enforcement of customs and despotic rule, were considered necessary to make the primitive man understand the importance of law and authority. But once this purpose was achieved, they became an obstacle to individual liberty and the unity of the state.

Thus a state is an institution that seeks to wield the majority of force within a territory, establishing order and deterring challenges from inside and out. In doing so, it provides security for its subjects by limiting the danger of external attack and internal crime and disorder - both of which are seen as threats to the state and its citizen.

3.1.1 Emergence of Modern State / Development of State :

Thus from the above analysis it becomes imperative to analyse the emergence of Modern State.

1) The Rise of Nationalism:

One of the prominent historical factors namely the rise of Nationalism and subsequently the Reformation period ushered the rise of Nation-State which assumed a dominant force during the modern times. The decay of feudalism vis-a-vis the rise of Nationalism provided a sort of unity among the people, who now began to think themselves as an entity in itself. For instance, Europeans no longer thought of themselves as Christians as in the medieval times but as Englishmen, Frenchmen and Spaniards.

Eventually, Europe which was earlier a Christendom of the middle ages became a continent of several sovereign National State, each pursuing its own interest and recognising no outer authority as superior. Thus the aspect of Nationality consciousness emerged firstly amongst English, later amongst the French and the Spanish people. Moreover, the growth of literature in English, French and Spanish languages was owing to the national spirit and the language of the people became the medium of education and literary thought. Thus Latin lost its primary place as the language of elite.

2) The Decay of Feudalism:

The decay of feudalism and disruptive political tendencies that went with it helped the growth of nation states. Royal absolutism strengthened the centralised authority of the government. For instance, in England, the Tudor kings put down the power of the feudal barons, abolished their special prerogatives and strengthened the authority of central government. The new rising commercial classes wanted peace and supported the Tudor kings in their efforts to restore order. The Tudor kings selected their administrators and political advisors from the rising middle classes which were dependent on them. All these factors contributed to the assertion of royal power and the strengthening of the central government over the entire kingdom. For the first time the central government exercised authority over the entire territory of England. There was no rival to the new centralised, absolute monarchy. Thus the growth of royal absolutism and nationalism helped to build the sovereign nation state.

3) The Impact of French Revolution:

The French Revolution was a great political cataclysm as far as Europe was concerned and it overturned the existing political order based on the legitimacy of monarchy. The French revolutionaries carried the message of popular democracy and nationalism to Central and East Europe. Napoleon unified Italy and created a German State excluding Prussia. As a consequence of the impact of French Revolution, movements for national unification arose in Italy and Germany and two new nation states, Italy and Hohenzollern Germany, came into existence.

Nationality consciousness grew amongst subject nationalities, like Czechs, Poles, Greeks, Serbs and Rumanians. The struggles for national freedom after the 1848 revolutionary movements in Europe resulted in the birth of new nation States of Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania and Serbia in East Europe. The First World War completed the process of formation of nation States on the basis of nationality principle. The application of President Wilson's principle of national self-determination destroyed the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and German empires. New States came into existence after 1919. They were Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Hungary.

4) The Development of the Democratic State in Europe:

The French Revolution destroyed the principle of royal legitimacy and enthroned the new principle of popular democracy. Rousseau's doctrine of popular sovereignty became part of the new democratic ideology that affected fundamentally the internal structure of the nation state. The State in West Europe became democratic, constitutional states. The doctrine of popular sovereignty became the informing principle of the political systems

in West Europe. Some states like Great Britain, were monarchial in form only but were in reality democratic, for the will of the people expressed in the general elections prevailed finally. As a result of the impact of the democratic teleology after the French Revolution, the old absolute monarchial state became democratic and constitutional.

5) The Impact of Industrial Revolution:

The Industrial Revolution that occurred first in England in the second of eighteenth century, transformed the internal social structure of the nation state. The old agrarian society now became the new industrial society. The distinguishing characteristic of this new society was its class structure.

Economic production became capitalist and society was divided into two classes of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat class consciousness now completed with national consciousness. But the division of in two opposed classes did not destroy the internal stability of the political structure of the nation state. For nationalism continued to provide a sense of unity among the people divided into classes. The class structure, though it introduced cleavages in the political system, was contained within the territorial boundaries of the nation-state and it unified the internal politics. In spite of the political cleavages caused by the class structure, the internal cohesion of the nation-state remained intact.

6) The Russian Revolution and the Birth of the Totalitarian State -Lenin's contribution:

The Russian Revolution under the leadership of Lenin was inspired by Marxist ideology. In 1918, the new 'Communist State' of Soviet Russia came into existence. The Communist Revolution was a fundamental one in the sense that the internal political and social organisation was based on the abolition of the capitalist structure of the society and the foundation of a new socialist order. Lenin organised the internal political structure of Soviet Russia on the basis of the totalitarian principle. Only one party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was permitted to rule and all opposition to its monopoly of power was crushed. Lenin established the one-party rule and set up the secret police (KGB) to weed out dissidents who refused to conform to the official ideology of the party. The identification between the party and the state was complete. Constitutional formalities cloaked the power of the party which, controlled by the politburo, was the decision making authority.

However totalitarian state gave way to socialist system.

3.1.2 Nature of State in Socialist States:

Socialist societies are those where the capitalist mode of production has been replaced by new mode of production based on

social ownership. These societies have come into existence as a result of overthrow of the capitalist state. This was achieved by the Marxist-Leninist Party which became the ruling party in the new socialist state so, the Marxist theory of state is important to the understanding of the nature of state in socialist societies.

Marx recommended a form of state which directly corresponded to "the essence of socialised man".

He called this system True Democracy in which the state, the law and the constitution were self-determined by the people.

Features of State in Socialist State:

The First and most potent feature of Soviet State is a socialist basis. The Soviet Union is a society in terms of its property relations and its economic system.

Economic planning of a socialist state is more direct and more comprehensive and its aim is the reconstruction of society into communist society through a series of long range plans.

The socialist state aim at the reconstruction of society on a socialist basis and then the eventual transformation of a socialist society into communism.

3.1.3 People's Democracy as a Transitional State:

The concept of people's democracy arose in connection with East European states which were established after the end of the Second World War. In all these nations which were at various stages of economic and political development, coalition regimes consisting of communist, socialist and liberal parties were established. They constituted the transitional forms of the state and their purpose was to bring about a 'democratic transformation of the social system and thus prepare the ground for the subsequent socialist state, which could then function as a dictatorship of the proletariat under the exclusive leadership of communist party. Within less than a decade, the transitional form of states defined people's democracy was transformed into the proletariat under the exclusive leadership of a communist party. The concept of people's democracy in Eastern Europe was pragmatic.

3.1.4 State in the Third World:

The Third World Countries were pre-capitalist societies. Unlike in Europe, there was no social revolution in Asia, also no feudalism or capitalism. There were only self-perpetuating village communities ruled by a despotic state bureaucracy. The European colonial intervention brought about the first social revolution in Asian and African Societies. The response to colonial rule was the

awakening of nationalities. Colonial Societies were gradually transformed into nation-states with under developed economies which combined pre-capitalist social relations with capitalist relation. Political sovereignty for the Afro-Asian States did not imply economic sovereignty for many of these nations.

The third World Countries, which were predominantly under developed economies, state played a major role in directing and regulating economic development. The generally promotes mixed economy with both private and public sectors. While in Brazil and India public sector accounts for about 25 percent of the economy, in other countries like Algeria and Egypt it accounts for 75 percent state's economic policies show a conflict between desire for integration based on self-sufficiency and external aid for development process. The state's dilemma is between strong internal regulation and moderate external regulation and ability to implement development schemes. An additional problem for the state is the difficulty in its capacity to control the richer classes within the country and in negotiating for better overseas arrangement in aid. There is a decline in terms of trade and balance of payment problem. The state has to choose between a variety of planning techniques as planning could be total, budgetary or project based.

Although the typical economy is based on the peasant sector and basic economic production is agricultural, the state policy stresses development and stress is laid upon heavy industry. The state desires lessening of the primary sector, promotes mechanisation of agriculture either on cooperative or capitalist basis and the success of the shift from a predominantly agrarian economy to an industrial society depends on the quality and efficiency of the state planning. The state tries to control growth in consumerism by following inflationary policies. In planning, the state has to rely on finances which are limited and variable. So it has to depend on foreign aid, credits and investments. The private sector's desire to maximise its short-run profit vitiates the results of long-run public sector planning. Frequent strikes by radical labour unions also affect production. Growth rate may be high in percentage but not in terms of per capita production.

The state has to deal with the problems created by the growth of middle-sized and metropolitan cities. The imbalance between cities and village has become acute. Traditional status differentiation is diminishing in urban areas and occupational mobility is increasing. The state promoted mass literacy as well as technical and scientific education with planning to integrate industrial needs into educational programmes. Despite lack of funds, the state facilitates the growth of mass media but tries to enforce conformity in opinions. High birth rate and a declining death

rate creates problems of rising population. In the words of C.B. Macpherson, the nationalist state of the Third World is democratic in its own distinct way. Most of the Third World countries (especially in Asia and Africa) have achieved independence from capitalist colonial rule only after a revolutionary struggle. These national revolutions are the result of an organised popular movement under a leadership which is able to get mass support for the national democratic ideal. The national democratic state of the Third World neither corresponds to the liberal democratic state of capitalist societies nor resembles the proletarian democratic state of the communist countries. As Macpherson points out, the national democratic state rejects the basic ideas of liberal individualism as well as the class analysis of Marx which constitutes the ideological basis of the other two varieties of democracy. Its own ideological basis is Rousseau's doctrine of general will and mass democracy. Thus the Vanguard party, representing the General Will of the Nation, pursues the two national goals of modernisation and socio-economic progress.

3.2 WELFARE STATE

Emergence of Welfare State :

For a long time, most states refrained from 'too much' social and economic intervention. But the trauma of the Great Depression of 1930s and the post war economic chaos of the late 1940s changed the traditional *laissez-faire* doctrines that were associated with emerging capitalism in many countries. Gradually democratic states accepted the idea that markets did not always function well and that government intervention was necessary to correct the market failures. States began to accept responsibility for the vulnerable. They developed what are called welfare states. The five goals of welfare states can be defined as 1) Reducing poverty 2) Promoting equality of opportunity 3) Promoting Individual autonomy 4) Promoting Social Stability 5) Promoting Social Integration.

Definition and Meaning :

States that accept the responsibility for the young and old, the sick and disabled and the unemployed and poor among their citizens are called 'welfare states.' In a welfare state the State takes responsibility for securing some basic modicum of welfare for its citizens. Different states have different approaches to welfare. Social security is also organised in very different ways in different countries. Countries like Denmark, The Netherlands, or Sweden have extensive programmes for welfare whereas countries like Japan, the UK, USA have restricted programmes. In some states like UK, USA, private sources play a more important role than others in providing social security.

Gosta Espring Anderson elaborated the points for distinguishing the various types of welfare states. According to him the basis for distinction of welfare states are entitlements to benefits, levels of support, degree of redistribution and success in reducing or reinforcing inequalities. Thus based on this distinction, Liberal Welfare Capitalism was found in UK, USA, Australia Canada. Modest benefits for low income groups. Conservative Welfare Capitalism was found in Austria, Germany, France. The other two types of distinction were Corporatism that relies on Trade Unions and business organisations for social security in which entitlements are linked to status and class and Social- democratic welfare capitalism in Scandinavian countries. In social- democratic welfare capitalism the goal is equality of highest standards not equality of minimum needs.

Welfare States organise their social security programmes in a variety of ways. They offer different entitlements with varying restrictions to different social groups and with varying obligations. They raise money to pay for services in different ways, some relying on general taxation, others on contribution to specific funds.

Theories of Welfare State :

The theories of welfare state explain how democratic states gradually came to accept responsibility for their young and old, sick and disabled, unemployed and poor. The social security systems are most often the source of serious social, political and economic conflict.

Conflict oriented approaches :

According to the work of political scientist Gosta Espring Anderson the historical role and position of labour movement was decisive, specially its resources and its ability to motivate workers to mobilize. Opposing social elites - capitalists, churches and politicians were forced to compromise on redistributive policies.

Functionalist explanation :

According to this view, social security differences between countries are mainly the result of different levels of socio economic development. The shift is made possible from modern industrial society to post industrial society through welfare mechanism. For example To enable coal mines and textile factories to be closed down by pensioning off miners and textile workers or retaining them for different jobs.

Institutional Approaches :

The idea is that more institutions are involved in policy making, the more difficult it is to create extensive social security arrangements.

States with complex federal structures are less developed than unitary states.

International & Transnational dependencies :

These explain the variety of social security system as a result of relations between states. For example forces of globalization force states to cut down on welfare expenditure.

3.3 CORPORATISM AND NEO CORPORATISM

Corporatism developed in the 1980s in west Europe as a method of managing economic growth. Corporatism is a way of organising public policy making involving the close co-operation of major economic interests with a formal government apparatus. Thus it consults the main economic groups so that they can jointly formulate and implement binding policies. There is close mutual dependency of state agencies and major economic interest groups. In Corporatist functioning of government the relationship between government and economic interest groups representing employers and workers are closely organised in formal government structures. Strong corporatism was found in Austria, Denmark, Luxemborg, Sweden, Norway. Weaker forms were found in Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, The Netherlands, Switzerland and West Germany. Trade unions and employer associations negotiate directly with state agencies about the formulation and execution of economic policies. Corporatism requires a small number of hierarchically organised peak association or umbrella to speak for their members. Such groups are licensed and recognised or even created by government. They have an ability to produce policies that are binding on all parties and implemented by them. Corporatism was strongest in the economic sphere where trade unions agreed to limit wage and other demands in return for full employment. Employers agreed to maintain full employment in return for industrial peace and co-operation. The government promised low inflation and social benefits in return for economic stability.

Corporatist approaches emerged (or reemerged) in the 1970's to analyse the distribution of power in liberal democracies. Corporatism stresses the incorporation of certain (largely economic) groups in society into decision making process. There are many different emphases among corporatist theorists, and none claim that it is a complete theory of the distribution of power, nor can it be applied to all political systems.

There are serious differences about the role of state in the various approaches. To some scholars, corporatism is merely 'a variety of pluralism'.

Most definitions of corporatism revolve around the broad cooperation of highly centralized business and labour organizations with the government in setting economic policy on the basis of a shared set of values and priorities. Typically corporatist negotiations take place behind closed doors. Neither political parties nor elected representations have much of a role in them. Rather, cabinet members and even more importantly high level 'civil servants serve as brokers to help the interest groups reach agreements, which are then accepted as binding by everyone involved.

3.4 CONSTITUTIONALISM

Constitutionalism is defined as government limited by the constitution/laws and the rule of law. In his book *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern*, Charles McIlwain says that Constitution is a conscious formulation by a people of its fundamental law which became prevalent after the first constitution of the federal United States of America in 1797. On the other hand the word constitutionalism was applied to substantive principles to be deduced from a nation's actual institutions and their development. This view is more akin to the United Kingdom where constitution was the result of historical process in which sovereign power of crown was transferred to the parliament by Act of Parliament. However laws of parliament in Britain are not Constitution as they can be amended by the parliament.

Old Constitutionalism and New Constitutionalism :

Constitutionalism in comparative politics is a part of study of 'institutions', structures (written documents, rules norms) which help us to understand the operations of the modern state. Institutions or laws, structures and formal systems of government impact and determine the functioning of the political system and the behaviour of political actors within it. Thus Institutionalism, Neo Institutionalism and Constitutionalism are important concepts in comparative politics. Old constitutionalism was legal, descriptive and historical in that it studied the formal legal documents rather than everyday politics. New Constitutionalism stressed on the tools and structures for Protection of citizen rights and the limitation of government powers. It emphasized the need for effective government action in a fast-changing world. Neo constitutionalism attempts to adapt the constitutional design of a country to its social and economic circumstances such as ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic cleavages.

Constitutions :

Constitutions are set of laws but they are very special laws. Constitutions specify the type of government whether federal or

unitary, parliamentary or presidential, Republic or Monarchy. Most constitutions fall into four main parts Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Institutions and offices of government and (procedure). The main features of Constitutions are

1. Fundamental Laws i.e. the political procedures to be followed in making laws. They are the supreme laws taking precedence over all other, and defining how all the others should be made.
2. Entrenched status – Constitutions have a special entrenched legal status. It states the conditions under which constitution itself can be changed.
3. Codified document that is written down often in a single document.
4. Allocation of powers – Constitutions define the relations between institutions and offices of state and between government and citizens.

Democratic Constitutions impose rules that are fair and impartial to all groups and interests in society and thus exercise limits on the government. This is done through incorporating the principles of Rule of Law, Transfer of power, Separation of powers, Relations between government and citizens. It also is Locus of sovereignty, establishes mechanism for Government accountability and is the Final arbiter in matters.

- Rule of law – According to A. V. Dicey the rule of law underlies constitutionalism. It is the underlying principle and idea of constitutionalism. The rule of law and not arbitrary rule of powerful is the hallmark.
- Transfer of power- Constitutions specify the conditions for how and when a government is to be elected, by whom and for how long.
- Separation of powers- Constitutions define the division of political powers that ensures check and balances are maintained by creating different institutions with different functions and powers.
- Relations between government and citizens- The Constitution defines the rights of people which are limits on the powers of government.
- Locus of sovereignty – The Constitution is ultimate authority to make and enforce law
- Government accountability - Constitutions pin down the mechanisms of government accountability to citizens.

- Final arbiter – The Constitution specifies the final arbiter of the meaning of Constitutions and how they may be changed.

The limits of Constitutionalism :

Constitutions are important legal documents, however they may not be followed to last detail or there may be other reasons why their effect gets limited.

- Constitutions may become unimportant simply because they are not observed by politicians in established democracies.
- They may be incomplete without details about political parties, electoral systems or other important aspects.
- They may require reference to other documents for interpretation such as Supreme Court Judgements, Conventions etc.
- They may be supported by conventions of UN or International Organisations that require complete support to be implemented.
- Constitutions may develop and change even if the documents do not.
- They may fail to cover exceptional circumstances
- They may fail due to revolution, military dictatorship, the failure of elites to abide by the rules etc.

Thus Constitutions are like a fortress that needs to be protected, accepted and practiced by the political elites. Democracy rests on far more than constitutional design, no matter how good this may be on paper.

3.5 SUMMARY/ CONCLUSION

States in developed and developing world rose as a result of several factors such as the Rise of Nationalism, the Decay of Feudalism, the Impact of the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, War and Capitalism. Likewise the functioning of State whether welfare or corporatist was the result of several historical factors and social and political processes. The study of States the similarities and difference in their forms of government and political institutions are the centre of study of comparative government and politics.

3.6 QUESTIONS

1. How did the State Emerge & Develop.
2. Discuss Welfare State.
3. Write a Note on Corporation.
4. What is constitutionalism and what are its limits.
5. Discuss New Institutionalism.

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PATTERNS OF POLITICAL CULTURE, SOCIALIZATION AND RECRUITMENT

Unit Structure :

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Political Socialization
- 4.3 Political Recruitment
- 4.4 Summary/ Conclusion
- 4.5 Unit End Questions

4.0 OBJECTIVES

1. To understand the concept of Political Culture.
2. To understand the process of Political Socialization
- 3) To understand the process of Political Recruitment

4.1 INTRODUCTION

People from a political unit—a state—come to share certain commonalities in political behaviour. They gain a certain set of political attitudes, beliefs, customs, practices and myths which come to shape them in general. This is known as political culture. It reflects not only the current behavioural patterns in the political structure, but also reflects what the system had been and how it worked traditionally. These shape ones perception to political developments and induce a particular type of action. One therefore finds considerable difference in the political cultures seen in various states.

Political culture is a dominant concept in any given scenario and determines the manner in which a people respond to a certain political development. It was first proposed as a concept by Gabriel Almond in 1956 and then came to be incorporated into the ideas propounded by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba in their work *The Civic Culture* (1963). They explain the manner in which the people and the political system mutually influence each other while comparing the political cultures in the US, Britain, West Germany, Italy and Mexico.

The concept is a complex set of issues behind the apparent simple explanation to the same. It then attempts to put together the political ideology, political psychology and the value system imbibed among the people over time. Political behaviour of the people in a system come to be aggregated in this concept and hence needs a careful understanding. It thus reflects a behavioural approach.

Political culture can effectively be reflected through the fact that despite being democracies, both the US and the UK have completely different sets of political attitudes and practices among others. The US is a republic which derives powers from a strong written constitution and which stands for individual rights and federalism. The UK is a constitutional monarchy with a hereditary nominal head of the state. Forms of government, political party system and electoral patterns vary drastically between the two states.

Features of Political Culture

Almond and Verba thus bring in a clear distinction based on three specific aspects of a political system. The extent and nature of 'deference' seen in a political system defines its culture. It reflects how submissive a people are to the person/s in authority. It would also define their standing in the political system and thus define the importance given to the people as well as to the 'superiority' or 'inferiority' acknowledged by them. Secondly, political culture comes to be determined by the level of 'consensus' in the system. This determines the relation shared by the government with the public. The acceptance, agreement and appeal that the government has with its people makes a significant difference in the nature of relation shared by them and the stability ensured in the long run. Thirdly, 'homogeneity' was considered as a contributor to the political culture. However, one finds homogeneity increasingly difficult to achieve in present day scenario anywhere in the world.

Political culture involves specific role or structure that is created for the legislature, executive and the role of bureaucracy. It also comprises of the incumbents whether they are monarchs, legislators or administrators. Public policies, decisions and enforcement of these decisions are also fundamental in the creation of a political culture. Thus one needs to identify the difference between political culture and the sum total or aggregate of individuals in the structure. The culture then stands out with its mutual orientation in the framework. Political culture is particularly important as they shape public opinion, perception and actions. It might vary from state to state and in certain cases within the state as well. But it remains more or less unchanged over a period of time with only incremental changes. It thus takes almost a generation to change the political culture of a particular place.

Comparative Study of Political Cultures

Almond and Verba in their seminal work analysed the political cultures in five different states and tried to identify which of the liberal democracies was more likely to develop and which is more stable. They based this on three pure types of political cultures: parochial, subject and participant.

Parochial Political Culture

Almond and Verba refer to people with low or no political understanding or tendency to participate in the processes and lack political consciousness as parochial political culture. They practically have no role to play in the political culture. The people may be unaware of the existence of government in power and are seemingly unaffected by the decisions taken by these governments. They are remotely located and thus lack political knowledge and inclination. It is largely identified with traditional political structures in African tribes and among Eskimos.

Subject Political Culture

Under Subject Political Culture, citizens are aware of the existence of a government. However they do not actively participate in the political process or see themselves as participants in the political structure. They are habituated to or trained into accepting the rules set out by the government in power. They are drilled into accepting the decisions of the government with little or no dissent. It is therefore a centralised system with an authoritarian inclination wherein the flow of information is usually unidirectional, i.e. top to bottom, irrespective of the ideas and aspirations of the people. The people accept the role of the government as regards legislation and their implementation. Tax imposition and collection also is singularly decided by the government. Although the people are aware of the presence of the government, their participation in the same is neither encouraged nor taken into consideration. This culture is usually found in monarchies and similar authoritarian political systems.

Participant Political Culture

This type of political culture and the people therein mutually affect each other. It involves the people in the system as keen participants who influence the working of the political system. Their aspirations and demands are conveyed to the system duly and those are taken into consideration during the decision-making process. Attitudes and behaviours are shaped to suit the participative process which comes through political parties, pressure groups and interest groups.

As mentioned earlier, political cultures settle down in a system and then change only incrementally. It takes great efforts to change the political attitudes and behaviour even slightly and takes

several years for significant changes to take place. One sees the position of minorities in various political cultures as an example to this. The approach towards the people in the societal margins, the rights provided to them and their actual access to them as also their participation in the political system are determined by the existing political culture. Racial profiling, caste-based discriminations, status of women and such other issues and practices which may have been addressed legally may still continue to be a part of the political culture even after several years. This increasingly becomes a challenge for nation-building activities in newly formed states or in places which are changing regimes or switching the nature of government. So switching from a dictatorship to democracy would not merely involve change of government but political attitude and behaviour of the people as well. The way people react to the government, their lack of enthusiasm in participating in governmental activities and their tendency to fall back into the submissive, obedient Subject political culture would all have to be overcome before one gradually switches to the new Participative political culture altogether. One realises that the actual societies would be varying combinations of these pure types.

Civic Culture

Almond and Verba then went on to propound a new set of ideas which would provide stability to the societies. Towards this end, they believe that in addition to the democratic principles, a system would be made stronger with the combination of principles taken from other political cultures. In such a system, they believe that majority of the people would participate in the political system. However, the minority which chose not to participate would be instrumental in providing political stability. This minority could be either those who subscribe to the Parochial political culture or Subject political culture or a combination of both. Under this political culture, people disagreeing with the decisions would then not refrain from obeying the decisions thus taken. As one can then observe that this would ensure political participation of the people as also provide the government with flexibility enough to implement policy matters.

The structural-functional approach in comparative studies looks at the role played by the institutions and the role assigned to each one of them. Gabriel Almond stated that there are differences in structures found in developed and developing countries across the world. But the structures usually performed nearly similar functions. For this comparison, Almond divided the functions of political system into input functions and output functions. Among the input functions are political socialisation and recruitment; interest articulation; interest aggregation and political communication. According to him the output functions are rule making, rule adjudication and rule application. One thus observes

that the government has a meagre role to play in the input functions. It is largely non-governmental efforts through various agencies that the input functions come through.

4.2 POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

People learn their ideas, ideologies and values over a period of time. In fact it is a lifelong process of learning and influence which could be through direct instructions or through indirect ways such as observation. These influences go on to shape an individual's thought process and the choices they make in the long run. One's family, education or schooling, peer groups and the media, among other sources play a formative role in this process as agents. It has been studied that through sociological, psychological and philosophical perspectives that attitudes, beliefs, behavioural patterns and value systems followed by an individual have been gained and gathered since early childhood. These continue to influence ones decisions in later years. This is the larger process of socialisation of which political socialisation is an element.

The study of political socialisation is an inter-disciplinary activity incorporating several methods of psychology, sociology, philosophy, anthropology and psychoanalysis. It is well-known that one gains effective knowledge through other non-political experiences as well. One then broadly defines political socialisation as a process by which political culture, attitudes, beliefs, values, norms and practices are passed on from generation to generation. The first systematic effort at studying this concept was made by H. H. Hyman with his work *Political Socialisation* (1959). One finds the process of socialising people quite evidently in the West. It is not as evident in the Third World though it does not mean that the process itself does not exist in these states.

Agents of Political Socialisation

These are individuals, groups or institutions which influence or teach values and norms within a culture. It is from them that one learns and imbibes the social and political structure and ones interaction with them. Primarily family, school and mass media form the core of political socialisation. These help in conveying subtle messages to the people in the culture and they in turn mutually get influenced as well.

Family

Family is an important source of political attitudes and behaviour. Ones ideas and inclination are shaped in a person's formative years which are largely spent at home in the presence of immediate family. The child may not be directly exposed to political inputs or training. There may be opinions which they overhear without express intent of influencing their thoughts. These informal

discussions at home create political awareness of and reactions to political figures. These may be influenced and shaped through later stages of socialisation and experiences. Party affiliations and voting patterns get influenced by the choices made by the family traditions in general. Young children also gain a sense of approval and admiration towards political figures sooner. Negative evaluations also at times begin early in life. Children might not have identical views as parents but have considerable attitudinal changes in the elementary years.

An individual's initial political ideas are framed are thus shaped within the family. One's degree of activity and involvement in politics gets formed at this stage. Later experiences have a more direct political implication on one's political choices ultimately. However predispositions and receptivity to particular types of political inclinations are already shaped by early experiences. Similarly the participation of children even in non-political decisions trains them towards their future roles as political participants. In fact the levels of political obedience and political obligation are decided by the early influences. The extent to which the family respects the government, its agencies and the laws and the civic-mindedness passes on from generation to generation. So while later developments replace the early learning with more realistic experiences it is necessary to understand that what was learned early in life is never completely forgotten and the residue remains in ones decisions. So the party identification and affiliation seen among voters in the USA is particularly seen in this perspective. The changing nature of family though, could lead to a reduced role as an agent of political socialisation in due course of time.

School

Schooling is also known to bring about major attitudinal change among children in their formative years. Studies have shown that elementary schooling may be overshadowed or supplemented by the influences of the family. Value formation is done in this early stage. Early schooling might not be directly influential for the political socialisation of the children as it only reinforces value systems being imbibed in the children at home. In the absence of schools though, family and other agents of socialisation (especially religious organisations) play a major role in influencing children with their political views in the long run. Children learn about the extent to which they are allowed to speak and express themselves and the amount of freedom they get in decision making which has a long term impact on their personality and approach given that it comes at a crucial developmental stage. Children have their first encounter with the idea of elections, voting, appointment and nominations at school. So a simple exercise of electing a class monitor could thus be a major influence at not only methods of political participation but also lessons in leadership and

amount of deference expected to the existing structure. As one grows, this process might get even more layered and intricate with student politics gaining major grounds and influence on the youth. In addition, children are taught pledges, anthems and political history in classrooms. The curriculum, methods of teaching and the subject matter crucially then influence the individual towards any political development in the past and reflects through their response much later in their lives as well. Extremely important lessons in critical thinking can thus come from schools. Curriculum reforms, grants and financial sources and other policies of the school affect the students. While this age is important for value systems to get imbibed, studies have shown that children do not have completely developed cognitive capacities. So high school is then taken as a major agent of political socialisation and for development of political attitudes.

Cognitive capacities of an individual usually start developing rapidly and are in a position to deal with political ideas as they approach high school. At this stage, schools expose them to subjects such as politics, civics and history as compulsorily subjects or as electives. Political knowledge and awareness increases in this process. Political attitudes may still be left to more agents of political socialisation. Class environment, interest shown in politics and knowledge gained in the process have a cumulative effect on the individual.

However, family and school do not by themselves dictate how a young individual would emerge as a political actor. There are several other agents of political socialization which have an amorphous influence on the young individuals. Adolescents and pre-adults are influenced by contemporary political developments as do the adults. Public opinion and their political inclination are known to reflect the same in due course of time. However, development and change do not stop at the pre-adult age. Adult attitudes also change with time and exposure to other agents of political socialisation.

Peer Groups

Among agents of socialisation, peer groups are known to exert massive influence over a young individual. However, one's group influences do not come across as strongly as the previous agents of socialisation. Peer groups might have common experiences which may affect the choices made by an individual. Political events have a major influence over the peer group inclination then. An event can trigger an increased political participation or awareness. In the US, studies have shown that the Great Depression influenced a set of people being born in these years and they practically came to be called the 'Depression generation'. One's response to issues such as racial discrimination

and profiling, caste based discrimination and the fear of one's rights being infringed by the state could have a major impact on peer groups and their response to the situation. Students' response to the Vietnam War was one such response to a political event which goes on to show that peer groups could be extremely influential.

Student politics and their participation in the activities of particular political parties could be more influential than groups defined generally. Peer groups formed on the basis of one's profession then have a much greater resonance than any other as policies and decisions come to be reflected through the repercussions on them. Teachers, bank employees, central government employees and such others then would have more in common within their respective professional groups in response to political decisions taken.

Mass Media

Mass media is increasingly our chief source of information. This could be the traditional print media or the increasing use of the Internet. It is in fact reaching a point wherein it could single-handedly replace a few agents of political socialisation. It is basically known to strengthen and supplement political attitudes which are otherwise being developed. Private news channels have emerged in recent years which have 24 hour coverage. Panel discussions, live coverage of a development and its analysis create a public opinion and provide a forum to discuss political issues. Women's security, education policies, increased substance abuse in a particular state and such other topics then come to the limelight. Through its programmes and advertisements, promotions and propaganda, mass media is known to be a major source of 'info-tainment'.

There has been an exponential growth in the access and use of the Internet. It is now one of the major sources of information and influence. Earlier, newspapers played a very important role in the political socialisation of an individual as they defined their thought process. The choice of newspapers and the nature of reportage determined the individual's political inclination. However one realises that the access of Internet over mobile phones has revolutionised one's access to information, knowledge and political socialisation. Short news services reflect news in a nutshell. Public opinion which was earlier built on nuanced political commentary can now be built in 140 characters.

Social media and one's direct access to political leaders and their thought and work process on a real time basis changes the ways in which one responds to political scenario. There is an increased commentary on political development and has thus shown a changed nature of political participation among people. Uploading live pictures and videos apart from blogs, tweets, memes

and trolls have had a major impact on the socialisation process. So, children and parents who may be influenced by the same media with similar news coverage could react differently due to mutual interpersonal influence.

Other Agents of Political Socialisation

Newer agents of political socialisation may have relegated some of the previous agents to the backdrop. But they have not completely substituted or replaced them. Literature is one such agent. Writings and speeches of leaders had a major impact on the people. Literature in general mobilised and played an instrumental role in structuring the thoughts among people reading it. It still continues to do so although the extent and outreach of the same might have undergone a change.

Religion is a personal choice and its practice entails a reflection of the political set up one lives in. The extent of freedom provided to people to exercise this right, the nature of organisations and associations allowed to be formed in the name of religion and the extent to which these work towards building a cadre base determine one's level of exposure to religion as an agent of socialisation. As mentioned earlier, in the absence of schooling religion plays a very important role in shaping an individual's political leaning.

In recent years then, one finds that youth across the world is increasingly vulnerable to the manoeuvring in the name of religion. Youth is keenly influenced by the ideas, are exposed to a systematic 'brainwashing' process by religious leaders and are mobilised even into anti-social and criminal activities. The capacity to generate religious fervour is increasingly controlled by the religious leaders and a cadre base is created to organise and implement the ideas thus set out. It is a personal and emotive issue which need not overlap with political agenda. However, a constant exposure to politically motivated hate speech, citing of victimisation at the hands of other religions and such other can have a major cascading effect on the political values learned by an individual.

It is evident then that these agents play a significant role in closely monitoring the way an individual responds to a political situation and the choices that one makes. But this kind of political socialisation in closed social units may not be adequate for the political activities which one needs to undertake in the future. Participation in civic and political activities then contributes significantly to one's experience and knowledge.

4.3 POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

As discussed earlier, political socialisation adjusts the people to the political system and culture. However, the process is carried

forward through the process of political recruitment. It is the process by which citizens are selected for involvement in politics. Members of the society from varied background could be inducted for specific and specialised roles in the political system. Inducted members are duly trained in skills required by the political system. Their cognitive skills are sharpened and they are prepared for duties to be assigned to them in their respective capacities.

The role of non-governmental agencies and organisations is again very important in this process. Political parties, pressure groups, think tanks recruit people and train them towards specific objectives and functions. Untrained common citizens are thus made suitable for taking up enhanced roles in the political system. The attempt at political recruitment aims at ensuring political stability. It thus trains and educates citizens and equips the political system to resist external and internal instabilities and threats.

Political parties are the most important mechanisms of political recruitment. They have been instrumental in affiliating or forming ideologies and building their thought process on those grounds. They have had targeted set of electorate which they try to cater to and mobilise. Affiliation with such political parties thus provides electorate with social identification. Over a period of time, it has been found that the hold of political parties over all these elements has shrunk. However they continue to have the responsibility of selecting candidates for the various posts and play an instrumental role in political mobility and mobilisation. The first point of entry into the work of a political party is called a 'trigger event'. It takes an individual beyond the role of voter. It involves political work which goes beyond the level of ordinary citizenship. It includes people accepting this work as a vocation with various opportunities coming up in the political structure.

Selection and Screening

Institutions use different methods of selection and screening candidates. Usually people *volunteer* into the jobs of their choice. They could also be *co-opted* to the various positions as per their calibre. Political parties are known to *mobilise* their support base to perform various tasks over a period of time. Important posts within the political party or institution could be *appointed* or *elected* keeping in mind the qualifications and requirements of the post in consideration. So this could be the post of a regional head, spokesperson or any specific representative. Some of the speculative methods to be used among peer group could be picking up the *lots* or even *rotation*. More systematic methods of political recruitment would then be selection of *interns* or *apprentices* or even *examinations*.

Among the more formal methods of political recruitment, elections are considered as important. These could be in the nature

of primary elections. However, one needs to discount the fact that the qualifications and capabilities of the contestants would be of secondary importance when compared with their personality and stand on emotive issues. The choice would then be rather based on the charisma of the individual than on their proven credentials. Their influence and proximity with the people in power could also determine their progress and rise in political standing.

Mobilisation is also a fairly important method of political recruitment. However it does not provide a strong institutional backing to the candidates in this process until they earn or secure positions that they are aspiring for. In addition to these, forcible seizure of office for e.g. through a coup d'état or purchase of office have also not been unknown in the annals of human history.

The process is elaborately worked out in the Western political structure. Even the Communist Party in China for that matter has a systematic screening before political recruitment on the basis of class origin of the candidate, their political attitude, political participation, clientelism and educational credentials.

4.4 SUMMARY/ CONCLUSION

Political culture is the peoples attitudes and behaviour towards the political system, background, and policy process. It explains that manner in which people and political system mutually influence each other. Political socialization is a process through which individuals learn political culture through interaction with agents of family, school, peer groups & mass media. Political recruitment is the process by which people are selected for involvement in order to study the character of political changes and political development in particular.

The study of political culture, political, socialization and recruitment were part of informal processes of politics that was laid emphasis upon by behaviouralists i.e. The Behaviouralists lay greater stress on study of inter group behaviour, informal process of politics and collective attitude of the people.

4.5 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) What is political culture? Discuss the relationship between political culture and political socialization.
- 2) What is political recruitment?



THEORIES OF POLITICAL MODERNIZATION, DEVELOPMENT AND DECAY

Unit Structure :

- 5.0 Objective
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Dimensions of Modernization
- 5.3 Political Modernization
- 5.4 Models of Political Modernization
- 5.5 Political Development
- 5.6 Models of Political Development
- 5.7 Summary
- 5.8 Unit end Questions
- 5.9 Select Bibliography

5.0 OBJECTIVE

- To understand modernization
- Meaning of Modernization
- Models of Political Modernization
- Meaning of Political Development
- Models of Political Development

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will explore the concept and theory of Political Modernization, Development and Decay. The word modernization came from the latin word *mod* which means just now. Modernity and modernization are interlinked yet separate terms. Modernity refers to the new phase inaugurated in the European continent and later spread to the rest of the world post renaissance movement. In general it was the beginning of new age when faith was replaced reason. The religious world view was replaced by secular outlook. Modernization basically refers to the process by which society transit from traditional society to modern society. The change happens at various levels viz. economic, social, political and cultural. Modernization is assumed as a linear and progressive form

of history where all society of the world will undergo similar transition of progress which European society has underwent.

5.2 DIMENSIONS OF MODERNIZATION

Some important normative values associated with modernization are as follows

Differentiation

The idea of differentiation was developed by Emile Durkhiem who argued that modernity bring specialized division of labour. As society become complex institutions also specializes and become interdependent. The same is seen in political arena. Modernization fragments social strata and no single class remains dominant. In political spheres like bureaucracy, administration, military, judiciary the people holding these positions do not belong to the same class.

Secularization

It refers to the process of rationalization of the society and individuals. People learn to make distinction between reason and faith, secular life and religious life. The German philosopher Max Weber stated that modern societies are marked by rational-legal authority. Bureaucracy is the epitome of such type of authority. Modern bureaucracies are based rules, impersonal power, rational goals and procedures. States make use of scientific and technological resources for achieving development of the society.

Cultural modernization

It refers to the large process of change in cultural aspects of the society when they undergo the process of modernization. Parson has used the term *pattern variables* to distinguish cultures of traditional and modern society. For instance modern society believes in universal values like citizenship, equality, liberty etc where members of the society identify themselves as citizens of a state whereas in traditional society member associated with caste, clan, kinship etc. In modern society status or achievement is based on education, expertise, training, skills etc whereas traditional society status depends on birth, caste or clan.

5.3 POLITICAL MODERNIZATION

Political Modernization

The concept of political modernization gained traction after World War II that was marked by beginning of cold war, ideological tussle between US and erstwhile USSR and decolonization process. After World War II ended the two super powers provided two models of development capitalist and communist models. In western countries especially United States intellectual were curious

to know what path the decolonized countries will tread. The world was divided in three parts viz *First world*. i.e western countries under US leadership who were following liberal democracy as form of political system and market economy as economic system, *Second World* were communist countries under USSR leadership following totalitarian political system and state controlled (communist) economic system, *Third World* referred to the decolonized states like India, Pakistan, Vietnam, Ghana, Brazil etc who were once colonies of western power.

Many western scholars were trying to understand what type of political models the third world countries were adopting and political modernization theories were trying to grasp the political realities of the third world. In other words liberal democracy became the bench mark of political system and political modernization was tool to understand how far or close the third world countries political system were on the scale of liberal democracy. Political modernization theories argued that the ultimate movement of states is towards western liberal democracy.

5.4 MODELS OF POLITICAL MODERNIZATION

Lets us understand some models of political modernization

Karl Deutsch's Social Mobilization model

Deutsch understands modernization in terms of mass behavior in politics. When society undergoes transition from agricultural to industrial society there is massive social mobilization on the societal scale due to processes like urbanization, education, exposure to information, economic resources. Social mobilization increases the pace of democratic participation as masses begin to demands goods, resources and values from the government. Social mobilization opens new channels of political communication between the masses and the state. For instance educated people rely on formal mass media like newspaper and television to understand the functioning of the state. Once mobilization takes place there is increase in the range of human needs like demands for jobs, health care, housing, schools, insurance etc. The state has to consider the demands of the masses and enact appropriate public policies to cater to the demands of the society. Sometimes mass mobilization can take violent forms of political participation like riots, civil unrest, strikes instead of peaceful participation through voting. Yet, Deutsch argues mass participation eventually leads to the path of democratic participation.

Seymour Lipset on Social Bases of Democracy

Lipset was also important advocate of political modernization. Lipset highlights the social and organization bases

for the success of democratic system. Industrialization, urbanization, education, wealth are prerequisites for democratic system. Lipset gives importance to economic development which paves way for democratic consolidation. In traditional society elite are limited in numbers who exercise control on the society. Traditional society have pyramid like social structure where elite are at the top and masses at the bottom. With economic development social structure becomes like diamond where middle class outnumbers the elites and the lower class. Lipset argues a large middle class guarantees democratic stability. In a society with large middle class the poor masses are less likely to get radicalize and elites are unable to consolidate power thus guaranteeing overall freedom and liberty. The participation of middle class in the political system provides stability to the democratic regime.

Almond and Verba on Cultural model

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba in their famous work *Civic Culture* explored cultural basis of democracy. They made comparative study of several countries and drew conclusion that societies have certain types of culture that moulds political behavior of the masses which further shapes the political system of the state. Almond and Verba identified three types of political culture that can be considered as *ideal types* to understand the different types of political regimes that exists in a given society. The first type is known as *parochial culture* found in traditional society. Societies bearing parochial political culture have poor notion of citizenship where local ethnic or tribal identities are strong to the extent that people rather think politically beyond their own local community. In parochial culture people are least affected by the decisions taken by the central government. Such culture is rarely seen in industrial democracies and is prevalent in societies that primarily agrarian.

The second type of political culture is called as *subject culture*. Such culture is mostly found in authoritarian or dictatorial regimes. Citizens have developed sense of universal nationalism in these states and identify themselves with the central government. However, the participation of citizens in the affairs of the state is low for two reasons. First, authoritarian states do not provide two way political communications channels between the state and the citizens. Citizens have to agree to the policies of the state unquestioningly. Second, the citizens may show complete trust in the leadership of the state and accept their decisions voluntarily.

The third type of political culture is *participant culture* found mostly in liberal democracy. Here people actively participate in the political affairs of the state. Liberal democracies are based on the principle of the consent, allowing the government to run on the constitutional principles that guarantees basic freedom and liberties to its citizens. Citizens have multiple avenues like voting, public

meetings, pressure groups, media, judiciary to participate in the affairs of the state.

Almond and Verba used the three types of culture to identify the levels of political modernization in western and non western world. For instance, they argued the different historical trajectories of political culture in UK and Germany to explain the rise of Nazism in Germany. Almond and Verba theory gives undue importance to culture in explaining the basis of political regimes.

Critic of Modernization theory

By 1970s modernization theory came under sharp criticism from various ideological schools.

Modernization theory took linear view of history and found direct relationship between economic or cultural factors in the development of democratic regimes. It was a very deterministic and Eurocentric way of looking at democracy. Przeworski in his comparative study of democratic states did not find correlation between democracy and development. According to him democracy was an outcome of people's action rather than conditions produced by economic development.

In the late 1970s several scholars from Latin American countries questioned the modernization theses. They developed dependency theory to counter modernization theory. The core argument of the dependency theory was global capitalism sponsored by western countries has divided the world into two spheres. One is the developed countries known as centre and the underdeveloped countries from African, Asian and Latin American region known as periphery. The centre and periphery share exploitative relation in which western countries have exploited the peripheral economies in such way that peripheral states have entered the phase of under development. Often western countries propped dictatorial regimes in the third world countries by suppressing popular movement fighting for democracy for economic reasons. For instance America supported military coup in Chile so that American economic interest in Chile remained safeguarded.

Another criticism came from Natural Resource Curse theory which raised question as to why countries endowed with natural resources like oil, gas, minerals etc have attained faster economic growth under stable dictatorship instead of becoming democratic. Terry Lynn Karl use the phrase 'paradox of plenty' to describe socio political situation of countries that have oil resources like Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Nigeria etc. These countries are flooded with petro dollars and hence politicians are not interested in developing other sectors of the economy. Further they provide tax free public

goods to their citizens as quid pro quo for not questioning the political authorities of the state. The western countries rely on oil for running the economic engine of their state. Hence they tolerate authoritarian regimes in countries like Saudi Arabia, Nigeria even if they crush civil liberties for sake of real politick.

5.5 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Political Development

As said earlier political modernization theory was linear model based on the assumption that modernization or development is moving in the direction of progress and the final destination of the progress is liberal democracy. This model assumption began to crumble in 1970s as recession began to hit in Latin American countries, similarly several Asian countries were buried under debts. There was growing unrest in third world countries due to factors like civil unrest, political instability, civil wars, ethnic tensions, rise of authoritarian leaders etc. The focus now shifted from *political process to political order*.

Political order began to look at modernization process critically by refusing to make clear demarcation like modern and traditional or secular or religious or backward or progressive. It began to consider political system as made of interdependent variables like political, economic, cultural, social etc that are inter linked to each other. The system is dynamic and tries to attain equilibrium by responding to changes happening at political, cultural, economic and social levels. The system is put under strain when new elements are added hence it is important that the institutions that make the system remain strong and durable. The institutions must have capacity to absorb new pressures and functions efficiently. If institutions fail the repercussions are felt on the system. For instance modernization process increases social mobility due to industrialization and urbanization. As people began to participate in politics new institutions should be created to cater to the needs of the people. For instance democracy grants voting rights to people. This requires regular conduct of elections, issuing voter ID cards to eligible citizens, registration of political parties, trained personnel to conduct actual elections, open media to play as watch dog etc. Suppose large segment of population remains unregistered there can be eruption of civil unrest. Similarly if elections are rigged there can be riots. If incumbent government refuses to vacate power than independent judiciary is required to rapped the government. All this shows that in system institutions have to work in tandem. If one institution fails it can paralyze the entire system.

5.6 MODELS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Samuel Huntington on political Development

So political order is the study of the functioning of political institutions and its dynamic relation to the environment. The notion of political order was major theme in the work of American political scientist Samuel Huntington. He wrote a book *Political Order in changing societies*. Huntington defines political development as 'institutionalization of political organization and procedures'. The term institutionalization means how a institution entrenches itself in the society by means of norms, laws, procedures, practices etc. For instance election commission of India is highly institutionalized body because its orders are obeyed by the political class where as in Pakistan the military is more institutionalized. According to Huntington institutionalization depends on several factors. First is the adaptability of institutions. It is the capacity of the institutions to respond to changes happening in the environment. Every institution is created in certain kind of environment when new changes occur the institution must learn to change itself. For instance, earlier women were not given political representation but after suffragette movement women's demand was accepted. Hence legislature and executive must make space for women as political representative. Second is the complexity factor. The more complex the organization the more it is institutionalized. An institution must be capable of performing multiple tasks simultaneously otherwise it cannot meet the challenges of modern time. For instance the Prime Minister Nehru cabinet was composed of fifteen ministers whereas Narendra Modi's cabinet has thirty ministers. It shows central executive has become more complex with changing times. The third factor is autonomy. Political institutions must be differentiated and independent of other institutions. For instance the separation of judiciary from legislature or executive is essential for democratic system. Such separation ensures durability of the democratic state. The fourth factor is coherence. Political institutions must have internal unity. They cannot remain fragmented from inside otherwise there is propensity to implode.

Huntington explored the interlinks between political institutionalization and political mobilization. Political mobilization is caused by the process of modernization and is seen in the forms of greater participation of public in the political process like voting in elections, growing number of political parties, pressure groups etc. With the growth of technology new modes of political communication may develop like radio and television which makes the citizens more politically conscious. The overall impact of political mobilization is on institutionalization process. Huntington argues that political institutions of the third world country lacked the capability to meet the challenges of political mobilization. The strain on the institution weakens the institution or paralyzes it. This break

down in the internal coherence of the institution is called as political decay by Huntington. According to Huntington rise of military coups, civil unrest, breakdown of political parties, ethnic tensions are manifestation of political decay. Hence Huntington warns that third world countries should limit the avenues of political participation.

Lucian Pye on Political Development

Lucian Pye is another political scientist who has explored the theme of political development. Pye also believes political order is often confused with modernization theory. Although political development is linked to the process of modernization the former is distinctive process and has trajectory of its own. Lucian Pye describes some of the features of political development.

The first feature is attitude towards equality. Political equality implies universality of law whereby law does not artificially discriminate people on basis of race, caste, religion etc. Political offices must be open to all and recruitment to such offices must be on the basis of general achievement and not on ascriptive identities. For instance India has social diversity but the constitution does deny political offices on the basis of religion or caste whereas Sri Lanka systematically excluded the Tamil minorities from the political landscape through legislation.

The second feature of political development is the capacity of the political system. It refers to the efficiency of the system in terms of input and output functions. Inputs are demands from the public in general like demands for new schools, hospitals, jobs. Output refers to the policies and infrastructure created by the state to satisfy the demands of the citizens. This requires efficient bureaucracy, fine communication channels between government and bureaucracy, implantation of policies in given time limit etc. If the institutions lack capacity to fulfill the demands there will be unrest in the society.

The third feature is differentiation and specialization. Differentiation is the division of labour in the political institutions and functional specificity. In simple terms there are different departments in the bureaucracy to perform different tasks like defence, education, justice, housing, communication etc. The department work independently and gain specialization in their field. So both differentiation and specialization are requirements of the modernity.

5.7 SUMMARY

Political Development & Modernization was the urge for development and socio-political reforms that was part of the movement for political freedom of developing countries of Asia and Africa in the 1960s. Several political scientists such as Lucian Pye, F.W. Riggs, Eisenstadt, David Apte, J.P. Nett sought to elaborate and define the concept of Political Development based on their understanding of the concept. Political Modernization and Development are distinct terms, while political modernization lays shows on spreading of secular world culture and democratization of Political institution the Political Development lays emphasis on the overall socio-economic development.

5.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- Q.1 Explain the meaning and dimensions of modernization
Q.2 Discuss the various models of Political modernization
Q.3 Analyze the meaning and models of political development

5.9 SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ELITES, CLASSES AND MASSES - PLURALIST, ELITIST, MARXIST, CONSOCIATIONALIST PERSPECTIVES

Unit Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Pluralist Perspective
- 6.3 Elitist Perspective
- 6.4 Consociationalist Perspective
- 6.5 Marxist Perspective
- 6.6 Summary
- 6.7 Unit End Questions

6.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand pluralist perspective of political system.
- 2) To understand concept of Elites.
- 3) To understand distribution of power with respect to elites.
- 4) To understand consociationalist perspective of political system.
- 5) To understand the Marxist-perspective of political system.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Political commentators have taken various viewpoints to the study of power and politics in a state. Political systems and their behaviour come to be defined accordingly. Increased comprehensiveness, precision of study, use of scientific methods in the field of comparative politics have brought about substantial changes to the way in which the subject is looked at. Researchers believe that political structures, governmental and non-governmental agencies have an impact on the political processes of all other states as well.

6.2 PLURALIST PERSPECTIVE

Pluralism is the theory in which power is understood to be spread and shared throughout society and institutions. Among the developers of this theory were Arnold Rose, Peter Bentley, Talcott Parsons, Robert Dahl and Neil Smelser. The theory explains that a political system is governed not by the people as a whole but a multitude of groups therein. Politics and decision-making is largely the role assigned to the governmental agencies. However, several non-governmental agencies and institutions play a critical role in both, the decision making as also its nature of implementation. These institutions then include unions and associations which work for the rights of workers, professionals, environment, civil rights, among other issues. These also include various lobbies functional in the system to extend the interests of businesses and financial issues. There could be alliances, coalitions and joint ventures which may also play a very crucial role in the working of the system. Each of these would evidently exert influence and try to maximise their interests. These overall, influence decisions taken by the government and shape the laws and policies thus being framed. Several studies then understand politics as a contest among such competing interest groups.

Direct democracy comes with inherent limitations. It is extremely difficult to ensure that every citizen participates in the decision making process. The working of policies would also demand their continuous participation in overseeing their working as also the expertise in the process. This cannot be ensured among common citizens. So some pluralists believed that direct democracy was unfeasible. With the reasons cited here, they believed that it was even undesirable. Some pluralists even believe that common people lack the qualities such as reason, intelligence and patience that are required to participate in direct democracy. So in such a situation, they believe that direct democracy would in fact be counter-productive and extremely detrimental to the system.

Pluralists also question the actual working of representative democracy as against its theoretical working. There are several reasons for the same. Firstly citizens vote for representatives rather than policies and alternatives proposed. So there is a chance that they may approve of a candidate and elect him/her but not necessarily agree with their subsequent policy choices as well. So the voters could either be fractured on the basis of the policy stance taken by the candidates in the run up to the elections. It may be that the voters want a particular person to be their representative but do not at all approve of his/her stand on certain issues. So in addition to the fact that a person may be voted into office for one's own work and stance, it is always possible that voters may not approve of the opponent's view point and may vote against him/her.

Then again, representatives are not brought to their offices with a majority of votes but with a plurality of votes cast. This could be much less than the ideal numbers required to be called a 'majority' support. So the pluralists do not believe that common voters or even their representatives by themselves frame or affect policies.

According to pluralist thinkers, public policies are a product of competition among various groups. This may mean that there are fewer people involved in the process of influencing the decisions and policies. Changes in taxation, taking a military action against another nation, entering into treaties or basic implementation of laws exhibits the legitimate coercive power that lies with the state.

The extent of power with people or groups of people is determined by the resources under their control. The command over these resources can establish the control over people and gains their respect and obedience. This could range from legitimate authority invested in individuals, their charisma, expertise and experience in a particular field among others. Pluralists then believe not in physical power alone but also the power that flows from different sources. They also believe that there is potential as well as actual power.

Actual power refers to the ability of an individual to compel or force someone to comply by one's wishes. Potential power refers to the possibility of turning resources into actual power. Money, charisma, public support, expertise of some kind is potential power till it can be put to actual use. The power with an individual can then be determined by the effective use of these resources at one's disposal.

Pluralist theorists believe that: (1) resources and therefore potential power are widely scattered throughout the society; (2) at least some resources are available to nearly everyone and (3) at any time the amount of potential power exceeds the amount of actual power. However, power is known to be situational and relative. So there is no all-powerful individual or group in all situations. An individual or group may be more powerful than others given a particular situation. So while one set of lobbies could be powerful in influencing a particular policy, it might have no say in the other. So the extent to which the power can be exercised defines the standing of the groups in decision making processes. It is then possible to identify actual power holders by keeping track of the influence they have had in the policy concerned.

Characteristics of Pluralism

Pluralists observe that the political system is not usually dominated by single elite. Multiple small groups have a say or

influence the policies in their own ways. These could be large or small groups that are organised as well as funded or otherwise as well. Of these, a few could definitely have a greater influence than the others. It is also possible that these groups could be restricted to certain areas or sectors such as defence, pharmaceuticals or finance.

These groups are more or less politically autonomous. They can work independently of the political allegiance with the extent of control they have over certain resources and assets. The independence is of particular importance in a society with multiple competing groups as it provides conducive atmosphere for their working.

This competition is also crucial to a system as it ensures that no single group or faction can gain undue importance or power. The power of one group cancels that of the other and a general balance is maintained. Individuals are members of multiple groups simultaneously. This reduces the level of conflicts among groups and helps bring a better sense of cooperation among them.

Again, these groups can be extraneously influenced as well. Groups generally recruit members from diverse backgrounds in the society. At the same time it is possible that existing groups could be reorganised and new groups could be formed with changes in resources held by the groups or threats faced by them or their interests or groups. Emerging political, legal and administrative actions could also have an impact in organising groups or their reaction to the same. So equality of political opportunity is significant for pluralists as they help in mobilising resources.

These groups and aspirants to political posts constantly work towards gaining public acceptance and support. As mentioned earlier, pluralists believe that masses cannot effectively govern themselves and need groups for the same. However, public opinion by itself is then utilised as resources by the groups. So even in systems run as democracies, it is basically groups which have extended their causes and gained the support of the people. The extent to which they have gained this acceptance determines who governs through the electoral process. Political propaganda, advertising and systematic political surveys are thus justified in aligning more people to the groups. The choice of leaders made by the public also exhibits such inclination and explains the competition faced during electoral processes.

Pluralism works on the basic agreement of all groups on how the system works. There is a general concurrence on democratic principles and the value systems thereof. Periodic and open elections, political rights, presence of diverse opinions and

accepting the results of elections make it possible for the political system to function smoothly.

Given these characteristics, the American government is usually considered to be pluralist in nature.

6.3 ELITIST PERSPECTIVE

The concept of 'elites' is based on the notion that every society holds a ruling minority. It is a group that controls majority of the power resources. In the process they may dispute and compete for power over these resources as well. So elitism does not get restricted to political set up alone but gets extended to power relations in the market and civil society as well. Its origins lie in the writings of Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto and Robert Michels. These writers are usually considered as 'classical elitists'.

Classical elitists principally believe in the notion of 'elite inevitability'. They believe that any regime or government was impossible to run unless it was in the hands of the elite. This notion directly conflicts both democracy as well as socialism. It believed that one group of elites could only be replaced by another set of elites. This means that they believe that the majority of masses are necessarily ruled by a small minority. This idea was propounded by Pareto in his 'law of elite circulation', Mosca in his 'notion of political class' and Michels in his 'iron law of oligarchy'.

The Concept of Elites

Classical elitists usually defined elites through their personal attributes such as capacity, personality and skills. Pareto— influenced by Machiavelli—categorised elites as lion and fox. Those categorised as lion were those who dominated by sheer force. On the other hand, those termed as fox worked on domination through their persuasion and other skills. Mosca believed in elites drawn on the basis of material conditions and their intellectual and moral superiority.

A small segment of people hold positions of power in a nation. They have the authority to run major political, economic, legal, and other institutions. They control a large proportion of any nation's resources and assets. So the working of government and politics is far different than that specified by the pluralists. While pluralists believe in a large set of groups competing with each other to have control over resources and to influence those in power, elitists believe that the small fraction of people at the top of the power pyramid decide for the rest of the population. The next stratum of people in the power pyramid would be people participating in the political processes in various ways. The base of the pyramid would be the common people who do not have any

power in the major decision making processes. So a single set of elites at the top of the pyramid decides for a nation. Minor, less important matters would then be delegated to the others. This could be criticised for inequality and an unjust distribution of power at the outset.

Characteristics of the Elite

Usually the governing elite are drawn from higher ranks of political, corporate and military offices. This forms a very small fraction of the population and is a rather closed group. However, it is wrong to assume that they manipulate all political developments for their own vested interests at all times. Most often, elitists are found to uphold the civil and political rights and liberties of the people they decide for. They usually work by the constitutional conventions and as far as possible there is a smooth and transparent execution of power among them. Elitism should not in any way mean dictatorship or oppressive police state. Most often the members belong to a certain privileged socio-economic background and have had better opportunities in life than the rest of the population. However one does not rule out the chances of people working through the ranks and reaching higher levels and thus being a part of this elite group. So the elite work with the shared set of value systems and hold control over a major set of resources and assets that lead to their power in the government, finances and other social and cultural institutions.

The elite then have the capacity to take decisions which affect the lives of majority of the masses. Unemployment, inflation, subsidies, treaties among other decisions are taken in this manner. Corporate heads wield as much power in policy making as the expert bureaucrats as the decisions are bound to have impact on their companies. The nature of companies functioning in the nation or region could define the education and health policies and other priorities as well. People in the higher ranks in politics, business and military work in close contact with each other. They flourish that way more than they would individually. This is particularly so if they have a shared ideology and outlook.

One sees differences of opinions arising among the elite as well. So observers conclude that there is no single elite but a multiplicity of elites. However they also believe that these differences are far less than the general agreement they have on overall issues. They broadly have common value systems, beliefs and approaches which shape their perceptions in a certain common way. These are particularly so because they have access to and are socialised at the same premiere educational institutions, hold memberships to the same clubs and religious and other institutions along with similar internships and training and beginnings in professional life. The common lifestyle actually bonds them

together. Through their professional lives then, a commonality is built and a unity of thought gradually emerges to the extent that they start reacting to situations and scenarios in nearly similar ways.

A major point of agreement then is that the elite would primarily make the climate conducive for the businesses to thrive and towards the growth of the economy. Social welfare and the other requirements of the society would only follow the economic cause. So once they enter public service their world view is more or less similar and agreeable among themselves. It is difficult to shed this initial experience and this then gets projected to their public lives and decisions as well.

Distribution of Political Power

Even public policies are stratified or arranged as per their significance. Some are extremely critical decisions which affect the nation's budget as also the long-term choices made by it. So these need to be taken with great amount of responsibility. Secondary policies are then worked out on the basis of these critical policy decisions. The critical policies are drawn up by the highest rung of the elite. Their implementation is looked after by the next rung of elite. The middle level elite is usually kept in the public eye and media attention and are instrumental in ensuring that the policies are conveyed suitably to the people to elicit their approval and support. This would ensure their re-election.

Unlike pluralist perspective then, the elitists believe that the checks and balances and influences are exerted by a relatively small group of people. All others have their agenda predetermined for them.

Under elitist theory then, the common people are reduced to passive spectators. They can display their approval or dissatisfaction regarding the policies. However these might not necessarily affect the implementation or adjustment of policies. Over the years then, citizens tend to be alienated and estranged from the participative process. The increased public inertia then further adds to the concentration of power in the hands of the elite. In an elitist system, the higher ranks would take up campaigns to gain public support to their policies but then not take efforts to encourage mass participation to avoid any uncertainty in the system.

For example a foreign policy is one such crucial policy framed by the elite in the system which determines many other domestic policies in the country. The common people do not have a say in the making of the foreign policy of a country or the stand taken by the government in favour or against any other country. Citizenship, visa policies then are affected severely and the citizens

cannot influence the same. Legislatures, with people's representatives are also seen to only discuss these matters than positively being in a position to influence the said policies. So the participation of the people has been reduced to symbolic importance and are not fundamentally the drivers of the policies.

6.4 CONSOCIATIONALIST PERSPECTIVE

Traditionally, democracy was run on the basis of majoritarian opinion. So one then believed that a consensus was built and that the people were generally agreeable on all issues. In a majoritarian democracy, one saw that the minority groups were 'integrated' in the decisions and their differences and uniqueness could have been lost in the process. However, one studies deeply diverse societies. These comprise of distinct ethnic, religious, national or linguistic groups with none of these groups large enough to form a majority. In this case, not taking their outlook and experiences into consideration in the governance process leaves them unrepresented and dissatisfied. When one is not a part of the decision making process, implementation of the rules could come across as an imposition leading to increased chances of conflicts. It is therefore important to ensure that collective minority rights are granted, their voices and opinions are heard and taken seriously and their existence is acknowledged.

Diverse groups therefore need a form of democracy which regulates and stabilises them as per the requirements of the diversity in groups. Consociationalism is such a form of democracy that works towards sharing of power among dissimilar groups in a society. It allocates collective rights to these groups. The political power is assigned through proportional representation, veto rights and a certain amount of autonomy for minority groups.

Characteristics of Consociationalism

Political Scientist Arend Lijphart discussed consociationalism from the experiences gathered from the Netherlands. He identified four key characteristics of consociational democracies.

Consociationalism works towards sharing power among various diverse groups. This helps in gaining governmental stability as more groups are involved in the decision making process. Democracy survives through better agreement than and avoidable conflicts can be dealt with in their initial stages. So it is vital to have a coalition with leaders representing all significant segments of the society with a similar presence in the cabinet. A *grand coalition* is thus created with elites of each segment of society coming together to participate in the governance process. They do this with a clear understanding that their non-cooperation could be detrimental to the country.

Usually minority groups are incapable of overturning or successfully refusing the decisions taken by the majority. Blocking another group's policy ideas could mean that the other groups could pose challenges in one's policy proposals as well. A *mutual veto* was thus necessary wherein groups within the state would have the right to veto the government's decision making. It would only be possible to overcome thus through mutual agreement among all groups in the executive.

In order to ensure that the voices of all sections of population are heard, Consociationalist system stands for *proportional representation*. It enables groups to be a part of the state's decision-making process to the proportion that they are a part of the population.

In order to ensure a sense of individuality and yet a sense of belongingness to a given country, diverse groups need flexibility to follow culture specific laws. It thus provides a possibility for self-rule within the boundaries of the state and reduces the chances of a feeling of imposition of unidentifiable laws over varied groups of people.

Consociational democracies are usually found in Europe. Switzerland (since 1943), Belgium (since 1918), Austria (1945-1966) and the Netherlands (1917-1967) are examples of consociational democracies. Executive powers are shared among members of different national groups with a formula worked out for the convenience of the state. It has been observed that consociationalism has ended not because of its failure but rather because of its successful working which made such provisions unnecessary.

6.5 MARXIST PERSPECTIVE

Marxian philosophy typifies power relations as manifestations of class domination rather than a socio-political structure. They relate issues such as identity, domination and antagonism with reference to class domination. They place power relations primarily in relation with production, control over resources and hence the state, intellectual hegemony and other issues. They believe that these structural relations are unstable and temporary and are bound to undergo change due to a continuous struggle for class domination, against oppression and resistance. Writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky and Gramsci among others bring together this perspective.

Marx related the individual with the society one belonged to. It was believed that it was the society which provided the individual with the identity. The ideology believes that society had always

been formed with classes which have always been in conflict with each other for supremacy over means of production. Class domination has been a historical process where the dominant class attempted to maintain and extend their power in society while the other class would make efforts to overthrow these shackles.

According to Marx, politics, economics, culture and ideology are all inseparably interwoven. The forces of production at a particular stage of historical development determine the relations of production and thus characterise the society. He believed that the legal and political institutions are based on the economic structure. Marx emphasised materialistic interpretation of history. He stated that the capitalists controlled the means of production and distribution and thus controlled the political and social structure as well. The stress on economic aspect of life was clearly evident for all dimensions of human life.

Characteristics of Marxist Perspective

Marx believed that power was primarily influenced by the class domination. The idea that followed was that politics came to be influenced by the fallout of such a continuous struggle. Marx believed that existing patterns of class domination could be overthrown only through political revolution.

State was thus central to Marxist analyses with reference to class power in general and political power in particular. State is then seen to be responsible for maintaining the overall structural integration and social cohesion of a society divided into classes. Power relations then come to be defined on the basis of production and labour process.

Distribution of power between the capitalists and the labour classes has been the primary reason for antagonism and conflict. The importance of the state increases since it helps market forces secure all the conditions needed for capital accumulation and helps to underwrite and compensate for market failure. It is then a force that enables organisation of collective interests therein. The state then also looks after the repercussions of all actions of class domination.

There are three main Marxist approaches to the state: instrumentalist, structuralist, and 'strategic-relational'. Instrumentalists see the state mainly as a neutral tool for exercising political power: whichever class controls this tool can use it to advance its own interests. Structuralists argue that who controls the state is irrelevant because it embodies a prior bias towards capital and against the subaltern classes. Strategic-relational theorists argue that state power is a form-determined condensation of the balance of class forces in struggle.

Marx's original theory was quite focussed on the internal dynamics of individual societies rather than international affairs. It was subsequent commentators and thinkers especially Lenin who brought it to the international level in the 20th century.

6.5 SUMMARY

The Elitist, Pluralist, Consociationalist, Marxist theory are used to study distribution of power and their impact in the political system. They were also useful to study political attitudes and behaviour shaped by elites in society. Likewise political attitudes and behaviour can be studied from Marxist perspective as well.

The debate as to whether power is concentrated in hands of ruling class or elite on whether it is more widely distributed between competing elites is of crucial importance, since the approach of the political scientist will be coloured by the ideological assumptions implicit in the perspectives.

6.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. What is pluralist perspective
2. What are characteristics of pluralistic perspective of power
3. Evaluate the elitist perspective of power
4. Evaluate the consociationalist perspective of power
5. Describe Marxist Approach to political power



THEORIES OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION : ROLE OF LEADERSHIP, PARTIES, INTEREST GROUP AND PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS.

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Political Participation
- 7.3 Political Parties
- 7.4 Interest groups or Pressure groups
- 7.5 Social Movements / People's Movements
- 7.6 Conclusion / summary
- 7.7 Unit End Questions

7.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the idea of Political Participation.
- 2) To grasp the role of parties, and Interest groups in providing for political participation.
- 3) To understand people's movements and its role in political participation.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The Behavioural analysis for the study of Comparative Politics has advanced from the realm of 'state' to the more comprehensive field of 'political system' and 'the political process'. And hence government still remains the major thrust of any such analytical venture. It is most certainly not the sole concern of students of comparative government and politics since it constitutes only a part of the political system, but as one of the oldest and most nearly universal human institutions, an active force in the forming of economic, social and environmental conditions in the modern world, and a positive agent in the direction of public affairs, government, along with the other informal and unofficial agencies,

is the most vital component of the political system that allocates values in a society. As a very special kind of organisation, its nature, role and operation become the principal subject of study in the discipline of political science.

The term 'Government' has been used in different senses. First, it may denote the activity or the process of governing. Second, it may mean the state of affairs consisting of the activity or process, or a condition of ordered rule. Third, it may refer to a particular aggregate of people and institutions that make and enforce the law for a particular society. Finally, it may denote the manner, method or system in which a given society is governed. Thus it may include both authorities and their regularised pattern of behaviour. In its broad connotation as the political authority in a political system, government makes binding rules, formulates and implements policies, settles civil disputes, and uses coercion when its authority or that of its binding rules is challenged. Members of the political community accept the decisions as binding, either because they acknowledge the authority, or from fear of sanctions, both.

In modern on text, government has become integrally connected with politics. Politics is the making of decisions by public means. It refers to the process of decision-making about public actions or good, about who gets what, when and how. Government stresses the result of this process in terms of control and self-control of the community. The distinction between politics and government is that between getting and controlling. Politics and government refers to a single complex of activities from different but over lapping perspectives. Both politics and government need specific institutions, organisations channels and procedures to operate. Irrespective of its forms, a government has to fulfill certain basic tasks. It has to keep the nation alive, guarding its independence and preserving its cohesion. It has to receive political demands, convert these demands into author it alive rules and enforce these rules effectively and sucessfully. In order to fulfill these basic tasks, a government has to employ some basic tools like articulation and aggression of interests, co-ercion and compromise and so on. This involves the art of governing or the governing process. However, the governing process is meaningless without political participation. Thus it becomes imperative to analyse the aspect of political participation.

7.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:

Political participation is the opportunity for large number of citizens to participate in politics and is a pre-requisite for democracy. It concerns the manner in which citizens interact with government. Through active participation in government citizens try

to convey their needs to the public officials in the hope of having their needs met. In the 4th Century BC Aristotle in his politics classified political systems based on two principles – one, the number of people who participate in making political decisions and two, whether the system was guided by good or by perverted ends.

Legislators, chief executives and judges are all important participants in the policy process. political participation is not limited to the elected and appointed officials. Most people participate in government and politics to some extent. While understanding political participations political scientists make a distinction between conventional and unconventional methods of participation. Conventional methods are those which are more common and accepted while unconventional one less ordinary and sometimes view as less acceptable.

As discussed earlier, the most common form of political participation is the act of voting. Besides, voting, other conventional form of political participation include working in a political campaign, joining with others to solve local problems and attempting to influence political leaders on matters of personal concern.

Sometimes governments do not wait for citizens to approach them with their problems. Instead, governments take the initiative to invite comments from the public on a variety of matters. Some of these methods are public hearing where citizens are given a chance to express their views on the issue for which the public hearing is conducted, by inviting comments from public bodies, non-governmental interest groups etc. Sometimes, some governments even establish citizen advisory boards so that they can provide the inputs necessary for taking policy decisions.

Unconventional Forms of Participation :-

There are also unconventional forms of participation which include activities like protests, civil disobedience and political violence. Protests include boycotts and demonstrations. Civil disobedience involves intentional efforts to be arrested in order to draw attention to a cause. So this is a more extreme form of political participation than a simple protest. The most radical form of political participation is politically motivated violence. This includes bombings, assassinations, riots etc.

However, the most appropriate form of political participation is through voting and elections.

Participation Voting and Elections :

Participation is central to liberal Democracy. It is difficult to imagine a regime as democratic, if people say no to politics. Of the

many ways in which democratic participation can be expressed, one of the most basic is voting and elections. Voting and elections allows the public to have control over their public officials and policies through a process of competition in which leaders can be turned out of office. Elections are not the only way in which the public can influence the official they may also rely on lobbying, letter-writing, or public demonstrations, for instance, but they are an important structure in which people are given a say in the staffing and direction of government, and thereby in the relationship between freedom and equality. Elections also prevent any one individual or group from maintaining its power indefinitely, and such as they limit the possibilities for leaders to abuse their power.

In a true democracy, the right to vote, or suffrage, needs to be open to all adult citizens, with few restrictions. In many democracies up until the latter half of the twentieth century, women, individuals from lower classes and certain ethnic groups were not allowed to vote something that would no longer be considered acceptable in a democracy. New Zealand was the first country to give Right to vote to women in 1893; but in united states of America Women did not gain the right till 1920 and in France not until 1944. In Australia, restrictions on the rights of indigenous aboriginal people to vote lasted until the 1960s. In the United States literacy tests as a pre-requisite to voting rights were used as a mechanism to discriminate against African, Americans, who had little access to education. At the opposite end of the spectrum, some countries view suffrage as more than a right is a formal responsibility. In Australia, Belgium, Brazil, and a number of democratic countries, voting is actually compulsory and those who fail to vote can be fined.

Beyond the basic right to vote is the more complicated question of how votes should be cast and counted. Electoral systems are thus the rules that decide how votes are cast, counted and translated into seats in a legislature, and these systems vary widely around the globe/world. Such systems matter for how electoral rules are constructed makes a huge distribution of political power.

Differences in electoral systems affect which individuals or parties gain power and even the degree to which people vote.

All democracies divide their population up into a number of electoral boundaries or constituencies that are allocated a certain number of legislative seats. The total number of constituencies may vary widely. Norway is broken up into 19 constituencies that correspond to the country's 19 counties, where as in the United States there are 435 constituencies for elections to the House of Representatives. Thus voting forms an important part of the whole election process and political participation.

Efforts to Measure Political Participation :-

Political scientists are interested in factors associated with political participation. There are several studies on both conventional and unconventional forms of participation. Most of these studies agree to the fact that factors like age, income and education are related to political participation.

Sidney Verba, Norman D Palmer, as they reported in 'Participation and Political Equality' (1978) using surveys, conducted in the late 1960 and early 1970s to compare modes of participation in Austria, India, Japan, The Netherlands, Nigeria, The United States and Yugoslavia. Their analysis identified similar modes of participation in all the seven countries and their more recent analyses have found them in other countries as well.

A study of unconventional political acts is difficult because surveys designed to evaluate them may in some cases may have to ask respondents whether they have engaged in certain illegal activities. To overcome this problem, Samuel H. Barnes, Max Kaase and their colleagues developed a measure of what they called 'Protest Potential'. In the mid-1970s they conducted surveys in Austria, Great Britain, West Germany, The Netherlands and the United States. In all the five countries they found high levels of protest potential among the young. Follow up studies between 1979-81 in the Netherlands, West Germany and the United States confirmed their earlier findings. Another basic finding of Barnes, Kasse and their colleagues was that a belief in certain values contributes to unconventional forms of political participation. They found that people who valued economic stability and physical security, labeled as materialists and preferred conventional methods of political participation. They found that people who valued economic stability and physical security, labeled as materialists preferred conventional methods of political participation. Those who valued freedom and self-expression labeled as post materialists approved unconventional political participation. Europeans identified as having materialists values had low levels of protest potential, while those who are called us post materialists had relatively high level of protest potential. Further, post materialists were generally better educated, and social they were more likely to have the political skills to use new forms of political participation. Thus political participation is a critical aspect of any system of government, especially democratic ones. Without such participation and involvement, it would be very difficult for any government to discern and fulfill the needs of public.

7.3 POLITICAL PARTIES

In a political system of modern times, political parties are among the most important organisation. They are social much a

part of today's political scene that they play a major role in formation of governments. They exist in some form in modern polity. The party system is based on the maxim that the masses must participate in the political affairs of the country as much as possible. In a political system, parties do not exist in isolation from each other, if there is more than one party. They interact and patterns of those interactions constitute the party system.

Political parties are originated as a product of the democratic revolution in the late 19th century. They developed in three ways.

- 1) As associations of like-minded representatives in legislature who formed parliamentary parties, to co-ordinate their activities.
- 2) As electoral associations in constituencies to support particular candidates for election to legislature.
- 3) As extra-parliamentary and revolutionary organisations to achieve parliamentary representation or to overthrow a particular regime.

The party system can be of three types one party system found in China and other communist nations; or two party-system found in Britain and U.S.A.; or multi-party system found in India and France. Thus political parties are groups or organisations that seek to place candidates in office under a specific label. It represents mass representation and mass participation.

Giovanni Sartori has, therefore, advised us to include the following kinds of parties in the study of party system.

- 1) Witness parties, those uninterested in maximising votes.
- 2) Ideological parties, those interested in votes primarily via indoctrination.
- 3) Responsible parties, which do not submit policies to maximising votes.
- 4) Responsive parties, for which winning elections of maximising votes take priority and
- 5) Purely demagogic, irresponsible parties, which are only vote maximisers.

Functions of Political Parties :

Political parties provide a link between the government and its people. They seek to educate, instruct and activate the electorate. That is, they perform the job of political mobilisation, secularisation and recruitment. In a liberal-democratic system, the parties use means of mass-media to give political education to the people. The parties may organise and control some unions or

organisations for the purpose of, what S. Henning and J. Pindar call, 'occupational and social implantation.

2) While increasing the scope of political activity and widening popular participation, political parties perform the important function of recruiting political leaders. Men in authority are recruited by some channel. In political systems having weak and ill-organised political parties, power remains in the hands of the elites that are recruited from traditional groups like hereditary ruling families or military organisation. However, it is only in countries having a liberal-democratic order that competitive party system prevails and political recruitment is made from different political parties.

3) The parties unite, simplify and stabilise the political process. They bring together sectional interests, overcome geographical distance and provide coherence to sometimes divisive government structures. The American Democratic Party provides a bridge to bring together the southern conservatives & northern liberals.

4) Political parties struggle for capturing power they strive to form order out of chaos. They seek to widen the interest they represent and harmonise these interests with each other. Though the function of interest articulation is performed by the pressure groups, the work of interest aggregation is done by political parties.

5) Political parties present issue & they set value goals for the society. All parties have philosophical bases, no matter how blurred and no matter how divorced from the actual political behaviour of the party they are.

6) Political parties, in the newer and developing nations of the world where political habits and traditions are yet to grow up, political party or parties does or do the job of political modernisation. That is, they strive to give a particular shape to the government, provide the main link between different social and economic groups, constitute the chief agency for political education and socialisation break down traditional barriers and act the binding force in communities divided by groups based on tribal affiliations, religious domination or national origin. The role of congress party in India may be said to be the best example of this type where the great leaders have played a monumental part in the framing of the constitution and running the government on the lines of parliamentary democracy.

7.4 INTEREST GROUPS OR PRESSURE GROUPS

The term 'Pressure Group' and 'Interest Group' are often used inter changeably as many scholars advocate that there exists no real difference between the two. They are called interest groups

because the basis of organisation of each group is shared and the common interests of the members who believe that these interests can be secured through their collective efforts in the group. These are called Pressure Groups because the means that these groups use for securing their interests are pressure tactics. Each group tries to secure and promote its interests by putting pressure on the government-legislature, executive, bureaucracy and judiciary and upon the political parties, particularly the party in power or the majority party and the society at large. Thus interest groups play an important role in the governance in modern democracies. A pressure group is also an interest group which seeks to promote the interests of its members through external inducement. It does not seek political power directly but may have a political character to become effective.

Commonly called 'lobby' in the U.S.A., it has a mixed image. A pressure group is generally an association of person with some common economic or other interests who try to influence government action is legislation or administration or judicial decision.

The lobby in America is known for using all sorts of means – fair and foul – to induce political offices to do what it wants. It is a typical pressure groups exerting influence on law making.

Whenever, there are many political parties, a number of pressure groups also get into party politics. The extent of influence of pressure groups also related to the working of the party system in a country. There is much difference in the way pressure groups influence parties and governments in Britain, America and India.

Business, labour and farmer pressure groups have been the major actors in the political scene in England and European countries. Veterans lobby is also influential in the U.S. that takes up the problems related to the elderly. The working force generally is not united in any country. In the U.S. there are differences within but on matters of union interests, flight for legislations is carried on unitedly. On the whole, American labour unions are not as active as Europeans collective bargaining is their main objective.

Labour unions in India are affiliated with some political parties. INTUC, AITUC and CITU work as national unions while regional parties generally have their own labour wings. (ask and communal based pressure groups are active both in state and national politics. Similar is the situation in France, Italy, Germany, Belgium and Britain where unions openly affiliate with political parties. However, in the politics of these countries, it is American unions that rely much more on pressure group politics than European Unions. Labour is more politically bent in Europe and the

multiparty system, gives much scope for unions to dominate certain parties.

One may be a member of more than one pressure group like farmers joining farmer's organisation / association, dairy association and livestock organisations in the U.S. or a caste organisation and a trade Union in India. There are in many countries reform groups and welfare associations to lobby for the interests of particular groups. Women's organisations form an important pressure group in many countries that have been instrumented in getting legislations, policies and programmes to improve the status of women and to remove some of their problems. There are instances of violent direct action of pressure groups to force government response. Farm strikes were common in Europe that have forced governments to reverse their policies. Currently in India, direct action has become a powerful weapon of organised groups. It is said that the USA has over a century experience with lobbies, and lobbies cannot be eliminated. A scholar observes that minority groups arose to obtain from the government legislative action that they could not get through political parties. Lobbying has become part of the American. Political system / representative system. Pressure groups even hire professional lobbyists and conduct vigorous recruiting campaigns to increase their strength. They also adopt various methods to publicise their stand like public meetings, writings and publishing and resort to providing gifts and entertainment in the U.S.A. as a part of their activities. Lobbies, however are not tightly organised very often pressure groups professing to represent similar interests fight among themselves. Split in their pressure groups is common in India.

It is difficult to measure the influence of pressure groups. In India, the chamber of commerce, the farmers associations, caste organisations etc. play a conspicuous part in the political process. At different levels of electoral process – nomination, canvassing, campaigning, allotment of ministries and other posts, etc. the direct role of pressure groups can be seen.

Pressure / Interest groups has undergone many changes since its beginning. In the Middle Ages, in European Countries. In the Middle Ages, in European Countries, the different classes like merchants, mobility, clergy etc. played their special role and had some independence in their affairs. In some cases, guilds elected their leaders and controlled elections of local representatives to the House of Commons, Radical Movements and revolution destroyed estates and merchant grouping and ushered in individualism. Monopolies appeared followed by communism and syndicalism which advocated decentralisation and workers control of economy. Later professional interests arose to determine public interest. The

rise of oligopoly, that is control of bulk of productive resources of an industry by some huge firms and partial monopolies resulted in experiments such as corporation in Italy and a political institutions could not be acceptable to governments. In some localities in the U.S. politics played by such group interest has come to wield enormous influence.

Thus from the above analysis, it can be derived that pressure groups play an important part in influencing public opinion in the policy making process.

7.5 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS / PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS

Termed as 'Central Social Conflicts' by Alain Touraine; as 'New Democratic Struggle' by Chantal Mouffe, 'Popular Movements' by Alvarez, Escobar and Brodwin, or 'Alternative Struggles', by Rajni Kothari, denote the collective efforts of the people to demand equality and social justice in democratic and humanitarian national and international order. They reflect the struggle of the people in defense of their social, cultural and symbolic identities as well as their heritage, according to Ranjit Singh in 'Social Movements' – Old and New – A post-Modernist Critique.

Social conflicts are as old as human collective life and social movements have their century old history. The cluster of freeman and slaves in ancient Greece and Rome, feudal lords and serfs in the middle ages and workers and capitalists (exploiters and the exploited) in the modern age. A Marxist may treat them as class war, a student of liberal political sociology as struggle for defence of their rights, for the redressal of wrongs or maintenance of their social, cultural and symbolic identities. In recent times they came to be known as 'New Social Movements'.

They denote grass root politics, if micro-movements of small groups targeting 'civil society' and seeking democratisation of structures of everyday life. They mostly focus on 'common action' and 'collective identity'. A social movement's commitment to change and the *raison d'être* of its organisations are founded upon the conscious volition, normative commitment to the movement's aims or beliefs and active participation on the part of members. Diverse views on the nature and purpose of these movements are given by political thinkers. Their aim is said to be to establishing their identity, a struggle for 'identity politics' (Michael Foucault). Anthony Giddens compares it to a panoramic struggle as part of the life of the people and call it 'life politics'.

Alain Touraine sees it as product of post-industrial society and a situation 'beyond social movements' Alberto Mellucci cites ten Theses about their nature and role which A. G. Frank and Marta

Fuentes present their nine Theses. The essential components of Melhaci and Frank are –

i) They have one thing in common – individual mobilisation through a sense of morality and injustice and social power through social mobilisation against deprivation and for the sake of survival and identity.

ii) The strength and importance of social movements is cyclical and related to big political, economic and related to big political, economic and ideological cycles. When the conditions change they tend to disappear.

iii) The movements are not bound with any particular ideology. They cut across social classes and desire autonomy. Fight for power is not their immediate objective, though it is a distant goal. They are more defensive than offensive.

iv) These struggles overlap in terms of the membership and have conditional relations with each other.

v) These movements aim at bringing about a new kind of society, in which both the state and the society have their legitimate spheres. In this respect they act as agents of social and political transformation. They behave like of exponents of human quest for identity, autonomy and recognition. So Touraine takes them as ‘normatively oriented interactions between adversaries with conflicting interpretations opposed societal models of shared cultural field.

The objectives of such movements range from narrow or local or regional to national, transnational and international or even global. The movements of the dalits (depressed people) or tribals may have a local or regional characters and that of the racists or he human rights activists, feminists and environmentalists have a global character. Hence it is pointed out, “the structure of new social movements is characterised by plurality of pursuit, purposes, goals and orientations and by the heterogeneity of their social buses.” But they all have a common feature in the fact that they look like developments from below, that is, they are like subaltern occurrences.

Hence Social Movements are directed towards human needs, the movements take up issues involving social justice, human rights, environmental protection, universal disarmament, world peace, feminism, cultural pluralism etc. encompassing what is described as ‘cultural dimensions of dominations’.

Theories of Such Movements :-

Several thinkers have not only explained the objectives of these movements, their range of operations, although differing in their views from one another in some aspects.

Ideological Neutrality Theory :-

Unlike the old movements against exploitative and coercive trends in society even class conflicts, the new movements are against rigid lines or parameters of ideology. The affected include besides the victims, all the service minded people from any section of the population. Claus off holds that they belong to the new middle class and the movements are diverse in character.

Rationality – based Resource Mobilisation Theory.

All movements for change involve a new perspective a redefinition of existing beliefs and values. Beginning with a few they grow in number with those having the new perceptions. Maucur Olson and William Gamson pointed out that the new movements are based on changes in resources and opportunities of collective action. Mobilisation depends on advanced techniques. The stress of the movement is in new benefits to members. The movement does not include world crusaders as for feminism, environmentalism, human rights etc. meant for the general good.

7.6 CONCLUSION / SUMMARY

Politically active groups mediate between citizens and government by aggregating and articulating political interest. Politically inactive groups help to integrate and stabilize society permitting democratic government to operate effectively. The ways in which pressure groups work and the influence they exercise are determined by the nature of the groups, their issue (s) and political and governmental environment in which they operate.

7.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Write a note on Political Participation.
- 2) What are popular Movements? Explain with examples from India and the world.
- 3) Discuss Interest groups / Pressure groups.



POLITICAL CONFLICT AND CO- OPERATION: FUNCTIONALIST AND DIALECTIC PERSPECTIVES

Unit Structure

- 8.0 Objective
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Functionalism of Talcott Parson
- 8.3 Social Capital and Democracy
- 8.4 Conflict Theories
- 8.5 Marxist Theories of Conflict
- 8.6 Gramsci's theory of Hegemony
- 8.7 Miliband's Instrumentalism
- 8.8 Poluntaz's Structuralism
- 8.9 Power Resources theory
- 8.10 Hardt and Negri on Empire
- 8.11 Summary
- 8.12 Unit End Questions
- 8.13 Select Bibliography

8.1 OBJECTIVE

- To understand meaning of functionalism
- To understand Talcott Parson's Functionalism
- To comprehend Robert Putnam's Social Capital

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Functionalist theories of Cooperation:

In politics there is interplay of conflicts and cooperation and analyst try to construct theories that explain the patterns of conflicts and cooperation in societies. Two important approaches are the functionalist and conflict ordiaractive perspective .The former argues that state is like a system and the units of the system developed cooperation and on the other hand conflict perspective

contends there are structural reasons that give rise to conflicts in society.

Functionalism

Functionalism is an important approach used to explain why cooperation persists in a society. This approach developed primarily in the discipline of sociology and was used by some thinkers in the realm of politics. Some of the pioneers were Durkheim and Talcott Parson. It was used by political thinkers like Gabriel Almond, James Coleman, and Lucian Pye etc.

Functionalism views society as a system which is made of interrelated parts and these parts interact with each other. Every part performs some function to meet the functional needs of the society. These functions help to maintain the stability of the system. Functional analysis focused on the question as to how system is maintained. They say that institutions have positive functions to perform and help in keeping the society intact.

8.2 TALCOTT PARSON

Talcott Parson has made important contribution to functionalism. Parson's main concern was how social order is possible in a given society. He observes that social life is characterized by mutual advantage and peaceful cooperation. Parson argues that commitment to common values provides basis for order in society. The commitment to common values is known as Value Consensus. Values provide a general conception of what is desirable or undesirable. And from common values common goals are derived. Goals provide direction in specific situation. Further roles provide the means whereby values and goals are translated into action. For instance in parliamentary democracy Prime Minister has a specific role. The content of roles is structured in terms of norms which act as guidelines. It brings standardized role. When values and roles are in conformity social equilibrium is attained. Parson outlines four functional prerequisites to attain social equilibrium.

Functional Prerequisites

1. Adaptation refers to the relationship between the system and the environment. It is important to have some kind of control over the system. Government building infrastructure like dams is an example of adaption.

2. Goal Attainment refers to the need for all societies to set some goals and move to achieve those goals. The planning Commission of India sets the goals for coming five years and allocates resources to achieve the goals.

3. Integration refers to the adjustment of conflicts that arise in society. The law is the main institutions that meet the needs. Laws define the relations between the individuals and institutions and minimize the possibility of conflict between them. If conflict arises then mechanisms like police or judiciary should be in place to resolve the issues.

4. Pattern Maintenance is the process by which the institutions and values persists for a long time. Parsons says that educational institutions, family and religious institutions play important role in pattern maintenance.

Parson perceives social change as evolutionary from simple to more complex society. The complexities of modern society are due to social differentiation. Parson held pluralistic view of politics. According to him politics is part of the larger social system. Modern societies are characterized by functional specialization and collectivities. The polity of a society depends on the latter for its survival. The associational life in the society makes the functioning of democracy feasible. Political system aims to achieve collective goals by mobilizing the collective resources by making the decisions binding on the society. Parson's rejects the elitist view and states that power is dispersed in the society and it the capacity of the system to achieve the collective goals of the society. Parsons focused on the conditions for sustaining an effective democratic polity. These included not only support from the societal community but also legitimation of the powers of government and control of basic facilities. More generally, Parsons represented these conditions as part of a set of exchanges between the polity or goal-attainment subsystem and the integrative, pattern-maintenance, and adaptive subsystems, respectively.

Almond and Coleman have used functionalist approach for political analysis. Theory main theme is political system tends to move towards equilibrium. The basic unit of Almond's political system is role. In Almond's theory political integration is attained by the used or threat of use of legitimate force. Almond says that political system has three characteristics interdependence, existence of boundaries and comprehensiveness. Further he provides list of input and output functions that must be performed by all political system. Almond says functions play important role in maintaining stability of the system.

In his work *The Civil Sphere*, Jeffrey Alexander has used neo functionalist approach to explain how contemporary societies are held together by social solidarity. He argues that there is an underlying consensus in American society that democracy is sacred, and that it must be protected from profane counter - democratic persons, events, and activities. The civil sphere is

organized around cultural codes that maintain this fundamental binary opposition and which are available, and invariably drawn on, when concrete political disputes arise. The civil sphere exists alongside other spheres in differentiated societies, as a solidarity sphere, in which a certain kind of universalizing community comes to be culturally defined and to some degree institutionally enforced.

8.3 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND DEMOCRACY

Robert Putnam is one of the leading theorists who have used functionalist approach to explain how solidarity is built or erodes in the society. His theory is famously known as *Social Capital*. Putnam defines social capital as 'connection among individuals- social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them'. In the context of state it refers to the level of civic participation which fosters solidarity among the members of the society and increases the overall level of trust in the society. A civic engagement refers to variety of activities like participating in the elections, community service, participating in political meetings etc. In modern societies development of dense network of social capital provides stability in the society as the sources of conflicts get minimized when members of the community are constantly involved with each other. Putnam says societies with high level of voluntary associations help in strengthening democracy. Voluntary associations that bring different social groups are crucial for the development of democratic attitudes, such as trust, reciprocity and satisfaction with democracy, and for democratic behaviour, such as civic engagement, voting and membership of parties. The social trust and the personal and organizational networks that groups create are what make up the social capital on which democracy rests. Voluntary organizations teach the political skills of a democracy – how to organize, how to run meetings, how to compromise and how to work and cooperate with others for collective goals. Putnam's research on Italy and the USA suggests that economic success and democratic stability is rooted in networks of voluntary associations. Democratic malaise like falling election turnout and party membership, declining trust in politicians and government institutions, cheating on taxes, political fear and cynicism) is caused by a decline in the voluntary organizations that generate social capital.

8.4 CONFLICT THEORIES

Conflict theories emphasize the importance of social cleavages generating social conflict that in turn account for political outcomes, including momentary political events, more enduring policies, and long-lasting political institutions. It is useful to distinguish two major strands of conflict theory according to the

kinds of social cleavages they emphasize as well as the historic role that conflict plays in them. First is the Marxist theory which emphasize the role of material basis for political conflict and other non-Marxist theories which state the role of non-material factors in causing conflicts.

8.5 MARXIST THEORIES OF CONFLICT

In the analysis of Marx the state and politics belong to the social superstructure that is determined by the economic base, in particular the relations of production, that is, the class structure. On the whole, however, Marx and Engels clearly took a more categorical view as famously expressed in the *The Communist Manifesto*, "Political power, properly so called, is merely the organizing power of one class for suppressing another and the executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie". Both of them did not share the view that democracy and capitalism can co exist with each other and working class with the organized power of political parties and franchise will be able to transform capitalism. They believed that contradictions of capitalism in the end will result in worldwide communist revolution and in the end classless society will emerge. In communist society all there will be no place for conflicts.

8.6 GRAMSCI'S THEORY OF HEGEMONY

Gramsci's distinctiveness and enduring significance lies in his attempt to incorporate human subjectivity as a dynamic agent within the Marxist philosophy of history. Gramsci's main concern was how conflicts in the capitalist system are handled at the level of superstructure. Gramsci divided the superstructure into two parts: political society and civil society. The part of political society included other institutions like police, army and the legal system. The other part is civil society which includes church, schools, mass media and political parties, civic organizations etc. Gramsci says state is sum of civil and political society. The central question for Gramsci is what makes the capitalist system to perpetuate with all the ills of exploitation. The key to Gramsci's theoretical toolbox is the concept of **hegemony**. With this he demonstrated that a dominant class, in order to maintain its supremacy, must succeed in presenting its own moral, political and cultural values as societal norms; thereby constructing an ideologically-engendered framework that will be accepted by the entire population. Gramsci's main focus was civil society which includes disparate institutions of the society like family, church, schools etc. that performs the functions of spreading the values of capitalism. Due to the role of civil society the working class fails to realize how they are exploited

by the capitalist. Thus in Gramsci understanding in the western countries the state does not use direct force to seek compliance of the working class. This class conflicts are subjugated by imposing capitalist values on the working class in a subtle way. Yet Gramsci argues that since exploitation is real toiling masses will agitate against capitalism and it will be responsibility of intellectuals and political party to provide moral leadership to the exploited masses. Further Gramsci says in advanced western countries masses have to be organized at multiple level to bring revolutionary change.

8.7 MILIBAND'S INSTRUMENTALISM

Ralph Miliband has propounded the theory of Instrumentalist state to explain how state is able to resolve the conflict that arises in the society. Citing a mass of British empirical data on the social class origins and sociopolitical values of the top officials in all branches of government, the judiciary, as well as the educational system and the mass media and even religion, Miliband concludes that the British capitalist class has a firm grip on all levels of public power, as well as on the institutions of opinion formation and legitimation. As a result, Miliband argues, the capitalist class exercises a decided degree of power, enabling it to block any reform that seriously undermines its long term interests. The state, in other words, is an instrument of capitalist power. Miliband uses the concept of legitimation to explain how capitalist system sustains itself by indoctrinating the masses with the capitalist values. The mass media plays important role in socializing the masses with capitalist values.

8.8 NICOS POULANTZAS – STRUCTURALISM

Poulantzas has rejected Miliband instrumentalist view and forwarded the structuralist view that emphasize the importance of social structure. Poulantzas considers the vitality of the state in maintaining stability of the capitalist state. As part of superstructure the state will continue to support capitalist system. There is no need for the elites to occupy important position in state to aid the sustenance of the capitalist mode of production. Further the state officials will never follow policies that will harm the interest of the capitalist class.

Poulantzas argues that state enjoys relative autonomy and is not directly controlled by the capitalist. This relative autonomy allows the state to represent the interest of the working class by enacting public policies in their favour. Thus the autonomy of the state is necessary to resolve the conflicts that arise in the capitalist society. The welfare activities of the state diffuse the conflicts which could pose threat to capitalism.

8.9 POWER RESOURCES THEORY

Apart from Marxist theories of conflicts that are based on materialistic interpretation of history, there are other thinkers who argued that conflicts can arise in society from non-material bases also. One of thinkers called Korpi uses power resources theory to explain how conflicting relations are managed by the state. Korpi starts from the classical Marxist position that capitalist system creates huge inequality of resources like wealth, property, influence and power which give rise to fundamental conflict of interest between the most and the least favored, and capitalists and workers. But although the members of the capitalist class enjoy a great advantage in terms of economic resources, workers have access to some resources of their own, which can be employed in the democratic political arena. The wage earners have the capacity for collective action which depends on factors, including the degree of homogeneity of their working and living conditions, the degree of mobilization and coordination of labor unions and political parties, the lessons learnt from previous conflicts, the institutional setting, and so on.

The workers and the bourgeoisie mobilize through trade unions and employer associations may over the period of time become active in politics by forming political parties or by giving support to existing parties.

These parties then channel conflicting class interests through the state, bureaucracy, and courts as a result of elections, legislation, and executive decisions. Hence, patterns of change in social welfare legislation can be explained from the relative strength of the two class groups. As labor gains in class strength by the mobilization of resources through trade unions and supporting social democratic parties, it wins greater say in funding and managing the welfare state. In this way the lower classes can use the welfare state for redistributive purposes to compensate to some extent for the unequal distribution by markets. Thus Korpi emphasizes the role of collective action as a means used by working class in their fights against the capitalist class.

8.10 HARDT AND NEGRI VIEWS ON EMPIRE

Hardt and Negri in their well-known book *Empire* have explained how capitalism has changed the form of conflicts by linking the global factors with the local issues. Their principal claim is that capitalism has, partly in response to the crises provoked by the various oppositional movements that emerged since the 1960s, transformed itself from an imperialism based on sovereign nation states and Foucauldian disciplinary power to what they call *empire*,

an entirely new stage characterized by deterritorialized global control through the internationalization of the capitalist market, the “informatization” of labor and a seamless web of interconnected economic, political, and cultural control mechanisms completely permeating the minds and bodies of the multitudes it brings under its sway across the globe, amounting to an entirely new form of power called as bio power. Empire is actually a progressive force in that it effectively sweeps aside or neutralizes those narrowly parochial nationalisms and localisms in which postmodernists and post colonialists see the sources of resistance. It globalizes capitalism in a way not even imperialism could, creating a new, broader basis for anti capitalist struggle in the multitude. This unprecedented socialization of the international labor process also gives the multitude unprecedented powers of resistance against the globalizing capital of empire. For however local the struggles may appear, they are immediately globalized in their effect and impact.

8.11 SUMMARY / CONCLUSION

The theories of conflict and cooperation are used to study and understand conflict and cooperation in a political system between its different interacting units. They offer a perspective of understanding the dynamics of the political and social process. These theories can be then used to analyze society.

8.12 UNIT END QUESTION

- Q.1 Explain functionalist theories of Co operation
- Q.2 Discuss Marxist theories of Conflict
- Q.3 Analyse Hardt and Negri’s views on Empire

8.12 SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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POLITICAL STABILITY AND CHANGE: THEORIES OF ORDER AND REVOLUTION

Unit Structure :

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Meaning of Political Stability
- 9.3 Factors determining Political Stability
- 9.4 Political Stability among various forms of government
- 9.5 Importance of Political Stability
- 9.6 Summary/ Conclusion
- 9.7 Unit End Questions

9.0 OBJECTIVES

- 1) To understand the concept of Political Stability.
- 2) To understand the concept of Political Change.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Political history has been reportage of the unceasing process with which civilisations, empires and nations rose and disintegrated. Ancient times experienced empires being built. Medieval era saw factionalism on the rise. Both these time periods, particularly the latter, saw immense amount of political flux. In the modern times, it was particularly important to note the 20th century in our study towards political stability and change. This period is characterised by imperialist regimes which controlled their colonies. It also experienced the two world wars which changed the face of the human political system particularly with the use of nuclear bombs. Further it moved ahead into the period of decolonisation and formation of new nations across the world. With these massive changes happening in the times, it was inevitable that nations of the world would have their stability challenged. These included nation formation, revolutions, economic crises, new technology and modes of communication. While some nations succumbed to these challenges, others sustained. It is then interesting for students of

political science to study these structures which made political stability possible for some nations than others.

9.2 MEANING OF POLITICAL STABILITY

Political stability reflects the resilience and reliability of a given government in place. A stable society is one that is satisfied with the ruling party and the functioning of its various institutions. The stability of a system is determined by the amount of violence, terrorism, revolutionary and autocratic functioning experienced. A stable political structure is determined by the public favour for the government in office. It has extremely low chances of social discontent and conflict. It is a system which over a period of time has generated a strong resolve. This does not mean that the system does not face contingency situations within the structure or challenges from extraneous forces. A stable structure then is one which endures and withstands these without critical disruption in its working. A political system is in a position to deal with crises largely on the basis of the political leadership. It is imperative then to have the populace convinced with the party in power and the leadership therein to ensure the continued working of the institutions and their agencies in any system.

9.3 FACTORS DETERMINING POLITICAL STABILITY

Political stability depends largely on the public participation in the working of the system. Regular public interaction with their political representatives and the importance given to public opinion determine and improve the conditions for political stability. The capacity of political leaders to offset crises majorly decides whether the political system would be in a position to sustain itself. These political leaders should also be in a position to elicit the support and confidence of their people while handling any situation and to stand by them for the decisions taken during crises. In the absence of such public support, political institutions and government agencies are bound to face a complete demolition.

The political stability of a nation is thus determined by the predictability of its politics. A nation with high political stability can then be identified as one which has politics that is almost foreseeable. On the contrary, a nation with failed political stability is one which is characterised by frequency of disruptions of various types.

A politically stable nation usually does not question as to who is at the helm of the political affairs or whose orders are being followed. People in general are trained into respecting political traditions and conventions. They follow the pattern of elections and

resolve political disputes through legal and prescribed rules set out by their constitutions. The US, Canada and Sweden are observed to be traditionally inclined towards these characteristics and are thus characterised to be politically stable.

In 1973, Hurwitz in fact identified five different approaches to stability. Accordingly political stability would entail an absence of violence. It could also be determined on the basis of the longevity or endurance of the government. It was characterised by the presence of the constitutional structure. Stability would also mean an absence of sudden structural changes. It could also be looked at as a societal attribute.

Stability or instability thus is largely defined by three factors. The first is the manner in which the regime or government changes. Democratic governments are known to peacefully change hands at the completion of their tenure in a manner prescribed by the law of their lands. Any exception to this could be potential challenge to such stability as the manner in which the system responds to this contingency would then be significant defining factor. Internal emergency in India could be seen as an example here. The manner in which the system responded to this contingency in order to ensure that such an occurrence did not recur determines the level of political stability. In nations which are characterised by coups and other forms of illegal seizure of power, political instability is evidently going to be higher. In today's politics of coalition governments, a shaky alliance would also amount to increased level of political instability.

Political upheavals or any form of violence in society also define the political stability of the nation. Frequency of occurrences of civil wars, revolutions, heightened levels of terrorism, public violence, assassinations and demonstrations adversely affect the stability of the political system and its long term capability to withstand foreign invasions and wars. Economic and natural disasters are known to be major factors in destabilising a political system as well.

Absence of agreement on such issues or a general lack of legitimacy at running a government can increase the vulnerability of a system. The greatest challenge a government can face is when they have to govern without the consent of the people or when its legitimacy is openly and widely suspect. Ethnic conflicts, civil wars and internal strife can lead to such fundamental questioning of the authority of the government. Newly formed nations in Asia and Africa from the erstwhile colonies of the West experienced these starkly. They tried to accept the institutions introduced by their imperial masters into their own structures. However they failed to achieve the same amount of success and in fact faced

unprecedented challenges in implementing the same. This was due to the absence of spirit since their own citizens did not necessarily identify with the rationale of the institutions and thus faltered at generating faith in them.

Thirdly, the instability in policies and laws instead of the governments changing could also affect the manner in which a political structure works. These factors leading towards political instability in fact defeat the very purpose of the formation of any form of government.

9.4 POLITICAL STABILITY AMONG VARIOUS FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Totalitarian governments were observed to be the most stable. These were followed by established democracies. Dictatorships which had relatively gained their ground over few years stood better chances of surviving the challenges to political stability than the newly formed democracies or dictatorships. Apart from these there were also 'failed states'. However, all forms of government face challenges and need to be guarded towards particular issues. For example, a totalitarian state without a clearly announced succession plan can be easily destabilised on the death of the ruler. Democracies on the contrary, can face constitutional crises or external aggression.

Absence of violence though cannot singularly determine political stability. A lot of writers advocate the stability of the governments and their duration to be a more dependable approach towards political stability. Hurwitz in fact made a more pertinent observation when he stated that what mattered rather than the change itself was the manner and nature in which the change occurred. However, the absence of violence and the duration of government are commented to be largely associated with the democratic form of governments and may not necessarily stand true for other forms of government. Commentators have been of the opinion that the persistence and successful working of a constitutional structure is also possible because of its adaptability to changing conditions and public opinion. It would then mean that the resilience of the system is not only tested with the survival of the structure by itself. It is further important then that it survives despite the different challenges that emerge therein which fail to destabilise the system.

One can clearly infer that the longer a political system survives, the likelihood of it having faced emergencies and having survived them successfully increases. However it is extremely difficult for the people setting up a new structure to predict and protect against the contingencies that may be faced by the system

in the due course of time. One can start building ones capacities and strengthening ones abilities to cope with these emergencies as one goes on facing them. However, the nature of contingencies faced by one system is not the same as those faced by any other. So the predictability cannot be generalised. So also, one cannot ascertain the nature in which the same system responds to the same condition if it recurs in a few years. The system may be stable under certain conditions, in the absence of which one may find its stability reduced. As per several thinkers then, it becomes extremely difficult to make sweeping assertions that a particular system is stable. What can be said instead is that the system is better equipped and is more likely to be stable in the face of contingencies in the future. Avoidable conditions towards creating instability then need to be consciously identified within the system so that 'forced non-survival' can be protected against and the system can work towards stability.

Thus political stability can be considered to be the end state where state oversees the provision of essential services. It works to protect the state resources. It particularly helps if there is public involvement or participation in the governance process with a distinct role to the civil society. The role of media, political parties and other groups in the system is also considered to be important. Increasingly, assurance of minority rights, peaceful management of disputes, more inclusive political processes and a non-violent competition for power define the political stability.

9.5 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL STABILITY

In the absence of political stability, a government's efforts are directed towards conciliating the differing opinions and factions. The time that needs to be devoted to development and betterment of the citizenry is lost towards this end. This could be, as mentioned earlier, in holding on to support in an unstable coalition or keeping political aspirations of the people under a scanner to avoid coups or even holding on to one's own citizens' support. Political instability, then, evidently leads to a stagnation of the economy in the long run. Repeated volatility in the markets, uncertainty regarding economic policies and frequently changing governments leads to a constant sense of uncertainty among investors. This can erode their faith and interest in the economy altogether. In addition, depending on the nature of uncertainty, the government might even cut down on the subsidies and other benefits offered to enterprises. Those enterprises that depend largely on such investment or subsidies are adversely affected and find difficulty in sustaining the period of instability.

The fallout is much more widespread in case of a government which controls the lives of the people intensely. The

preoccupation of the government towards sustaining itself leads to a complete disregard to other aspects of governance and reforms. Repeatedly failing governments, frequent elections, hung legislatures are other forms of political instability which affect the quality of governance, legislations and reforms being carried out. People increasingly lose interest and faith in the political process and may withdraw completely from participating in the process. This governmental failure or incompetence has serious impact on the legitimacy enjoyed by it. Political apathy sets in among the citizens which in the long term impacts the political system.

Also, the first to get affected by the political instability are the minority groups. The rights extended to them, the relation they share with the existing regime or government and the ways in which they can negotiate or bargain with them to secure their rights undergo massive changes. A failed state or a mob rule then negates their rights and at times makes them vulnerable for persecution.

Political Change

Political change occurs when the rulers in a country lose power or the type of governance in the country changes. Political change is a normal function of internal and external politics. Rulers are voted out, they retire or die while in power and a new leader takes over and makes changes to the system as per one's preference.

As mentioned earlier, political systems have been under such a constant process of transformation. There have been marginal to massive changes occurring over various time spans in any given system. Ancient kingdoms saw succession of kings and thus changes in policies and approaches. It also saw sudden changes in leadership through the aggrandisement and ambitions towards expanding empires. With every change in hands of the kings, the policies and inclinations of the kingdoms underwent change. Medieval times also saw a great amount of change in structures particularly in Western Europe. Many of the countries saw a change from monarchy to feudalism and the working of the same determined the political future of the region.

In modern times though, the political change has been quite rapid and notable. The change can be seen on the basis of emerging nations, revolutions across the world, change in ideologies, civil and political rights extended to various groups of people, sudden change of leadership, wars and other political developments that determined the changed face of the world. These reflect both the ways in which political changes may occur: internal and external. These can even occur simultaneously under certain circumstances.

Internal Political Change

Internal political change is initiated by citizens of the country. Periodic and prescribed processes such as elections bring about a change in the leadership of the country. This can bring about a change in ideology, inclination and working of a system. In non-democratic forms of government, the ruler might hand over power to a successor or may die while in power and be succeeded by an heir. The priorities and policies thus undergo a change in the process. Decisions regarding public and private property, social safety, nature of economy,

There could be other ways in which political change could be triggered internally. Illegal seizure of power, primarily through coup d'état can bring about fundamental changes to a political system. These almost always see an illegal overthrow of existing government and seizure of power by the military. So the power shifts from civilian to military leadership. This makes a major difference in the laws made and the nature of relations shared by various institutions within the country. They could broadly choose to work within the structure of governance already prevalent.

Internal rebellions on the other hand can be started by individuals with barely any power. These can have far reaching changes into the system. A rebellion can lead to massive overhauling of the system. Existing institutions could be completely made to be given up and replaced by a new structure. Issues which have affected the people for long and which had needed attention could be immediately and radically changed. A system undergoing such a political change could be extremely fragile and vulnerable to several forms of political instabilities discusses earlier.

Economic changes within a country can lead to a substantial change within a country. The Great Depression brought about such a change in the USA.

Change of leadership makes a difference in political ideology followed, minority rights and a nation's international relations as well. Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime brought about far-reaching political change in Germany.

Political and policy changes in the erstwhile Soviet Union in the late 1980s led to not only political changes within the system but fundamental structural changes. Disintegration of the USSR and formation of new republics has been one of the major developments in modern human history. This evidently had a shift away from dogmatic Communism followed by the USSR, the policies towards private property and the nature of economy being practiced in the countries thus being carved out in Eastern Europe.

In addition to this, one cannot undermine the importance of collective political action within a country towards political change. One realises then, that fundamental policy changes towards workers' rights, voting rights for women, land rights, among others have occurred because people stood up to demand the same from the system.

External Political Change

Individual nations are affected by the decisions and actions by international community. Changed foreign policies, relations with nations and activities in the region can have a major impact on any nation. External political change is thus initiated by other countries. It is usually achieved through military threats or actions. There could be active involvement of an external power in changing a political structure of a particular nation. Towards this end, effective actions can be taken in the form of embargos, sanctions and/ or withholding foreign investment and aid. These external forces could also help the coups and other ways in which power is seized within a nation. Political factions within a nation, rebellion leaders in a country could get active or passive support from a foreign country. This can then work towards a major political change. In case these coups or rebellions are successful, the new leader is bound to emerge with the consultation and consent of all these elements who had participated in the process of change. The style of governance is then going to be accordingly preferred.

In case the political changes have occurred due to foreign military actions, then a new leader would be placed in charge of the system by the victorious foreign power. The form of government, their governance processes, the nature of political institutions and their powers are all thus determined.

Politically stable nations anticipate such political change. As mentioned earlier, the change of political leaders is smooth, planned and structured. Sudden changes are fewer in number, if any. On the contrary, countries which are more prone to infighting and/ or civil wars face political change much more strongly. The instability is evident and the change more sudden and unplanned. The person/ group that is responsible for such upheavals are usually those who lack a clear understanding how political change is to occur.

Increasingly in recent times, one notes the rise of several non-governmental agencies which can challenge the government and hence lead to instability within a nation. Internal changes in a country could then inspire changes across the region and have a cascading effect largely on the neighbouring nations. Early modern political history saw a number of revolutions which inspired each other. The Spanish Revolution of 1820 had repercussions in

Naples, Portugal, and Piedmont; the French Revolution of July 1830 provoked similar outbreaks in Poland and Belgium; the Russian Revolution of 1917 was followed by a dozen other revolutions; and the colonial liberation movements in Africa, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere after World War II appear to have involved a similar chain reaction. In recent years, the Arab Spring played much the same triggering effect.

The Arab Spring brought about a major challenge to the stability among nations in the Middle East. Political changes were undertaken across countries like Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia among others where existing governments were overthrown. The civil war in Syria though has seen magnified proportions. It not only had an impact within the political system but a larger human crisis. Crackdown on civilians, rise of extremist forces, extreme levels of insecurity have characterised it as a model case in point for study towards political instability and change. This has also made it important to study political changes in countries around Syria. The influx of refugees in large numbers is bound to affect the political stability and policies of countries which are themselves not very stable or those unprepared for such magnitude of human crises.

9.6 SUMMARY/ CONCLUSION

Change is inherent a politics, no political system however old is immune. The political process may drive the change process, with the opposition having to advocate new programmes. Change happens in both democratic and undemocratic systems. Democratization, Globalization are some reasons for political change. Political change is rarely the consequence of a single cause. Political stability is obverse of change, yet evolutionary change may represent stability. There is consensus or agreement that is a characteristic of stable liberal democratic systems. Legitimacy is another characteristic of political stability. However both consensus and legitimacy are debatable terms.

9.7 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the factors determining political stability.
2. How does political stability work in various forms of government?
3. Discuss the importance of political stability.
4. How does political change occur within a country?
5. What is external political change?



NATIONS, NATIONALISM AND THE RIGHT TO SECESSION NATIONS

Unit Structure :

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
 - 10.1.1 Definition
 - 10.1.2 Attributes of a nation
- 10.2 Nationalism
 - 10.2.1 What's Troubling Nationalism
 - 10.2.2 Western & Eastern understanding of the concept
- 10.3 Right to Recession
 - 10.3.1 Right to Secede
- 10.4 Summary
- 10.5 Unit End Questions
- 10.6 References

10.0 OBJECTIVES

- Definition of Nation
- Treaty of Westphalia
- Evolution of the nation-state ideology
- Attributes of the nation
- Challenges to the modern nation-state

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The word 'nation' is derived from the Latin word '*natio*' that connotes the idea of common birth or descent. It is often referred to as a culturally distinct territorial entity. The *Enciclopedia Brasileira Meritode* defines nation as, "*the community of the citizens of a state, living under the same regime or government and having a communion of interests; the collectivity of the inhabitants of a territory with common traditions, aspirations and interest, and subordinated to a central power which takes charge of maintaining the unity of the group; the people of a state, excluding the*

government power". The above definition marks nation as the collective identity; the state as an expression of political sovereignty and the territory as the geographical area.

There are no proofs that the concept of nation existed in the distant past on the contrary scholars of political science attribute the characteristic of modernity to the concept of nation. In fact Adam Smith questioned whether nation had a prior Ethnic origin? Benedict Anderson wonders whether it is a political and cultural construct as imagined communities, needed to cope with the size and anonymity of modern state societies? Hobsbawm calls them 'invented traditions'. Ernest Gellner argues that nationalism is not the awakening of the nation to self-consciousness; it invents nation where they do not exist.

The **Treaty of Westphalia** (1648) also played an important role in the creation and crystallization of the concept of nation state. The treaty officially ended the Thirty Years' War, which marked the end of the Holy Roman Empire and brought in the modern European state system - creating the basis for the modern international system of independent states. Religious warfare was eradicated and replaced by religious tolerance in Europe. It overlaid the way for the advent of the nation-state system by emphasizing that the empire had no power over the parts and that the Pope had restriction on his spiritual authority. The treaty emphasized on the principle of sovereignty of nation-states and the associated fundamental right of political self-determination. It also brought in the principle of (legal) equality between nation-states. It enabled states to enter into treaties which were internationally binding; and finally it brought the principle of non-intervention of one state in the internal affairs of other states. The two most innovative principles being proclaimed were the principle of sovereignty and the principle of equality among nations. In fact, the Peace of Westphalia bought in an era where in the sovereignty of states was given the utmost importance. Having created sovereign states the task was to retain it and thus the need was felt to make nations out of it by inventing bonds, which would keep the people together.

10.1.1 Definition :

There are innumerable variables associated with the concept of nation hence it is difficult to define it in a precise manner. The following definitions given by scholars working in this area enhances our understanding of the concept.

- **According to A. Zimmern**, "nation is a form of corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy and dignity related to a definite home country".

- **J. W. Garner:** "A nation is a culturally homogenous social group which is at once conscious and tenacious of its unity of psychic life and expression".
- **Lord James Bryce:** "Nation is a union of men having racial or ethnographic significance".
- **Bluntschli:** "Nation is a union of people bound together by language and customs in a common civilization which gives them a sense of unity and distinction from all foreigners.
- **R. N. Gilchrist:** "Nationality may be defined as a spiritual sentiment or principle arising among a number of people usually of the same race, residents on the same territory, sharing a common language, the same religion, similar associations and common ideals of political unity".
- **Earnest Barker:** "A nation is a community of persons living in definite territory and they are bound together by the bonds of mutual love".

The definitions do not signify in any ways that the nation is a natural phenomenon. On the contrary it connects the concept of nationalism, nationality and nation in terms of culture, ethnicity, language, race and history. It emerges on the foundation of spatial territory comprised of culturally affiliated social groups. Scholars harp on the need for racial, linguistic and ethnographic unity among the members of a geographical unit. Apart from the physical proximity nationality insists on the spiritual sentiment i.e. the feeling of belonging and at the same time alienation and suspicion about those who do not belong to their social group. According to Hobsbawm. "the nation was the body of citizens whose collective sovereignty constitutes them a state which was their political expression". For J. S. Mill the nation was not just a unit, which was in possession of national sentiment but in addition the members desired to be governed by the same government and possibly by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively.

It is abundantly clear that there are numerable variables that determine a nation such as geographical unity, racial cohesion, political organization, few friendly neighbours etc. The concept of nation can also be further clarified by using negative course of definition of a nation. A nation is not equivalent to a race as there is hardly any nation in the contemporary times that can claim exclusive residence of a single race. For example Israel that claims to be land of the Jewish race cannot claim such exclusivity, as there are people of Arab origin residing in the country. Similarly nation cannot be formed on the basis language alone. India is an ideal example as there are 22 officially languages recognised by the constitution and more than thousand languages which are dialects. In fact the nation was split over the national language

issue, as there was no consensus whether Hindi or English should be the national language of the country. It is necessary to recognise that the idea of 'nation' is different from that of the 'state'. The nation is built on the feelings and sentiments of its residents and therefore demands fidelity from them. On the contrary state is a political and administrative body. Political scientists are keenly involved in understanding the relationship between the nation and the state. The nation is an emotional and psychological concept while the state is a legal entity. The state lays down rules for its membership and administers entry and exit norms. According to T. H. Green, "the nation underlies the state". Over the period of time the term nation-state has become common usage and 'state' and 'nation' have come to mean the same.

Based on the above discussion we may conclude the following: One every nation will normally have a well-defined territory. The better the demarcation and segregation the better shall be the management of the nation. A nation having a common language is managed far better than on with multiple languages. Having a common religious tradition helps in sustaining the nations unity. "Religion provides a powerful emotional force with political and economic implications." A nation may not necessarily have a national religion but may have a secular tradition and that itself may attribute as national religion. A common history and tradition provides a strong foundation for the making of the nation. J. S. Mill in his book *Representative Government* declared that the feeling of nationality was concerned with "the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections; collective pride, and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past".

The primordialist thinkers believed that every nation-state has an ancient and pre-given cultural core that persuasively realises itself into a nation-state. This primordial core is often expressed in terms of language and sometimes in religious sectarianism. Nation, nation-state and nationalism are modern concepts that have emerged in the post-industrial era in Europe. It is argued that the rise of the nation-state is a response to the rising aspiration of the capitalist as their interest surged they needed to expand their business beyond the local economy. The capitalist economy felt the need to expand their territorial area of operation, and this could be done in two ways. One of the methods adapted was by expanding the area of operation by emphasising on the ethnic and cultural sentiments of the people and working towards their unification. On the other hand they straight forth indulged in colonisation under the pretext of civilizing the uncivilized. Any of these ventures was possible only if there was support from the

people, thus the concept of nation-state came in handy to achieve this target.

10.1.2 Attributes of a Nation :

Whether artificially created or otherwise there are certain factors that attribute towards the constitution of a group of people into a nation. Since the emergence of the idea of nation there has been massive changes that have taken place in the international system and therefore some of the points discussed in this part may have lost its relevance while some of them may still find credibility even today.

1. Common race or Kinship:

"Blood is thicker than water" has been the principle on the basis of which people connected with each other by race or kinship. In the 1930's Hitler used this premises to promote the German nation as community of the Nordics emphasising on the pure Aryan blood. Though this principle allowed Hitler to revitalize the German state but was denounced worldwide for the genocide he carried out against the Jews claiming that they were of low blood. It is impossible to claim for purity of blood in the contemporary times due to migrations, wars, conquests, travels, intermarriages etc. Claiming superiority on the basis on race or birth will only ensure that a section of the society will remain suppressed and there will be no equality among the human race.

2.Common religion:

Religion played an important role in connecting people as can be seen among the followers of Islam and Jews. The modern era promotes the value of tolerance, secularism and the freedom of belief thereby role of religion in the formation of nation has reduced considerably. In fact religion has played a negative role and often destroyed nations by dividing them. The creation of Irish Republic in 1922 and partition of India and creation of Pakistan in 1947 are clear examples of the fact that religion may not necessarily play a role in unifying or consolidating a nation.

3. Common Language:

Languages constitutes an important medium of communication and helps the culture and ideas of a community to transcend to progeny. "Language is the best index of an individual's cultural environment and most of the nations of the earth are nations, not because they are 'politically independent and socially unifies, but because their people use a common speech which differs from that of other nations." It is believed that not having a

common language can create problems in generating national consciousness. Britain has English and France has French as their official language. But there are nation with more than one official language e. g. Canada has English and French, Switzerland has Swiss, Italian, German and French while India has 22 official languages. Nations have also indulged in creating a language and enforcing it on its people like Russian in the former Soviet Union and Basha in Indonesia.

4. Common History and Culture:

People develop a psychological make up as they stay together and share their thoughts, undergo similar kind of suffering, have comparable work conditions and feel the joy and sorrows of life in a collective manner. The history of the land is another aspects which is a positive narrative making people proud about their past and help them develop a sense of identity. Customs, traditions and festivals also play a role in connecting the people and perpetuate the feeling of oneness.

5. Common Political Aspirations:

The nation being established it is necessary then to retain its sovereignty. This can be achieved by ensuring that the nation keeps away from alien control or domination. Countries controlled by imperialist powers as colonies when strive for independence develop common political aspirations to be independent. Celebrating the day when the nation sought independence is a reflection of the political aspirations of the people.

6. Geographical Continuity:

Contiguous spatial territory is an important condition for the making of the nation. Distance between parts of the nation may not only make administration of the area difficult but also may impede the process of national integration. The partition of East Pakistan from Pakistan can be partially attributed to the fact that India geographically blocked the connectivity of the two wings. Eventually the Bengali nationalism was successful in the seceding from Pakistan and Bangladesh was created from East Pakistan.

The variables discussed so far to contribute to the formation of the nation, but in modern times these factors have reduced validity. History stands witness to the fact that nations have been created on the basis of language, religion, race and geographical continuity. However these are not essential conditions, which have been rigidly followed by every nation, there have been exceptions to the rule. Moreover in the era of globalisation the norms of international politics have changed dramatically. Nations have

increasingly become interdependent and today global economy determines the rules rather than internal politics.

The nation-state faces certain challenges in the globalised era. As the interconnections and interrelations between states and societies is growing it fails to recognise the gaps in world politics. The Westphalian treaty bought in the concept of equality amongst nations but that has proved to be a chimera. Nations differ in terms of the resources they possess and may have many other factors that may hinder development. Globalisation challenges the traditional notion of sovereignty. The right to freedom of choice is being sacrificed at the altar of globalisation and is being debated passionately in academic circles.

Check your progress:

1. Examine the various definition of nation.
2. Critically evaluate the concept of nation-state.
3. Trace the evolution and growth of nation-states.
4. Does India fit into the definition of a nation? Discuss.
5. Write a note on the Treaty of Westphalia.

10.2 NATIONALISM

- Nationality
- What's troubling nationalism?
- Western and Eastern understanding of the concept
- Types of Nationalism
- Internationalism
- Critical evaluation of nationalism

The emergence of nation state can be traced back to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 and though it emerged as legal term it eventually was connected to the subjective principle of nationalism. Today nationalism has become synonymous with nation, as Ernest Geller suggests, "it is nationalism which engenders nations and not the other way round". Nationalism as a principle emerged in the beginning of 19th Century in Europe. "Nationalism was created by

the Europeans for Europeans and Rousseau was one of the founding fathers of modern national thinking." As Asia and African states got colonised the imperialist rulers tried to turn the colonies into nation-states sculpted on the line of the European states. Eventually the nation building process became a weapon in the hands of the colonised to challenge the coloniser.

Connected with the word 'nation' is the term nationality, indicating the complex psychological and cultural factors that provide cohesive principle, uniting the nation. Nationality provides an identity to people who are united by the sentiment of oneness that immediately differentiates them from others who may not share similar feelings. Conforming to the feeling of oneness is the supreme loyalty of the individual to his nation-state. The term nationality connotes three different meaning and has to be understood accordingly. Firstly, nationality denotes the legal status of a person as a citizen of the state to which he belongs, such as Indian, Bangladeshi etc. Secondly, it is possible that a nation may have different groups but they share a common nationality. A nation can be multi-national like former USSR where in there were different nationalities such as Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Tadjiks staying together. Thirdly nationality establishes a bonding amongst its members and simultaneously generates a feeling of suspicion towards aliens. Thereby the sentiment of nationality makes a nation and the realization of self-rule by the people of the state makes it a nation-state. Lord Bryce has extended the definition further by suggesting that "nationality as a group of persons bound by similar sentiments who are either independent or desire to be so".

10.2.1 What's Troubling Nationalism?

Despite the fact that nationalism has played an important role in the making of nations there have been certain elements that spell trouble. Geography plays a crucial role in the making of the nation but can also cause trouble if the spatial territory is not contiguous. Far spread out areas can encourage separatist groups to mushroom and shake the state system. Lack of proper means of communication also can create problems, as information is not disseminated. Inaccessible areas like mountain valleys and forests make it difficult for the government of the day to reach out to the people generating a sense of alienation. In India development measures undertaken for the tribals never seem to reach them and there is growing animosity among them against the system. If religion can be a unifying force then it can be a divisive as well. The religious minority if feels alienated and victimised by the mainstream may demand separation from the main national body. For example the growth of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam was a response of the Tamil minority as the state diminished the status of their faith. The method of governance and administration too can

play mischief and destroy nations. When some groups are favoured over others it may result into their animosity erupting and consequent destabilisation of the state. Foreign nations when get involved in the internal politics of a state may generate feeling of nationalism amongst its people. The course of nationalism was determined in Vietnam by the intervention of the French and later the United States of America. Very often it is the foreign intervention that provokes nationalist sentiment.

10.2.2 Western and Eastern Understanding of the Concept :

Nationalism is essentially a modern European phenomena, it rose as a response to the decline of the Papacy and the rise of the sovereign secular state. It encouraged the people to identify themselves first as members of the nation-state and set aside the religious identity as secondary. Machiavelli was the first modern thinker who insisted on the segregation of the politics from religion.

According to G. P. Gooch, "the idea that patriotism is identifiable with devotion to the nation spread widely and became popular in Western Europe only towards the end of the French Revolution. It is with reference to this era that the term 'nationalism' can accurately be used for the first time". While nationalism strengthened the states in Europe there was another occurrences that brought about a massive change in international politics and that was the rise of imperialistic tendencies amongst these states. The world was placed before them unexplored, they captured and colonised it with their culture, language and ideas. European state obsessed with expanding their market colonised the east but not without arousing counter reaction to such suppression. Thus arose a new form of nationalism as it was called the 'nationalism of the east' against the oppressive imperialism of the west. The nationalism thus cultivated in the colonies was against the rule of the alien government added with the zeal for self-rule. In such circumstances the sentiment of nationality surfaced even before they establish themselves as a political unit or the nation-state was created.

10.2.3 Types of Nationalism :

Broadly speaking nationalism can be understood in different manner: Liberal, Conservative, Expansionist and Anti-colonial nationalism. Liberal nationalism does not deem it necessary that the entire human race be bond together as a unified whole. They would rather let each nation to have its distinct identity and have the right to self-determination. Liberal nationalism calls for international peace and harmony and insists that it can be achieved by the presence of international organisation endowed with the responsibility to maintain world peace. Conservative nationalism

emphasises on traditional values such as patriotism and loyalty. Inevitably it breeds suspicion against aliens. It may also encourage imperialist tendencies and suppress any struggle in the colonies to liberate themselves. Expansionist nationalism is also known as Blind or Aggressive or Integral nationalism. This is the kind of nationalism used by Hitler, Mussolini and other dictators to inform their members that they belong to a superior race or are the best breed in the world. While pride is revived amongst its people it also works on generating a feeling of hatred or condemnation towards all others. Such nationalistic fervour thrives on instigating the people to indulge in war and either capture or destroy the vanquished. Anti-colonialism emerges amongst those who have been subjugated by the imperialist forces. It rises as response to overthrow the oppressive regime of the coloniser.

Internationalism:

Nationalism as a principle or an ideology can thrive in a world of internationalism. Internationalism stands for a world community living together in peace and harmony with self-governing states. It is not a system that emerges naturally but is a spirit that has to be fostered by each member state. When the world comprises of sovereign and equal nations it allows space for each one to develop and sustain their respective uniqueness in matters of language and culture. Samuel Huntington claims that the clash of civilisation has apparently replaced the cold war and threatens to bring the world communities to the threshold of yet another war. "Internationalism alone can substitute the destructive mentality with higher qualities of human nature like self-sacrifice, courage and endurance." Scholars credit internationalism as the only way to maintain peace in the world. With the advent of modern technology destruction can occur at the press of the button as the automated machines can deliver accurately the missiles at the targeted spot. The devices of destruction have become more formidable than before. Their presence in the arsenal itself is a threat to mankind and have assured no safety whatsoever neither to its owner nor his adversary. "Internationalism stands for a family of self-governing nations, unites to each other by ties of equality and living at peace and concord with each other". In principle the concept of internationalism is opposed to state sovereignty as it hinders the harmonious relations between the nations of the world. According to Andrew Heywood, "Internationalism is a theory or practice of politics based on transnational or global cooperation, the belief that nations are artificial and unwarranted formations". Rabindranath Tagore too was opposed to the western notion of nationalism, for him nationalism was a menace as it made misguided use of man's energy.

Critical evaluation of nationalism:

A clear appraisal of nationalism lies in the fact that it played a constructive role in unifying people. It was used as a starting point to initiate a momentum against the oppressive rule of the coloniser or the pope. Nationalism was often associated with liberalism it was often succeeded by the demand for self-rule. The anti-colonial movement brought about unification and cooperation amongst the members of the state and therefore nationalism was often became linked to liberalism. The development of the spirit of nationalism enabled the people of the country to develop the socio-economic faculties of the state. Thus the rise of nationalism caused the growth of capitalism especially in the west. While the west saw tremendous growth in their economy the newly independent state developed powerful political consciousness. The spirit of self-determination grew with full force and the colonies became independent nations. Over the period of time nationalism has served the states to consolidate their position internally as well as externally.

The above-mentioned points show nationalism in a positive light but it has its own limitation. Rabindranath Tagore was strongly opposed to the western notion of nationalism, as he believed it raised narrow domestic walls to fragment the people of the world. It breeds a fundamentalist fervour, as a national looks down at othenationals disrespectfully and as lessthan equal. Though nationalism is oftenconnected with liberalism but in actual practice it sacrifices the liberty of an individual at the altar of the 'collective ego'. The political elite of the state expounds the national interest or the good of the nation to such an extent that the will of the individual or minority (if clashes) is trampled. Individuals have no standing in such a situation as the nation replicates the position of God. It becomes infallible and any move or action against is considered felony or treason and severely punished. Using the passion of nationalism political leaders have reigned over their people and dictators like Hitler and Mussolini pushed the world towards the Second World War. Thus according to Pennock and Smith, "Nationalism is nourished not on love but on hate, it inculcates no trust but fear, and in its fearful insecurity it is driven inexorably to more and more extravagant claims and enterprises." The experience with nationalism has proved that despite its limitations it is impossible to weed it out. But if it is universalised and rings in internationalism in the real sense of the term then that shall be a happy situation for all nations of the world.

Check your progress:

1. Define nationalism and bring out the essential elements that constitute a nation.
2. Discuss the influence of western nationalism on the new liberated states of the , east.
3. Write short note on: a. Internationalism b. Types of nationalism

10.3 RIGHT TO SECESSION

- National self determination
- Right to secede

Nationalism as an ideology captured the imagination of the east as they fought their battle for independence from the colonial powers. Having gained freedom each nation aspired to form a political entity based on the principle of self-governance. While the crusade to free themselves from the clutches of the imperialist powers was glorified by the newly formed state it raised a pertinent question whether every nationality has the right to form a sovereign state? After the battle of Waterloo, the Congress of Vienna (1815) introduced the idea of 'one nation, one state' that was popularly accepted by the international community. It got legalised as both the League of Nations as well as the United Nations recognised the principle and included it in their charter.

The international community considered it essential that the people sharing similar nationalities should be clubbed into one nation, as it was easy to direct their patriotic feelings. If the different sections of the society have differing affiliations then managing the unity and integrity of the nation would be next to impossible. Since nationalism insists that governance of the state shall be determined by the governed then it causes tension amongst the minority as their aspirations differ from that of the ruling elites. If it is a natural right of a group to determine their political destiny then similar rights has to be conferred on smaller groups within the state. If these minority groups share no similarity with the ruling elite or insist on separate identity then they too have a right to have their own nation. Thus states with multiple nationalities are unnatural union and eventually will result in disintegration into smaller states.

Superlatively the right to self-determination is a natural right entitled to every group that wants to retain its distinct identity and govern its people and be in possession of the spatial territory. But practically this would result in constant tension and violence as each group may ambitiously want its own state and may resort to violence to achieve it resulting into a chaotic condition. A careful observation of the states shows that nations are never endowed by a single identity but are often a cluster of composite culture and nationalities. Thus Lord Acton argues that, "where political and national boundaries coincide, society ceases to advance, and nations relapse into a condition corresponding to that of a man who renounces intercourse with his fellow-men".

The principle of self-determination emerged at the end of the First World War, as the colonies started demanding the right to self-government. The President of United States of America Woodrow Wilson described the national self-determination as "an imperative principle of action". Self-determination as a right has never been easily accepted on the contrary has resulted into a controversy every time it was executed. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Civil Rights (ICESCR) constitute the most crucial phase in the evolution of this right. Both the covenant contends that the right of self-determination is applicable to all groups. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Another significant feature of the Covenants is that; "... [they] do not restrict the right of self-determination to colonized or oppressed peoples but include all peoples". The usage of the phrase 'all people' instead of 'everyone' in the covenant draws our attention to the fact that the right to self-determination is a collective right as it is restricted to people and not entitled to an individual. Also by virtue of this right they freely determine their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development. The economic content of the right gives the peoples the right to freely 'dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law.'

Recent developments suggest that the right to self-determination is no longer a right claimed by the colonized alone but even by the people who are insiders. Internal self-determination emerges as a instrument in the hands of the people for broader control over their political, economic, social and cultural development. It need not necessarily lead to the demand for secession. The definition of 'peoples' extends to indigenous groups and even minorities.

10.3.1 Right to Secede :

According to the Contractualist thinkers like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau man is endowed with natural rights that are not created or conferred by the state but men are born with it. Thereby the role of the state is restricted to mere protection of these rights and government is reduced to perform an ancillary role. The Declaration of Independence appropriately advocates that to secure the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from consent of the governed. Thus it is obvious that the sole purpose for the existence of the state and the government is to protect the rights of the individual and in the absence of these benefits the individual has every right to end his commitment to the state. An extreme step to convey this rejection is from a group of like-minded people who similarly feel betrayed by the state and decide to secede and form a new government. If the group has strong bonding and support it also may consider the other extreme step of overthrowing the government altogether than just merely renounce its authority over them.

Separatist state movement has developed as a great danger to the existence of the state and a challenge to the government of the day. Separatism is a movement where in a group of people desire to secede from the nation and form their own state. The reasons to do so can be manifold, including socio. economic, racial and ethical. Separatism is often tackled in the most violent manner by the government, as they fear that it would bring in loss of land, resources, taxes, power and security in the region. Another fear that separatism raises is that the domestic violence may culminate into future wars.

The Postcolonial states are highly disposed to developing separatist movement as in their haste to move out of their former colonies the imperialist forced grouped separate ethnic and social groups under one nation. Many of the former colonies like India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Iraq, Indonesia, etc. comprised of varied ethnic groups but were made to come together as a nation. Based on the liberal principle of self-determination and democracy on which the former colonies could seek freedom became a burden for the state, as on those very grounds the ethnic and social groups started demanding for protection and preservation of their identity. Thus the demand for forming an ethnically defined nation was combined with the desire to manage the economy of the new state. The demand for such ethnically defined states are on the rise since the last 40 years and today almost every state has some sort of separatist movement happening in their country. For example the separatist movement in Sudan resulted in the creation of South

Sudan on July 2011 and Kosovo got its freedom after a prolonged fight with Serbia in 2008.

"A right to unilateral secession can be defined as a right of a minority-people to separate a part of the territory of the parent State on the basis of that people's right to self-determination. However, as it follows from the Declaration on Principles of International Law, the *Kosovo Advisory Opinion* (International Court of Justice) and the *Quebec case* (Supreme Court of Canada), in modern international law unilateral secession of "sub-states" is neither prohibited nor allowed."

Secession may be recognized as legal if, "(1) it shall concern people in territories that are subject to decolonization; (2) it shall be envisaged by the national legislation of the parent state concerned; (3) the territory inhabited by a certain people should be occupied or annexed after 1945; (4) the secessionists shall be "a people"; (5) their parent state shall flagrantly violate their human rights and (6) no other effective remedies under national or international law may exist, if any of these conditions are met."

While discussing the matter of secession it is also essential to draw attention of students of politics to the paragraph 88 of the Written Statement by the Russia in the *Kosovo Advisory Proceedings* before the ICJ where it was stated the following: "[T]he Russian Federation is of the view that [international law] may be construed as authorizing secession under certain conditions. However, those conditions should be limited to truly extreme circumstances, such as an outright attack by the parent State, threatening the very existence of the people in question. Otherwise, all efforts should be taken in order to settle the tension between the parent State and the ethnic community concerned within the framework of the existing State."

Check your progress:

1. What do you understand by national self-determination? Justify your answer.
2. According to Rabindranath Tagore nationalism is a great menace. Discuss with special reference to internationalism.

10.4 LETS SUM UP

There may not be confirmed argument or justification on the origin and rise of the nation state, but the international community has accepted it as the given thing. The birth of the modern nation state is often traced to the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 but since then its nature and definition has undergone massive change. The advent of modern technology and modes of communication has reduced the power and position of nation states. The growth of trade and emergence of the new economic order has also worked towards a limited role played by the state. The world is shifting from politics to economics and hence new permutations and combinations are being tried which may not necessarily provide the same space to the nation state as earlier. But even then it is too early to engage in a debate on end of nation state it continues to draw loyalty from people.

Accompanying the concept of nation state was the idea of nationalism that emerged as a sentiment that unified the people of a particular group and distinguished them from the other group. Nationalism as a spirit emerged based on multiple factors such as race, religion, language, culture, history and geography. The origin of nationalism can be traced to Europe where it emerged as a reaction against the Papal absolutism and Christian dominance. Nationalism in Asia and Africa emerged as a reaction to the imperialism regime of the European countries. It brought in its wake the spirit of national self-determination as the people aspired to for government of and by their own people. The spirit of nationalism brought the people a particular geographical location together but at the same time it made them aggressive towards the other groups. Internationalism appeals for a revision of the traditional concept of nationalism and sovereignty. It calls upon nations to treat all member states equally and with due respect. United Nations in a way depicts the spirit of Internationalism that emerged after the end of the Second World War.

As colonies demanded to be free from the yolk of foreign domination similarly on gaining independence the new nations faced a demand from the ethnic groups. These groups were compelled to join the nation while the imperialist rulers departed. The principle of self-determination and democracy was left behind as a legacy of the imperialist rule in these nations, which was used by these ethnic groups to demand separation from the parent state. The separatist movements are on the rise in most of the nations of the world but there is much ambiguity about the right to secession. Most of the international organisation neither prohibit it nor allow the right for secede.

10.6 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) What are the various factors that attribute towards making of a nation?
- 2) Critically evaluate the term nationalism.
- 3) Does a group have a right to secede? Answer the question with appropriate illustrations to justify your answer.

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