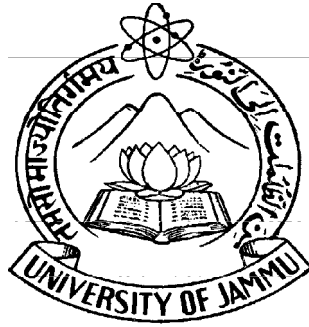# *Directorate of Distance and Online Education*

UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
JAMMU

SELF LEARNING MATERIAL
M.A. POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER II   **COURSE NO.:POL-204**

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

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COURSE NO. POL - 204

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Syllabus

M.A Political Science under Non CBCS

Semester - II

Session May 2023, 2024 & 2025

Course Code : POL - 204

Title - Comparative Politics

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Credits : 6 (Six)	**Max. Marks : 100**
Internal Assessment : 20 **Time : 3 Hours**	**Semester Exam : 80**

Objectives of Course : The course introduces students of different approaches and conceptual frameworks to approach politics in a comparative perspective. It underline the significance of understanding how and why the comparisons are made. The course explores the commonalities and differences in the politics of nation - states across the world by deploying different analytical and conceptual tools. It intends to equip the learners with theoretical tools to compare and contrast political structures and processes apart from explaining the process of structural differentiation across the world. It educates the learners that political structures and processes are dynamic as they have always been negotiation with the evolving objective realities within the nations-states throughout the world.

Learning Outcomes : While studying this course, the learners will learn about debates on the conceptual framework and theoretical perspectives in the domain of comparative politics. They will learn to use the comparative method to compare the changes in political structures, processes, regimes and ideologies which have been taking place in the perennial way across the nation-states. It will equip the learners with theoretical knowledge and analytical tools to study politics comparatively by comparing and contrasting political phenomena across the world.

Course Contents

Unit - I : Meaning, Evolution, Method and Approaches

1.1   Comparative Politics : Meaning, Evolution, Nature and Scope

1.2   Comparative Methods : Issues and Challenges of Comparison

1.3 Approaches : Institutionalism (Old and New) and Structural - Functional

1.4 Approaches : Political Economy and Political Change

Unit - II : Political Processes and Political Change

2.1 Constitutionalism : Theory and Practice

2.2 Democratization : Different Phases

2.3 Comparative Federalism : Various Models

2.4 Revolution : Concept, Types and Theories

Unit - III : Political Development, Dependency and Political Elite

3.1 Theories of Political Development

3.2 Theories of Dependency (A.G. Frank, Immanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin)

3.3 Theories of Ruling Class & Elites (Pareto, Michales and Mosca)

3.4 Theories of Social Movements

Unit - IV : Theories and Forms of State

4.1 State Theory : Recent Debates (Statist & Foucauldian Perspectives)

4.2 Globalization and the Nation-State Interface

4.3 European Union as a New Political System : Beyond Nation State

4.4 Regime Types : Totalitarian, Authoritarian and Populism

Note for Paper Setter

- The Question paper shall be divided into two sections. The first section will carry eight short questions of which students will be required to attempt five questions. The upper words limit for the answer of each question will be 200 words. Each question carrying 4 marks.

- The second section will comprise eight questions of which students will have to attempt four questions on the basis of **'WITHIN UNIT'** choice. The upper words limit for the answer of each question will be 850 to 1000 words. Each question will carry 15 marks.

Suggested Readings

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – I: MEANING, EVOLUTION, METHOD AND APPROACHES

1.1 Comparative Politics: Meaning, Evolution, Scope & Trends

- Baljit Singh

Structure

1.1.0 Objectives

1.1.1 Introduction

1.1.2 Evolution of Comparative Politics

1.1.3 Meaning and & Distinction

    1.1.3.1 Comparative Politics and Comparative Governments

    1.1.3.2 Moving towards Comparative Politics

1.1.4 Scope and Trends of Comparative Politics

1.1.5 Comparative Politics in Contemporary Scenario

1.1.6 Let us Sum Up

1.1.7 Suggested Readings

1.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- understand evolution of comparative politics;

- know the meaning of comparative politics;

- understand the distinction between comparative governments and comparative politics;

- comprehend the scope and trends of comparative politics, i.e. what does comparative politics compare;

- understand the contemporary scenarios and developments in comparative politics.

1.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The comparative study of government and politics can be traced back to writings of Aristotle because he compared and contrasted various political systems for the better understanding of political phenomena across the countries. Aristotle is considered as the first scholar, who made the use of comparative method to understand the political happenings in the Greek City-States. Since then the comparative government has become an essential component of the discipline of political science.

Comparative politics is one of the three main sub-fields of political science (along with political theory and international relations) focusing on internal political structures, actors, and processes, and analyzing them empirically by describing, explaining, and predicting their variety (similarities and differences) across political systems-be it national political systems, regional, municipal, or even supra-national political systems. This can be done through the intensive analysis of few cases or with large-scale extensive analysis of many cases, and can be either synchronic or diachronic. Comparative politics uses both quantitative and qualitative data. Increasingly, according to Daniele Caramani the analysis of domestic politics is challenged by the growing geographical scope and interdependence between regions and countries through globalization bringing comparative politics and international relations closer (Daniele Caramani 2008). Comparative politics was born out of diversity. There would be no comparative politics without of diversity of political systems and their features. The literature up to the 1950s assumed that there would be a convergence towards the model of the major western liberal democracies. But it is on the contrary the fact that no convergence occurred, there has been divergence that led to the actual development of comparative politics.

1.1.2   EVOLUTION OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The discipline of comparative politics includes three different traditions (Van Biezen and Caramani 2006). The **first tradition** is oriented towards the study of single countries. This reflects the understanding of comparative politics in its formative years in the US, where it mainly meant the study of political system outside the US, often in isolation from another and involving little, if any comparison. For long comparative politics especially in the Anglo-Saxon world-has meant the study of foreign countries. The **second tradition** is methodological and is principally concerned with establishing rules and standards of comparative analysis. This tradition addresses the question of how comparative analyses should be carried out in order to enhance their potential for the descriptive accumulation of comparative information, explanation and prediction. This strand is concerned with rigorous conceptual, logical and statistical techniques of analysis, involving also issues of measurement and case selection. The **third tradition** of comparative politics is analytical, in that it combines empirical substance and method. The body of literature in this tradition is primarily concerned with the identification and explanation of differences and similarities between countries and their institutions, actors, and processes through systematic comparison using cases of a common phenomenon. Its principal goal is to be explanatory. It aims to go beyond merely ideographic descriptions and ultimately aspires to arrive at the identification of law like explanations (Daniele Caramani 2008).

1.1.3 MEANING & DISTINCTION BETWEEN COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Comparative Politics involves conscious comparisons in studying political experience, institutions, behaviour and processes of the major systems of government, in a comprehensive manner so as to include even informal and extra-constitutional agencies. It is concerned with significant regularities, similarities and differences in the patterns of political institutions and in the working of political institutions and in the patterns of political behaviour. In simple words, we can say comparative politics involves a comparative study of various political systems. It involves a comprehensive, realistic and systematic study of the various processes of politics found in different systems with a view to enrich the knowledge of politics and for developing a scientific political theory.

Politics is continuous, timeless ever changing and a universal activity having its key manifestation in the making of a decision to face and solve a predicament. It connotes a kind of activity, a form of human behaviour. David Easton treats it as an action for the authoritative allocation of values. Harold Laswell and Robert Dahl describe it as a "special case in exercise of power" and Jean Blondel lays emphasis on the point of "decision making". As a subject of study, Politics has been popularly defined as "the struggle for power through which binding and authoritative values are made and implemented". Accordingly comparative politics can be described as the subject that seeks to compare the political systems with a view to understand and describe the nature of politics and to build a scientific theory of politics.

Some popular definitions of comparative politics which are given here would indicate the meaning various scholars attributed to comparative politics. For instance, M. Curtis suggests that "comparative politics is concerned with significant regularities, similarities and differences in the working of political institutions and political behaviour." According to E. A. Freeman, "Comparative politics is comparative analysis of the various forms of government and diverse political institutions." Jean Blondel defines comparative politics "as the study of patterns of national governments in the contemporary world." The term patterns of government refer to three parts of study (i) government structure (ii) behaviour and (iii) the laws. According to Roy C Macridis and Robert ward, Government is not the sole concern of students of comparative politics. Comparative politics, no doubt, has to be concerned with the government structure, but at the same time it has to take note of: (1) society, historical heritage and geographic and resource endowed, its social and economic organisations; its ideologies and its political system and (2) its parties, interests and leadership, etc.

1.1.3.1 COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENTS

Generally the term comparative government and comparative politics are being used interchangeably but there is difference between the comparative government and comparative politics. In order to understand the distinction between the comparative government and comparative politics, it is required to understand the meaning of both. The subject matter of comparative government and politics has always been rather ambiguous. Comparative government can be defined in the preliminary

fashion as the study of the patterns of national governments in the contemporary world. It would also be simplistic to suggest that the study of comparative government is and must be, the study of government on a comparative basis. Roy C. Macridis points out, the expression "comparative government" signifies the study of the legal instrumentalities of government and of political processes conceived as a result of the interaction between the properly constituted organs of government, namely the electorate, the legislature, the administration and courts (Ray: 2006).

The study of comparative government cannot therefore primarily be based on a vertical comparison between all types of governments. It has to rely on what might be termed a horizontal study of national governments. This can take one of two, and only two forms. One consists in looking at national government throughout time, by having recourse to history. This is for some purpose a very attractive means of dealing with the problem and it was indeed the main way in which national governments were studied for a long period. The analysis can be given a dynamic dimension and the real influence of certain happenings may be traced more accurately. But, if used on its own, such an analysis runs into insuperable methodological difficulties: the further away one moves from the contemporary world, the more acute become the problem of data collection and of comparable data collection. Descriptions of a sequence of events can be made adequately; but the systematic examination of the structure and behaviour of government can scarcely begin. The study of government, like the study of other social problems, is rooted in history as evidence can be drawn only from the past, but analysis over time are only a tool or means by which contemporary governments can be described or understood.

We are left with only one approach to the study of comparative government: it consists of studying national governments across national boundaries, among the politics of the contemporary world. This approach is far from new: the first political scientist who began systematically to compile information from and to draw comparison among governments of the world was the Greek Philosopher Aristotle. Since Aristotle, not only political scientists but also lawyers and historians have used techniques of this kind to understand problems of government. Thus, as Blondel pointed out, while vertical studies of all types of government will develop and are already beginning to constitute the true overall field of political science, perhaps the most important single branch of the study will remain the analysis of national governments on comparative basis (Blondel: 1969).

Comparative government can thus be defined in a preliminary fashion as the study of patterns of national governments in the contemporary world. But the scope of the study needs to be examined more closely. In doing so we shall encounter two problems, one of which requires careful consideration as it is related to the nature of political activity. The first problem is one of boundary. When we say that comparative government is concerned with the study of government, we need to know, at least in broad terms, what we understand by governmental action. This question has naturally been the subject of numerous controversies among political scientists: some have a legalistic approach and relate government to the activities of the state; some have more substantive approach and suggest that the study of comparative government is the examination of the ways in which values are allocated in an authoritative fashion in the community. Government is the machinery by which the values are allocated, if necessary by using compulsion: what is therefore important is to examine the three stages of the operation by which the values are allocated. **First,** we must see the way in which the values come to be formulated and government is made aware of them. **Second,** we must see how the machinery of government digests and transforms these values into decisions applicable to the whole community. **Third,** we must see how these decisions are implemented down the line of governmental command (Blondel: 1969).

The study of comparative government is thus complex because it is concerned with norms and with structures and with the extent to which norms and structures are natural or imposed. But a further difficulty arises because norms whether natural or imposed, are related to structures in a number of ways. This arises largely as a result of the part played by imitation: because structures which are adopted in a country and seem particularly valuable or successful, they are imitated in another country. British and American institutions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Soviet one party system towards the middle of twentieth century have been imitated elsewhere, often in a distorted fashion and in widely different forms, with the result that it becomes impossible to analyze together countries which adopted similar structure and we are

confronted with norms, structures and behaviour and with a peculiar inert-connection between the three levels at which the political system develops (Blondel: 1969).

Thus the study of comparative government is fraught with problems of a particularly difficult kind and it is not surprising that, for generations, concentration should have been on the polities which were most open, where variables were most easy to operationalize and where the congruence between norms, institutions and behaviour was apparently greatest. For the generations, the study of comparative government has been the study of politics in liberal societies and has been coextensive with the analysis of constitutional rule. Modern political scientists have, at last, moved out of the vicious circle; but the move was at the expanse of much precision and logical rigour (Blondel: 1969).

1.1.3.2 MOVING TOWARDS COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The term comparative politics is now favoured in place of comparative government. The use of the term may not be mere semantic variation, as Richard Snyder calls it. It delineates an area of concern and a methodological orientation that differs from the traditional approach. It indicates that the scheme is not only focused on formal governmental institutions or political organizations but true to one of the dominant trends in contemporary political science, emphasizes informal factors, the dynamic nature of the political process, the role of the interest groups, and the impact of the society and culture on politics. Comparative politics now offers to study political process and institutions in a totally comparative fashion for the purpose of answering common problems and questions (Roy 2006). The shift from government to politics was indeed most welcome as a device designed to change the focus from institutions to processes, and was considered a realistic advance upon the earlier system. As a field of enquiry, comparative politics today signifies a genuinely comparative analysis of political structures, processes and behaviour within and across nations. Its central concern is politics and it deals with the distribution of power, wealth and skills in a political community. In a larger sense, it is concerned with the control of human behaviour in the process of distributing and redistributing these valued processes.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1.   Write a brief note on evolution of comparative politics.

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2.   Discuss the Meaning of comparative politics

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3.   Define comparative politics and explain the features\characteristics of comparative politics.

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1.1.4   NATURE AND SCOPE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Comparative politics as a method of study is as old as the empirical study of politics itself. Today, even those scholars who only conduct research on a single polity drawn into the sub-discipline of comparative politics. As soon as they move beyond pure description and start using a vocabulary based diversities and comprehensive systems of classification, they turn themselves into students of comparative politics.

So, even those students of political science who study a single dimension of politics may not be able to escape the tentacles of comparison, no matter how hard they try. Trying to understand one aspect of a country's politics could be misleading without some effort at placing it 'in comparative perspective'. Even in the study of international relations we are not restricting ourselves to study only present-day world

system, but within that single case ambiguous 'trans-national' polities, such as the European Union (EU), other regional and functional 'regimes', and a myriad of non-governmental organizations.

However, comparative politics compares political systems mainly at the national level. The classical cases of comparative politics are national political systems. They are still the most important political units in the contemporary world. However, national political systems are not the only cases that comparative politics analyses. On the other hand, non-national political systems can be compared: sub-national regional political systems or supra-national units such as (1) regions (Western Europe, Central-Eastern Europe, North America, Latin America, and so on), (2) political systems of empires (Ottoman, Habsburg, Russian, Chinese, Roman, etc), (3) international organizations (European Union, NAFTA, etc), and finally the types of political systems rather than geographic units (a comparison between the democratic and authoritarian regimes in terms of, say, economic performance.

On the other hand, comparative politics compares single elements of components of the political systems rather than the whole system. The scholars of comparative politics compare the structures of parliament of different countries or regional governments, they compare policies, the finances of parties and trade unions, the presence or not of direct democracy institutions, electoral laws, and so on (Daniele Caramani 2008: 6). Comparative politics encompasses everything from a substantial from a substantial point of view, it has no substantial specificity, but rather methodological one resting on comparison and its status as a discipline has been questioned, especially in recent literature (Verba 1985; Dalton 1991; Keman 1 993a). Yet, there is specificity, and this is the focus on internal or domestic political processes. There is substantial specificity which resides in the empirical analysis of internal structures, actors and processes (Daniele Caramani 2008).

Comparative politics prior to the behavioural was typically a discipline that compared few cases. It used to believe that the world would converge towards the Anglo-Saxon model of democracy and that, consequently, these were cases that comparative political scientists should concentrate upon. The number of cases was

therefore limited to the US, Britain, France, and a few other cases such as Canada, sometimes Australia and New Zealand, as well as failed democracies of Germany and Italy. Obviously, with such a limited number of cases the employment of statistical research methods was extremely problematic and consequently did not develop. The behavioural revolution involved the widening of cases, that is, much greater numbers. Besides this, the behavioural revolution also shifted the focus of analysis from institutions to the processes and political actors.

For the purpose of comparative government and comparative politics, which has been a dynamic discipline all through, the emergence of these third world countries and their entry into the community of nations has proved to be of great significance. **First,** as Erickson has stated, it has greatly enlarged the empirical range of the field of comparative politics in the post-second world war period (Erickson: 1963). **Second,** it has helped to engender a desire for going much beyond common sense propositions and common sense testing procedures. **Third,** it has helped to produce the present emphasis on the social setting of politics and on agencies mediating between the social and the political, such as political groups and agencies of political socialization since, in these political systems, there is very little differentiation between the social and the political. **Fourth,** as Macridis pointed out, by expediting the efforts towards the studies of these clusters of countries as 'areas', it has promoted the inter-disciplinary involvement of modern comparative politics. The novelty of this inter-disciplinary approach lies not so much in its systematic orientation or in the development of analytical concepts for comparison, but rather in the sophistication with which it relates the political process in, the particular system to the ideological, cultural and social context (Macridis: 1963). **Fifth,** according to Rustow, it has sharpened the edge of the comparative method, and has facilitated the adoption of cross-cultural, cross-polity comparisons of the political systems of the world and the application of rigorous research frames, and it has helped to realize the possibility of a global study of comparative politics based on the entire body of available evidence (Rustow: 1963).

1.1.5 COMPARATIVE POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY SCENARIO

The discipline of comparative politics is built on the idea that 'comparison' is the methodological core of the scientific study of politics (Almond et al. 2004: 31.

Political systems exist within the framework of sovereign states; for this reason comparison is understood to be comparison between countries (i. e. sovereign states). The principle that comparative politics compares countries is so entrenched that major introductions to the discipline (e. g. Almond et al. 2004; Landman 2003) do not find it necessary to explain why that is the case: it is considered self-evident. Similarly, a dominant view in the discipline of international relations is that the international system is a system of sovereign states: they are the basic components of the international system (e.g. Waltz 1979).

Both disciplines have a point. Almost every discipline on earth is the citizen or subject of a state. Whether or not people are provided with basic social values-security, wealth, welfare, freedom, order, justice- strongly depends on the ability of the state to ensure them. Furthermore, states have not withered away because of globalization and other forces. They continue to be overwhelmingly important for the lives of people. It is not attractive to live in a weak or failed state; it can even be mortally dangerous. So states continue to be utterly significant for any kind of political or social analysis (Georg Sorensen 2008).

At the same time, states are constantly in a process of change. Therefore, it is always relevant to ask questions about the current major modalities of statehood, not least because help explain how and why states are able or unable to provide basic social values. During the cold war period, the prevalent distinction was between the advanced capitalist states in the first world, the communist states in the second world, and the remaining states in the third world. With the collapse of most communist states, some use distinction between the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South. Although, this is a very precise categorization but another categorization is suggested: first, the advanced capitalist states are in the process of transition from modern to post-modern statehood; second, the weak post colonial states display a serious lack of stateness and they are by no means on a secure path to the development of more substance; third, the modernizing states are different combinations of these three ideal types. Of course, even this categorization can further be refined.

Typology suggested here is not meant to replace any other possible distinction. It will remain relevant-depending on the research question-to differentiate between big and small states, nation-states and non-nation states, old and new states, states from various regions and sub-regions, and so on. But the modalities put forward here help explain how sovereign states have transformed in the context of globalization. So the first recommendation to comparativists is to be aware of the larger context in which political, economic and other processes play out. This is not a very dramatic proposition as awareness of context is nothing new to comparative politics. The add-on here is merely the suggestion of a different distinction between types of state. The second recommendation is to accept that 'international' and 'domestic' are intimately connected and this requires that both elements are taken into the analysis of the development and change of sovereign statehood.

The changes took place in socio-economic context are reflected in the transformation of the institution of sovereignty. In the context of the modern state, sovereignty is closely connected with the golden rule of non-intervention (Jackson 1990). But multi-level governance is quite the opposite of non-intervention; it is systematic intervention in national affairs by supra-national and international institutions. It means something else to be sovereign under conditions of multi-level governance than it did under traditional conditions of national government. In weak states, sovereignty has changes as well. Traditionally, sovereignty means international legal equality: equal rights and duties of member states in the international system. But weak states are highly unequal so they need help from the developed world. A number of weak states are unable to take care of themselves but sovereignty—which they have——assumes that they can. They possess sovereignty without being able to meet its requirements. That is behind new practices of 'humanitarian intervention' and trusteeship. In short, the institution of sovereignty changes to make room for a situation where 'domestic' and 'international' affairs can no longer easily be separated. In nutshell, it can be argued that the sovereign state is alive and doing well. By no means has it been obliterated by forces of globalization. But it has been transformed in ways which closely connect 'domestic' and 'international' affairs. That insight must be taken on board while conducting comparative analysis of political systems.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

1. Comparative politics now offers to study political process and institutions in a totally comparative fashion for the purpose of answering common problems and questions. Explain.

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2. How the movement from comparative governments to comparative politics enlarged the understanding of political phenomenon?

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3. The discipline of comparative politics is built on the idea that 'comparison' is the methodological core of the scientific study of politics. How do you understand this?

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1.1.7 LET US SUM UP

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 institutions at work with a single state. The former is called horizontal comparative studies and the latter Is called vertical comparative studies. Traditionally under comparative governments emphasis was placed only upon horizontal comparative studies. In contemporary comparative politics, however equal importance is given to both types of comparisons.

With all these features, comparative politics is almost a new science of politics. It has rejected traditional formal character, legal and institutional framework, normative and prescriptive approach and practical nature of comparative governments. Though comparison of political institutions continues to be one of its concerns, comparative politics has a wider scope, analytical approach and scientific theory building as its objective. Explaining the difference between comparative politics and comparative governments, Sidney Verba has remarked that in comparative Politics we "look beyond description to more theoretically relevant problems; look beyond the single case to the comparison of many cases; look beyond the formal institutions of government to political functions and look beyond the countries of western Europe to the new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America".

1.1.8 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – I: MEANING, EVOLUTION, METHOD AND APPROACHES

1.2. Comparative Methods: Issues and Challenges of Comparison

- Hima Bindu

Structures

1.2.0   Objectives:

1.2.1.   Introduction:

1.1.2.   Comparative Methods

1.2.3.   Issues and Challenges of Comparison

      1.2.3 (a). Selection Bias and Generalizability

      1.2.3 (b). Contextual Factors and the Challenge of Comparability

      1.2.3 (c). Ecological Fallacy and Individual-Level Analysis

      1.2.3 (d). Challenges in Data Collection and Reliability

      1.2.3 (e). Ethical Considerations in Comparative Research

1.2.4.   Sum up.

1.2.5.   Suggested Readings

1.2.0.   OBJECTIVES

The students will be able to know

    a.   The evolution of comparative politics

b. Meaning of comparative politics

c. The difference between comparative governments and politics

d. The issues in the comparative politics, and

e. The challenges of comparison

1.2.1. INTRODUCTION

The study of comparative politics gives the knowledge on all political systems, the change, nature of work and the ongoing transformations of the political institutions. Comparative politics observes the process by which people, institutions coordinate or compete for power, influence, and resources. The system of rule adopted, how the offices are governed, and the nature of the administrative procedures one follow are the important components to study.

The knowledge of the comparative politics not only gives the descriptive understanding but provides a theoretical interpretation. This reflects on the performance of the political systems in general.

The earliest form of comparative government is the study of constitutions. The basic comparisons of the constitutions was started from Aristotle with 158 Greek city-states as mentioned in his *Politics*. The comparison was done on the basis of their form of political rule, interest of the individual, common welfare, practices of good and corrupt. The modern comparative politics deals with the differences in political regimes, electoral systems, process of democratisation and democratic consolidation. For example, the processes of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Latin America, Asian and African countries. The changes in the power dynamics have affected the processes.

To study the political systems within and across the regions is the need of the hour to study with a comparative analysis. M. G. Smith defines comparative politics is 'the study of the forms of political organisations, their properties, correlations, variations and the modes of change'. According to Curtis, 'Comparative politics is comparative analysis of the various forms of government and diverse political institutions.' According to Roy C. Macridis and Robert Ward, Comparative Politics is concerned with the government

structure along with the study of society, historical heritage and geographical and resources endowed. It also includes the study of its social economic organisations, ideologies and value systems, political style, political parties, interests and leadership structure.

1.2.2. COMPARATIVE METHODS

The study of comparative politics is not studied as a theory but as a method instead. A comparative study of the diversity of lives among people of various nations itself gives dynamic inputs to study, starting from the developed nation like United States and the underdeveloped country like Somalia.

The differences between democratic and undemocratic political systems has shown the impact on the 'third world' during the Cold War era, leading to the beginning of informal politics. There was a transformation in the utility of synthesis of data and the nature and range of comparison. Thus, the traditional approach was concluded in the so called 'behavioural revolution'.

Wallas (1908) opined that the political process could be understood only by analysing as to how people actually behaved in political situation, not merely by speculating on how they should or would behave. His interest was on studying the roles of pressure groups, political parties, elections and public opinion in the political process. Another prominent thinker, Charles E. Merriam urged the students of political science to look at political behaviour as one of the essential objects of inquiry. As an exponent of the scientific method for the study of politics, he sought to put science into the service of democratic principles. The work followed by Lasswell (1936) work on empirical approach to politics as the study and analysis of power. Comparative politics in its approach constitutes both a substantive subject matter as well as an empirical methodology. Richard Rose and Peter Mair argue that comparative politics is a combo of substantive focus and method, with those entities that qualify for a comparison from its substance and that the explanation of a difference in unity or similarity in disunity comprises its method. A student of comparative politics must know that which needs to be set apart from conventional political science and then compared among various actors.

Substantively, the students of comparative politics deal with issues such as follows:

- The political phenomenon that takes place in a state, society, country etc.

- It deals with the internal dynamics of these systems to determine proper functioning via comparisons.

- It deals with the political phenomenon of these systems.

- Furthermore, it also deals with the issues like wars, revolutions, regimes, ethnicity, social movements, interest groups etc.

The areas of substantive research in comparative politics can be classified under the broad topics of overarching subject matter with specific subject matter.

❖ *Political order*:

➢ Formation and collapse of state

➢ War

➢ Revolutions

➢ Nationalism

➢ Civil Wars and Violence

➢ Ethnicity and Ethnic conflict

❖ *Political Regimes:*

➢ Varieties of political regimes

➢ Democratization and democratic breakdowns

❖ *Social Actors:*

➢ Social movements and civil society

➢ Interest groups

➢ Citizen attitudes and political culture

➢ Religion

➢ Clientalism

❖ *Democratic and state institutions:*

- Elections, voting and electoral rules,

- Political parties

- Democratic institutions

- Federalism and decentralisation

- Judiciary

- Bureaucracy

- Military and Police

- Policy making in general.

❖ *Economic and extra national processes:*

- Economic policy and reform

- Economic development

- Globalisation

- Supranational integration and processes

There was a time when if one spoke of international relations or politics of foreign countries, one would not bother to think beyond USA or Western Europe. When there were colonies, these countries among themselves did encompass whatever was international barring the exception of Russia or Japan. A colonialism came to an end post WW-II, new nations sprung up and a clash of interest ensued. At the centre of this, lay the interests of USA, which was keen on gaining as much foreign support as possible against USSR, which was also attempting to do likewise. In this ensuing clash was cemented the discipline of comparative politics.

Before exploring the discipline of comparative politics, one must understand the inception of the discipline of political science. As a subject, political science covers a wide array of topics with an extensive subject matter because of which it has several subfields, one of which is comparative politics. Apart from that, the areas of American politics, Political International Relations (sometimes referred to as World Politics, International affairs or international studies), Political Philosophy, Research Methods and Models, Political

Economy, Public Policy, and Political Psychology constitute the subfields of political science subject.

The importance of introducing political science as a discipline goes to American politics with the borrowed knowledge from European studies of politics. A historical comparative method was always favoured, but at the centre of all this, lay the American politics. As psychology made progress since inception of German rationalism, it sought to emphasize more on the individual rather than the formal structure. Individual was now seen as an agent of change and a basis for subject matter in social sciences.

Comparative politics also benefitted from the behavioural revolution. It sought to break away from the legal formal government oriented subject matter to a more personal, behaviour based subject matters. This brought it in contact with other disciplines like sociology and anthropology. When the behavioralist influence saw a decline in mid-60s, the rise of cold war, the space race, the Vietnam war as well as the civil rights movemnts in USA were observed. This further led to a more conservative democratic stance at the hands of the US government. The shift from behaviouralist approach to post behaviouralist approach change the scenario to the study of institutions from the state's point of view.

As the cold war came to an end, and globalisation took firm roots, comparative politics itself took a mere scientific approach. This was mainly because of the growing influence of economics on politics.

1.2.3. ISSUES AND CHALLENGES OF COMPARISON

Comparative politics includes the study of political experience, political institutions, political behaviour and the processes of government. Comparative politics is the study of politics in foreign countries digresses from international relations. The study focusses on internal dynamics of a state or society or institutions to formulate a macro social outlook. Comparison is avadvertently a scientific approach whereby using the conventional methods like statistics or experimenting one always compares the resulting data.

ArentLajphart argues that the term 'comparative politics' indicates about 'how' but does not specify the 'what' of the analyses. Almond and Laswell described comparative research as a sperate discipline. The scope of the discipline became more international after World War-II, comparativists began looking at the newly independent countries to

formulate more cross-national comparisons. They began using empirical and statistical methods, mostly for research with empirical and statistical methods for topics like voter turnout, electoral behaviour or public opinion. With respect to historical comparison, comparative politics also tends to rely on context and interpretation. Comparing presupposes a historical context and comparativivts are of the notion that the contemporary world decisions are influenced by the past.

Giovanni Sartori said, to compare is to control. The presumptions about the said entity is considered to compare. As discussed, USA lay at the centre of politics internationally and therefore being the bedrock of modern political science was also that constant, in most cases, against which rest of the world was compared. Besides, in world politics, one often does not have many cases at hand and as Sartori said, the conventional quantitative methods, being objective in nature, are not best suited to study subjective issues of social sciences.

There are four important aspects to consider in doing comparative research: the research problem, case selection, inferential aspirations, and theorizing. It is essential to understand the limitations and obstacles that researchers face when employing Comparative method. By delving into these challenges, one can enhance the ability to conduct rigorous and meaningful comparative research.

1.2.3 (a). Selection Bias and Generalizability

Selection bias poses a significant challenge when selecting cases for comparison. The choice of cases may be influenced by factors that are not representative of the broader population or phenomenon being studied. Consequently, the findings may not be generalizable beyond the selected cases. Mitigating this challenge involves employing systematic sampling techniques, employing randomization, and utilizing case-selection criteria that reflect the research question at hand.

1.2.3 (b). Contextual Factors and the Challenge of Comparability

Comparing political systems and processes across different countries or regions necessitates accounting for contextual factors. Cultural, historical, and institutional variations can complicate comparisons, making it challenging to isolate the effects of specific variables. Striving for comparability requires careful consideration of contextual factors, ensuring

appropriate levels of aggregation, and employing sophisticated analytical methods that account for these nuances.

1.2.3 (c). Ecological Fallacy and Individual-Level Analysis

The ecological fallacy occurs when conclusions about individuals are drawn solely from aggregate-level data. Making assumptions about individual behavior based on group-level patterns can lead to erroneous conclusions. Overcoming this challenge requires combining quantitative and qualitative methods, employing multi-level analysis, and conducting research that encompasses both individual-level and systemic-level factors.

1.2.3 (d). Challenges in Data Collection and Reliability

Obtaining accurate and reliable data is a persistent challenge in comparative politics. Comparative research often relies on secondary data sources, which may vary in quality and consistency across countries. Additionally, discrepancies in data availability and measurement can impede cross-country comparisons.

1.2.3 (e). Ethical Considerations in Comparative Research

Lastly, ethical considerations must be addressed when conducting comparative research. Comparative studies involving human subjects should prioritize informed consent, confidentiality, and protection of participants. Ethical challenges may also arise when working with sensitive data or in politically sensitive contexts.

Comparative politics encompasses the analysis of intricate political systems embedded in specific historical, cultural, and institutional contexts. This complexity presents a challenge in making meaningful comparisons. Contextual factors can influence political dynamics, rendering direct comparisons difficult.

Availability and reliability of data pose significant challenges in comparative politics. Different countries and regions may have varying levels of data collection infrastructure and practices, leading to discrepancies in data availability and quality.

Comparative research often involves analyzing texts, documents, and sources in multiple languages. Language barriers can impede data collection and analysis, limiting access to valuable information. Additionally, translation issues may arise, introducing potential inaccuracies and misinterpretations.

Check your progress exercise 1

1.   Define and discuss comparative politics?

        _____

        _____

        _____

2.   How do you understand the methodological dimensions of the comparative politics?

        _____

        _____

        _____

3.   Write about the challenges in studying the comparative politics?

        _____

        _____

        _____

1.2.4. LET US SUM UP

The comparative method in comparative politics presents both challenges and issues. It involves the study of political structures and functions of various state's political systems. The role of comparative methods in conducting the research is elaborated extensively. The issues discussed in this lecture highlight the intricacies involved in conducting meaningful cross-country comparisons and understanding political phenomena across diverse contexts. Conceptual clarity emerges as a key challenge in comparative research. As Todd Landman (2008) explained about various studies on comparing the countries under the important three methods of comparison mean the contemporary politics includes many country studies, few country studies, and single country studies. Contextual specificity presents a significant challenge when conducting comparative research. Political systems and processes are influenced by unique historical, cultural, and institutional factors. Accounting for these contextual nuances is crucial for making meaningful comparisons. By recognizing and addressing these challenges, researchers can enhance the rigor and impact

of comparative studies in political science. Overcoming issues related to conceptual clarity, sample selection, contextual specificity, data availability, and language barriers allows for a more comprehensive understanding of political phenomena and fosters robust cross-country comparisons. Ultimately, navigating these challenges strengthens the foundation of comparative politics and enables researchers to make significant contributions to the field.

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – I: POLITICAL PROCESSES AND POLITICAL CHANGE

1.3. Approaches, Institutionalism (old and New) and Structural Functional

- Hima Bindu

1.3.0. Objectives:

1.3.1. Introduction:

1.3.2. Approaches

1.3.3. Institutionalism (Old and New)

1.3.3 (a). Old Institutionalism

1.3.3 (b). New Institutionalism

1.3.4. Structural Functional

1.3.5. Sum up

1.3.6. Suggested Readings

1.3.0. OBJECTIVES

After going through the lesson, you should be able to know:

a. The importance of approaches to study the comparative politics

b. The systems theory and its application to comparative politics

c. The Institutionalism

d. The structural functional analysis

1.3.1. INTRODUCTION

Political theory refers to sets of systematically related generalizations, based on continuous assessment of institutions and its working in society. It is difficult to study different political systems, and the ways these systems' function. The approaches are important to study, analyse and compare the world systems and its functioning with evident data. Political theories are the source of these approaches to comparison.

The study of comparative politics deals with the interaction between theory and empirical research. The behavioural patterns are important aspects to study in understanding the comparative politics. The variations in the individual behaviour with the impact from the cultural and social factors are essential to learn and to think on how individuals from the distinct societies interact within the institutions like governments, parliaments, parties etc.

The world scenario, particularly the second world war has increased the study of foreign systems in Europe and Asia. Furthermore, the decline of empires and the political turmoil in the third world made the researchers to study the consequences for comparative politics. The changes or the developments resulted in various approaches to study the phenomenon like global, national, and regional. Thus, the study of comparative politics is influenced by the elements of society, culture, economy in the modern times.

The important approaches like systems theory, Institutionalism, structural functionalism are discussed below.

1.3.2. APPROACHES

The study of political systems and behaviour are explained with diversity of approaches. An approach is a method of doing something or dealing with a problem. The approaches to study the comparative politics are divided into traditional and modern. The traditional approach was broadly predominant till the occurrence of the second world war, i.e., study of state and government. The normative and principled approaches are concerned with the study of the organisation and activities of the state. The questions raised by the thinkers were about an ideal state. The approach investigated the formal structures of the institution called government, rules, laws and regulations.

The traditional approach being a normative approach, stresses on the values, different formal structures, and gives much importance to the facts and values. Thus, the traditional approach to study the comparative politics was not considered scientific.

The traditional approach further elaborates to:

a. Philosophical approach: Philosophical approach is a conventional approach. Philosophy is 'the study of science of truths or principles underlying all knowledge and being'. The approach brings out the truth of political situations. The objective of political writings or the writer is much explored through this approach. Being normative in character, it believes in developing norms with a logical method in bringing the philosophies. The key thinkers of philosophical approach are Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Hegel, Kant and Leo Strauss. For example, in ancient and modern philosophers like Plato on ideal state and Aristotle on Politics, John Locke on Two treatises of government, the approach believed in the values and firmly believed that the values cannot be separated from the study of politics. Having focus on ethical and normative study of politics, it is also known as moral, normative and idealistic approach.

b. Historical approach: The historical approach is based on development and evolution in history. This approach helps in looking through the working of institutions and political phenomenon. Machiavelli, Sabine, Dunning, Seely, Freeman, Montesquieu are some of the key thinkers of historical approach. It is concerned with the history of a state, nation with focus on historical factors like age, place, and situations.

c. Legal approach: The legal or juridical approach considers the state as the central organisation for the creation and enforcement of laws. The legal processes and institutions are the key measures to study the institutions. The legal approach treats the state as an organisation for creation and enforcement of law. It stands for an attempt to understand politics in terms of law and Constitution. The key thinkers of this approach are Cicero, Bodin, Hobbes, John Austin, Dicey and Sir Henry Maine. The main features of legal approach are concerned with the formal laws of a society but not the norms and values of society. It rejects the historical study of politics and much attention is given to legal and constitutional framework of the state.

d. Institutional approach: The institutional approach is one of the oldest methods in studying the politics, that has come into being as a reaction to historical and legal approach. The approach had followed the style of descriptive in explaining the detailed consideration of the study of the formal organisations like government in legal and historical terms. For example the study of governments. The institutional approach mainly deals with formal aspects of the government and politics emphasizes the study of the political institutions and the structure. The key thinkers of the institutional approach are Walter Bagehot, Harold Laski, Arthur Bently, James Bryce, Karl Freidrick. The theorists of the approach see institutions as 'the cause of growth and development'. They studied the government performance and seeking to improve that performance concentrated on constitutional structures and the institutions created by those constitutions. The institutional approach is not concerned with norms, values and history and no space for individual.

e Criticism: The traditional approaches of the study of comparative government deals with either one country or just the descriptions of the institutions. Hence the traditional approach is criticised as non-comparative. The approach deals with the problem and solution within the existing institution rather the concept of sovereignty, electoral provisions and its distributions which are key components of the study of comparative politics.

The modern approaches to study the comparative politics scientifically are developed as a criticism of traditionalism that is normative in nature.

The modern approaches are:

1. Political-economic approach – The important arenas of social sciences are politics and economics. Economics has a significant role in the study of politics. The policy formulations of economic nature like fiscal policies, industrial policy, agricultural policy, labour policy is done by the government. The policy decision on production and distribution are also done by the governments. The writings of Marx and Engels on economic approach clearly explains the attribution of economic approach to the study of politics. The exploitation by capitalism, the class struggle are based on the economic factors. Basing on the economic interests, the classes are formed and the capitalists' motive of profit making leading to exploitation of workers;

leading to the class struggle. Marx stated that 'politics is controlled by the persons who own sources of production and manage the process of distribution' and hence the politics has no independent authority outside economic influence.

2. Liberal approach- Liberalism took birth through renaissance in modern philosophy. Liberal theory developed the concept of sovereign individual. It started with the belief in the absolute value of human personality and spiritual equality of all individuals and in the autonomy of individual will. It also believed in social, political, economic, and religious spheres of life. Freedom from arbitrary authority was much focussed during the period. Most importantly, the natural rights like right to life, liberty and property was consciously practiced. The role of state as a facilitator, individual claimed their freedom in all spheres of life. Egalitarianism is liberalism's claim to moral equality with utmost importance to the individual's rights. It challenged the idea of state as organic community and came with an idea of the 'least is the best' with individual as the genuine entity. As a whole the approach redefined the concept of state, government, relation between state and individual; and in response, it gave the concepts like rights, liberty, equality, justice and democracy for the individual.

3. Marxist Approach- The liberal individualistic theory was challenged by Marx, Engels in the later half of nineteenth century by their 'scientific socialism'. The liberation of mankind through the philosophy was introduced by Marx to challenge the material conditions of human life. Marxist theory as a theory of social change through revolutionary reconstitution of society consists of three elements (a) dialectical materialism- to study the existing and past societies and to critically evaluate them, (b) the idea of creating an alternative model against the existing exploitative division of classes in the society, (c) the existence in the democratic society. The capitalist society is criticised but the manifestation of the socialist society required a revolutionary action by the proletariat. The Marxist approach consist of major themes like mode of production, class division, class struggle, property relations, revolution and state as an instrument of class domination.

4. Systems approach- Ludwig Von Bertallanfy advocated the general systems theory for the study of biology. It was after second world war, the social science research

used amalgamation of sciences with the help of systems theory. The general systems theory could be traced back to its existence in anthropology. It was later incorporated into the studies of sociology and psychology. In 1960s, the systems theory became an important tool to investigate the key factors in political science. David Easton was the first to apply systems theory into the political analysis. This approach suggested that a political system operates within the social environment. The inputs in the systems approach are the demands and support in a system. Since the political system operates within an environment with demands from the society, like health facilities, transportation, education etc. each demand flows with different levels of support. These demands are operated through the decisions and policies are the outputs of the political system. The 'outputs' flows back into the environment (society) through 'feedback' mechanism and thus gives rise to the fresh demands. Hence, it is recurring process towards development. Systems approach to political institutions by school has evolved as a new concept with the contributions of David Easton, Gabriel Almond and Morton Kaplan.

5. Behavioural approach- The rise of the behavioral sciences based on natural sciences paved way to behaviouralism. Instead of studying the institutions like legislative, executive, judiciary, it observes the behaviour and actions of the individual. Behavioralists claimed that the study of politics prior to the behaviouralist revolution had lacked scientific approach to be called a science. They used the empirical research to validate the study of social science.

David Easton (1967) mentioned eight intellectual foundations of behaviouralism as follows:

a. Regularities- deals with the consistencies in political behaviour. Regularities of behaviour are required to analyse a political situation.

b. Verification- testing and verifying as an important component to make a scientific study.

c. Techniques- to focus on valid, reliable and comparative data i.e., sample surveys, mathematical models etc.

d. Quantification- to measure and quantify.

e. Value free study- separates facts from values. Important to be value free for objective research without prejudiced view.

f. Systemization- theory and research to go together.

g. Pure science- verification through evidence

h. Integration- integration with other social sciences like history, sociology and economics.

   Post behavioralism is reactionary movement against behaviorualism in late 1960s. as Easton claimed, it is actual revolution not a counter revolution. Petre Bachrach, Christaina Bay, H. Morgenthau, TheoderLovi are the key proponentsof the post behaviouralism.

6. Structural functional approach- The approach explains the society as a single inter-related system in which every part of the system has a certain role to play. Being an advocate of the approach, Gabriel Almond explained the political systems as a special system of interaction that exists in all societies performing certain functions. The approach is further explained in detail.

1.3.3. INSTITUTIONALISM (OLD AND NEW)

Institutions are important as they form a large part of the landscape and importantly, the modern governance essentially occurs in and through institutions. The study of institutions are important as a process that shapes the behaviour and role of political actors. The two things like 'power' and 'institutions' are important to study the politics.

Institutions are important in mobilising the resources in political struggles and governance relations as well as to exercise the power. The study of institutions analyses the party systems, rules of electoral competition, constitutions, judicial system, parliaments, government bureaucracies. The study includes certain supra-national institutional complexes like United Nations, the European Union and World Trade Organisation etc. and non-state institutions like trade unions.

1.3.3 (a). Old Institutionalism

Having the importance of study of institutions, the old institutionalism was much concentrated on theory building through the process of description. The studies were

often constructed on an evaluative framework to measure the existence of institutions on democratic norms making the responsible government. In some subject areas, the importance of studies based on old institutionalism is still prominent. The research in legal studies and public administration follows the descriptive method in studying the institutions resulting in following the formal rules of the institutional set up. Further research promoted from explaining the institutional behaviour to the study of an individual behaviour.

1.3.3 (b). New Institutionalism

The study of organisations has generated fresh insights as well as interesting shifts of focus in studying the institutions. The sociological sensibility is internalised in understanding the old and the new study of institutionalism.

New Institutionalism can be understood in three approaches.

a. Rational Choice Institutionalism: The approach assuming the actors as rational, adopts deductive methodology from abstracted assumptions about the behaviour of the actors. The actors are assumed 'to be selfish and utility maximising individuals' making the individuals as self-interested. The question arises about the individual preferences. The preferences that are shaped under the institutional context with selfish motives. The role of institutions is considered as the cause and effect of behaviour. It is explained by the rational choice theorists that the individual actors constructed the institutions based on rational purposes, and engage in changing and shaping institutional environments to meet the selfish goals. It is understood by the rational choice writers that the institutions are shaping the individual instead of looking at institutions are rational product of individual behaviour. The rational choice institutionalism follows the deductive methodology in understanding the institutions and individual's behaviour. Hall and Taylor (1996) describe the rational choice approach tends to make universal assumptions about actors. The approach is criticised for giving more importance to the institutions through a mechanical way of explanation.

b. Historical (sociological) Institutionalism: Institutions play an important role in understanding the political behaviour. The historical institutionalist methodology is inductive unlike the rational choice institutionalism. The 'logic of appropriateness'

as defined by March and Olsen is considered for study. The inductive methodology of historical institutionalism derives the working models of rationality and works with clear empirical observations rather than assumptions. Actor preferences and rationality are two important components which helps in building a micro foundational account of politics and institutional life. To conclude, in order to answer the question about why certain goals or ends are emphasised over others, it is important to specify the content of strategic behaviour with the help of historically based empirical analysis.

1.3.4. STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

The structural functional approach defines that the society as a single inter- related system. Under the system, each part of the society has a distinct and definite role to play. Gabriel Almond defines the political systems as a special system of interaction that exists in all societies to perform certain functions. Comprehensiveness, inter-dependence and existence of boundaries are the main attributes of a political system. All political systems perform input and output functions. Political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggression and political communication are the input functions of political systems. Whereas rule making, rule application and rule adjudication are the output functions. Like Easton, Almond too believes in a stable and efficient political system.

The comparative study of politics and government scans political institutions from constitutions to executives to parliaments to parties to electoral laws and the processes and relationships that account for constancy and change in political economy, culture, conflict, government, rights and public policy.

The works of Malinowski and Radcliffe Brown, structural functionalism emerged as a political science through sociology and Gabriel Almond adopted it as a field of comparative politics. This mode of analysis is primarily concerned with the phenomena of system maintenance and regulation. The main question on what structures fulfil what basic functions and what conditions govern any given system? The approach explains the importance of various structures of political system that are 'patterns of action and resultant institutions' which are objective consequences. To elaborate further, the concept of structure is vital in structural-functional analysis. Here structures refer to those arrangements within the system which perform the function. Almond and Powell opines that any structural

arrangement may perform political functions that might have different kinds of outcomes for the structure. The question here is about 'conditions of survival' for maintenance and preservation of fundamental characteristics of a political system so that it persists for long time. The four important functions namely goal-attainment, adaptation, integration and pattern maintenance as proposed by sociologists. Following the link, Gabriel Almond developed a list of political functional requisites and divided into input and output functions.

The four input functions are:

a. Political socialisation and recruitment

b. Interest Articulation

c. Interest aggregation

d. Political Communication

The input functions performed by non-governmental subsystems, by society and the general environment are given highest priority.

The three output functions are:

a. Rule making

b. Rule application

c. Rule adjudication

The output functions are performed by the traditional governmental agencies like the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, and the bureaucracy.

Almond is inspired by the desire to develop a more universal and clear analytical vocabulary for the study of non-Western states, the third world countries. He understands and explains politics as integrative and adaptive functions of the society based on little or more legitimate compulsion. He defines the political system as 'that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaption by means of the employment or threat of employment, of legitimate order maintaining or transforming system in the society.

The structural- functional approach has been widely adopted in the field of comparative government and politics. Despite the criticism of Almonds' structural functional

approach as imperfect and loose model to be used to order political data and to understand political phenomena.

1.3.5   SUM UP

Comparative study carries a methodological instead of a substantive level. The traditional approach considers action oriented research and implies a special characterization of the scientific method. The modern approaches like political-economic approach, liberal approach and Marxist approach contributed a different ideas in the subject of contemporary politics. The old and new institutionalism further explains he shift in understanding the comparative politics. Gabriel Almond's input, output functions are existing from long period to explain and understand the studies of the government, institutions, rules and regulations, through which the policy making process occurs.

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Check your progress:

1. What are various approaches related to comparative political study?

2. Differentiate between traditional and modern approaches?

3. Explain the structural functional approach?

1.4 APPROACHES: POLITICAL ECONOMY & POLITICAL CULTURE

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

1.4.0 Objectives

1.4.1 Introduction

1.4.2 Systems Theory

    1.4.4.1 Systems Theory in Comparative Politics

1.4.3 Structural Functional Analysis

1.4.4 Political Economy Approach

    1.4.4.1 National and Comparative Political Economy

    1.4.4.2 Political Economy: Multiple Perspectives

1.4.5 Political Culture

1.4.6 Concept of Secularization

1,4.7 Types of Political System on the basisi of Political Culture

1.4.8 Let us sum up

1.4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

* understand importance of approaches to the study of comparative politics;

- know Systems Theory and its application to Comparative Politics;

- understand the what is structural functional analysis;

- comprehend political economy approach to Comparative Politics and divergence perspectives of political economy.

1.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The subject matter of politics is extremely complex, involving a range of institutions, actors, and ideas that interact on the continuous basis to provide governance for society. The complexity of politics and government is compounded when we attempt to understand several different political systems, and to compare the ways in which these systems function. As comparative politics has moved beyond simple descriptions of individual countries of a few institutions, scholars have required substantial guidance to sort through the huge amount of evidence available, and to focus on the most relevant information. Given the high complexity of political systems and the wide range of variation between them across the world, it is important to develop approaches that are use across them and not simply in single countries. Political theories are the source of these approaches to comparison. According to Peters, at the broadest level, there is the difference between positivist and constructivist approaches to politics, and to social life more broadly. Political theories are the main source of such approaches- the division between positivism and constructivism being the more general distinction. At the less general levels a number of different theories enable the comparative political scientists to impose some analytic meanings on the political phenomena being observed, and to relate that evidence back to a comprehensive understanding of politics (Peters: 2008).

Although, there is an important interaction between theory and empirical research in all areas of the discipline, that interaction is especially important in the field of comparative politics. One of the crucial functions of theory in comparative politics is to link micro and macro behaviour. Much of contemporary political theory functions especially at the micro level, attempting to understand the logic of individual choice. The link between the micro and the macro is crucial for comparative politics, given that one of our primary concerns is explaining the behaviour of political institutions rather than individuals. Certainly variations in individual behaviour and the influence of cultural and social factors on that behaviour are important, but the logic of comparison

is primarily having larger structures in play, and to think about how individuals interact within parliaments, parties, or bureaucracies. Indeed one could argue that if a researcher went too far down the individualist route, then any comparison would become irrelevant, and all the researcher would care about would be the individual's behaviour. Theory is at once the best friend and the worst enemy of the comparative researcher.

Comparative politics seeks to discover regularities and variations of political organization by comparative analysis of historical and contemporary systems. Having isolated these regularities and variations, it seeks to determine the factors which underlie them, in order to discover the properties and conditions of polities of varying types. It then seeks to reduce these observations to a series of interconnected propositions applicable to all these systems in both static and changing conditions.

Political Science and Comparative Politics relate both to theory and to method. Theory refers to sets of systematically related generalizations, and method is procedure or process that involves the techniques and tools utilized in inquiry and for examining, testing, and evaluating theory.

The movement toward the study of all political phenomenon and the need to draw upon the theories and methods of other disciplines gave to comparative politics an allencompassing orientation. The Second World War heightened interest among scholars in the study of foreign systems, especially systems in Europe and Asia. The decline of empires after the Second World War and turmoil of independence in the Third World influenced scholars to turn their attention from the established to the new nations. The consequences for comparative politics were substantial.

These developments resulted in mushrooming of "approaches" to study various systems – national, regional and global. Approaches enable us in understanding a particular phenomenon. The perspective may encompass micro and macro level of local, regional, national, or international issues. Comparative politics is no more limited to the study of government alone. The discourse of comparative politics has broadened to such an extent that it has emerged as on interdisciplinary study. Elements of society, economy, and other emerging disciplines greatly influenced the subject area of comparative politics in modern times. Some of the important approaches to study in

comparative manner are outlined in this lesson. These are Systems Theory, Structural-Functionalism and Political Economy.

1.4.2 SYSTEMS THEORY

The term 'system' refers to a structure of its own, having different parts which are inter-related and inter-dependent, which undergoes various processes to maintain its existence. A system, therefore, implies not only the inter-dependence of parts but also the acceptance of influence from environment and vice versa. Inter-dependence means that when the properties of a component in a system change, all other components and the system as a whole are affected. There are various kinds of systems.

The system theory had its origin the natural sciences. The proponents of the theory sought to find a unifying element which would offer a broader perspective for creative analysis. In the period after the Second World War, this crystallized around the concept of systems, which Von Bertanlanffy, the German biologist, defined as a set of "elements standing in interaction". This concept is based on the idea that objects or elements within a group are in some way related to one another and in turn, interact with one another on the basis of certain identifiable processes. The term 'system' is useful for organizing one's knowledge about many social objects and the use of the 'systems' approach to politics allows one to see the subject in such a way that 'each part of the political canvas does not stand alone but is related to each other part', or that 'the operation of the one part cannot be fully understood without reference to the way in which the whole itself operates'.

Political systems analysis attempts to delineate the fields of political science and political action, to give them coherence and order, to define their properties and guide research, as well as to integrate relevant findings. It seeks to isolate the arena of politics as an independent system from the remainder of society. In one sense this has been done by students of politics from the very beginning of political thought.

David Easton is the first major political scientist who has developed a systematic framework on the basis of the systems analysis approach for the study politics instead of merely adapting it from other social sciences like Anthropology, Sociology or Economics. His monumental work *A System Analysis of Political Life* was published

in 1965. Following the course of atural Scientists, he set out to develop a theory that would help to explain behavioural reality. He has provided an original set of concepts for arranging at the level of theory and interpreting political phenomena in a new and helpful way. He has selected the political system as the basic unit of analysis and concentrated on the intra-system behaviour of various systems as principal areas of research. Easton's concept of political life is that of 'a system of behaviour embedded in an environment to the influences of which the political system is itself exposed and in turn reacts". However, Easton clearly distinguishes political system from other systems – physical, biological or economic. Easton defines a political system as "that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented".

According to Easton, the political system must have the capacity to respond to disturbances and thereby to adopt itself to the conditions under which it has to function. Easton emphasised on the adoptive character of the political system, which would be different from its just reacting passively to the environmental influences. The system's capacity to survive depends on its adaptability and demands for adaptability may be the result either of indigenous or exogenous change. Easton is basically concerned with the issue of survival or persistence of the political system. The purpose of an empirical political scientist, according to him, is to study primarily those conditions under which political systems are maintained over a period of time.

David Easton's political system always remains subject to challenges from forces operating in the environment, which it is required to cope with. Easton calls such forces as stresses that constitute the response mechanism of the political system. The stresses are of two kinds-demand stress and support stress. Demand stress may result either from the failure of the system to successfully cope with the information feedback from its original output or from the incapability of the system to deal with the particular range of demands made upon it. It may be termed as 'demand-input' overload. There may be factor of support stress which means that the system may suffer a loss or at least an erosion of the support given to it by the members of the system itself.

According to Easton, the survival of a political system requires certain structural

bases that may be in the form of institutional arrangements like electoral machinery and political parties and non-institutional arrangements in the form of political beliefs and attitudes of the people. Both types of structural bases may be termed objects of support of the system. The objects of the support of the political system are three-political community, regime and authorities. The political community means a group of people living together with willingness to cooperate in solving the problems of their political system. The community continues to exist even though the regime and authorities may change from time to time. The regime or the 'constitutional order' implies written and unwritten rules of the constitution that determine the structure of the political organisation and also the values and norms on which the entire organisation of government is based. Finally, the authorities mean people who are entrusted with the work of allocating values authoritatively. In simple words, they are the rules who convert the inputs into outputs by taking decisions in response to the impact of environmental conditions.

1.4.4.1 SYSTEMS THEORY IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS

As Ronald Chilcote pointed out, the classification of systems has caught the attention of comparativists range from Aristotle, who conceived societies in terms of monarchies, aristocracies, and democracies, to Gabriel Almond, who offered a breakdown of Anglo-American, continental European, totalitarian, and preindustrial systems. Similarly, many scholars provided various typologies to understand contemporary political systems. For instance, F. X. Sutton classify societies into agriculture and industrial systems; James S. Coleman wrote of competitive, semicompetitive, and authoritarian systems, David Apter divided the world into dictatorial, oligarchical, indirectly representative, and directly representative systems. Fred W. Riggs analyzed fused, prismatic, and refracted systems, and S. N. Eisenstadt offered a comprehensive classification of primitive systems, patrimonial empires, nomad or conquest empires, city-states, feudal systems, centralized bureaucratic, autocratic empires, and modern systems; he further divided the modern systems into democratic, autocratic, totalitarian, and underdeveloped categories. Leonard Binder classification contains three types of systems: traditional, conventional, and rational systems. Edward Shills referred to political democracies, tutelary democracies, modernizing oligarchies,

totalitarian oligarchies, and traditional oligarchies. Arend Lijphart compared majoritarian and consensus models of democracy.

Classification of Systems

Aristotle	Almond	Apter	Binder	Coleman
Monarchies Aristocracies Democracies	Anglo-American Continental Europe Totalitarian Preindustrial	Dictatorial Oligarchical Indirect Representation Direct Representation	Traditional Conventional Rational	Competitive Semicompetitive Authoritarian

Source: Ronald H.Chilcote, *Comparative Inquiry in Politics and Political Economy* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2000).

The above examples indicates ways of organizing our understanding about reality and facilitating the use of a variety of classifications rather than relying on a single method. Though the system theory has implanted itself firmly in social sciences, but it has not resolved the doubt and uncertainty that also pervades social science. The obsession of social scientists with theories of systems is largely attributable to the desire to be able to predict accurately and thereby change things for the better.

The framework of system analysis is very important for the comparative analysis of diverse political units. It can also be applicable to the international political studies. Yet, this theory has some drawbacks in its generalization about the diverse political systems. This approach concerned political system as preoccupied with stability, maintenance, persistence, and equilibrium, a tendency derived from biology which could not be applicable to a political system. Hence, the system theory is rooted in conservatism and reaction, which colours most of the studies in Political Science carried out with the help of methodological tools evolved under the general frame-work of the systems theory.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What is the importance of 'approach' to understand political phenomenon?

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. State the reasons for the mushrooming of "approaches" in comparative politics.

    _____

    _____

    _____

3. What are the important elements in David Easton's Systems Theory?

    _____

    _____

4. How Systems theory was applied to comparative analysis?

    _____

    _____

    _____

1.4.3 STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

The term *functional analysis* and *structural analysis* have been applied to a great variety of approaches. With their broad use in the social sciences has come discussion of the appropriateness of the use of structure and function and the type of analysis associated with the concepts. The functional approach is used more often than any other method in the study of Western political science. The literature is full of references to the "functions" of political systems and to the relation between structure

and function. This section deals with the theoretical implications of structural functionalism and its relationship to Comparative Politics.

Structural functionalism has a lengthy history in both the social sciences and the biological sciences. Functionalism's history goes back to Aristotle's study of ultimate causes in nature or of actions in relation to their ends, or utility. In modern period, as early as 17th century, Montesquieu's doctrine of separation of powers is based on the notion of functions that are best undertaken separate from each other as a means of ensuring stability and security.

Functionalists tend to view social and political units in more holistic, organic terms. Social practices are said to have a functional role in sustaining the system as a whole. Functionalists equate structure to anatomy and functions to the physiology of organisms.

When only structural categories are used to make political comparisons, the comparative analysis of political systems breaks down as the difference between compared structures increases. For example, the structures between a Western democracy and an African tribe are so very different as to make comparison difficult. However, functions are much more comparable. Although a prime minister and tribal chief are difficult to compare institutionally, they nevertheless serve many similar functions. Although the structures of political rule may be very dissimilar, the functions that political systems perform are universal. Although undeveloped political systems assign numerous functions to a single person or institution, in more developed political systems, the same functions may be performed by many individuals o¡ institutions. One of the primary areas of study in functionalism is the "interplay" between the dynamic functions of a system and the more static structures it designs for itself.

When Gabriel Almost first introduced the structural-functional approach to comparative politics in the 1970s, it represented a vast improvement over the then-prevailing mechanistic theories of David Eaton and others derived largely from international relations. Almond's brilliant innovation was to outline an approach to understanding political systems that took into account not only its structural components — its institutions — but also their functions within the system as a whole. Prior to structural functionalism, scholars had no way of systematically

comparing different political systems beyond a rudimentary, and oftentimes inconclusive, analysis of their institutions.

At its most basic level, the model of structural functionalism posits that a political system is made up of institutions (structures), such as interest groups, political parties, the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government, and a bureaucratic machinery. This information is not sufficient, however, to make a meaningful comparison between two political systems. Two countries may share many of the same political institutions, but what distinguishes the two systems are the ways in which these institutions function.

For Almond, a fuller understanding emerges only when one begins to examine how institutions act within the political process. As he described it, interest groups serve to articulate political issues; parties then aggregate and express them in a coherent and meaningful way; government in turn enacts public policies to address them; and bureaucracies finally regulate and adjudicate them.

The political system, as defined by Almond and his associates, was a system of interactions to be profound in all advanced and backward societies which performs the functions of integration and adaptation by means of employment, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion. Further, they argue that the political system is the legitimate, order-maintaining or transforming system in the society. Any system has three kinds of properties:

1) *Comprehensiveness:* that means a political system that includes all set of interactions – inputs as well as outputs – which affect the use or the threat of use of physical coercion. Inclusion in all sets of interaction is not only just struct4re based on law, like parliaments, executives, legislatives, bureaucracies, and courts, or just the occasional or formally organized units, like parties, interest groups, and the media of communications, but all of the structures in their political aspects, including undifferentiated structures like kinship and lineage, status and caste groups, as well as anomic phenomenon like riots, street demonstrations, and the like.

2) *Interdependence:* that means, a change in one subset of interactions produces changes in all the other subsets, for example, electoral reforms of any country

affect the feature and nature of party system, the function of parliament and cabinet, of the country.

3) ***Existence of boundaries:*** the existence of boundaries in the political system means that there are points where other system end the political system begins, for example, the complaints in the market are not to enter into the political system until they break out in an act of violence, or protest, or demonstrations or something else.

Almond focused on such concepts as roles (in his view the interacting units of a political system) and structures (representing the patterns of interaction). He introduced the concept of political culture (embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action). His system was elaborated through a set of structures and functions in a conscious effort to avoid the formalities of government institutions in areas where changes are widespread. He revised basic concepts of comparative politics: the political system replaced the state and the legal and institutional apparatus employed by traditional political scientists. In addition, function substituted for power, role for office, and structure for institution. These concepts were incorporated in his thesis that all political systems (advanced and backward nations) have fur universal characteristics: (1) all political systems, including the simplest ones, have political structures; (2) all political systems perform the same kind of functions, these functions may be performed with different frequencies, and by different kinds of structures; (3) all political structures are multi-functional; (4) all political systems are 'mixed' systems in the cultural sense. Almond modelled his system around a framework of inputs (interest articulation, interest aggregation, and political communication), outputs (rule making, rule application, and rule adjudication), and feedback. The inputs represented processes of participation, expression of political interests and demands as articulated by political parties and interest groups. The outputs effectively were government functions corresponding to the traditional use of three separate power in government.

While Almond's structural functional model neatly accounts for what happens within a political system, systems are never entirely self-contained. They exist in a dynamic relationship to other political systems and must continuously adapt to

changing conditions in the larger socio-political context. For this reason, all political systems require efficient feedback mechanisms.

Gabriel Almond and his colleague Bingham Powell, in modifying and expanding the theory of structural functionalism, have added an important set of system functions to their model in recent years. This change acknowledges the crucial role played by political culture in determining the unique characteristics of a political system. These system functions include political socialization, recruitment, and communication. Without understanding these elements of a society, it is difficult, if not impossible, to make an adequate assessment and comparison between two political systems.

Many criticized the structural functional approach for its narrow and biased orientation. The structural functional approach contains within it several inherent biases or normative implications. First, it is by its very nature conservative: it recognizes that a political system's first objective is to ensure its own survival. For this reason, it is not especially responsive to innovations and movements aimed at political change — that is, beyond those that strengthen its adaptiveness and resilience. It also has a democratic and participatory bias insofar as it views citizen input and involvement in the political process as the surest route to political stability and responsiveness.

Functionalism frequently is identified as deterministic or ideological, conservative or restrictive, or simply false. Anthropologist I. C. Jarvie argued that functionalism is limited by "its lack of explanatory power, its unsatisfactoriness as explanation, and the constricting effect of its assumptions about the nature and working of social systems". Sociologist Don Martindale noted four drawbacks to functionalism: the conservative ideological bias and preference for status quo; a lack of methodological clarity; an overemphasis on the role of closed systems in social life; and a failure to deal with social change. Many others pointed out that a concern with consensus may equate Anglo-American democracy with the modern political system, against which all other political systems must be compared without recognition of variations and defects.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Briefly state the history of Structural Functionalism?

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. The political system, as defined by Almond, was a system of interactions to be profound in all advanced and backward societies. Elaborate.

    _____

    _____

    _____

3. What are the three properties identified by Almond that are common to all the systems?

    _____

    _____

    _____

1.4.4 POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines political economy as a "social science dealing with the interrelationship of political and economic process". However, in general, there is no consensus among the scholars on what political economy is concerned with. For instance, a political economy approach in Sociology is applied to study the effects of people's involvement in society as members of groups, and how that changes their ability to function. While Political Science employs Political Economy to focus on the interaction between institutions and human behaviour, the way in which the former shapes choices and how the latter change institutional frameworks. Similarly, Anthropology, History, Economics, Human

Geography, Cultural Studies and a whole array of disciplines and interdisciplinary fields employ political economy approach in a variety of ways.

Although political economy is built largely on the insights of politics and economics, it also draws on history, sociology and anthropology to provide an understanding of sociocultural and historical context in which politics and economics are played out. Political economy therefore tends towards and interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and comparative approach to the relationship between the state and the market. Today, there is growing consensus that the separation between the study of politics and economics is an artificial one and the pendulum is swinging toward an integrated approach. Further, political economy is an area of study that permits a variety of ideological perspectives and theoretical paradigms. The academic return to political economy is especially encouraged by the growing interest in interdisciplinary studies.

Recently, important distinctions have been drawn between domestic political economy and the realms of political and economic activity above (regional, international, supranational, global) and below (local, regional, federal) the level of national government, and between the development of the industrialized North and the developing (often underdeveloped) South.

1.4.4.1 NATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ECONOMY

The study of domestic political economy is concerned primarily with the relative balance in a country's economy between state and market forces. Political economists attempting to understand domestic economic policy often study the influence of political institutions (e.g., legislatures, executives, and judiciaries) and the implementation of public policy by bureaucratic agencies. The influence of political and societal actors (e.g., interest groups, political parties, churches, elections, and the media) and ideologies (e.g., democracy, fascism, or communism) also is gauged. Comparative analysis also considers the extent to which international political and economic conditions increasingly blur the line between domestic and foreign policies in different countries. For example, in many countries trade policy no longer reflects strictly domestic objectives but also takes into account the trade policies of other governments

and the directives of international financial institutions.

Many sociologists focus on the impact that policies have on the public and the extent of public support that particular policies enjoy. Likewise, sociologists and some political scientists also are interested in the extent to which policies are generated primarily from above by elites or from below by the public. One such study is so-called "critical political economy," which is rooted in interpretations of the writing of Marx. For many Marxists (and contemporary adherents of varying strands of Marxist thought), government efforts to manage different parts of the economy are presumed to favour the moral order of bourgeois values. As in the case of tax policy, for example, government policies are assumed to support the interests of the rich or elites over those of the masses.

Ultimately, comparative analysts may ask why countries in certain areas of the world play a particularly large role in the international economy. They also examine why "corporatist" partnerships between the state, industry, and labour formed in some states and not in others, why there are major differences in labour and management relations in the more-industrialized countries, what kinds of political and economic structures different countries employ to help their societies adjust to the effects of integration and globalization, and what kinds of institutions in developing countries advance or retard the development process. Comparative political economists also have investigated why some developing countries in Southeast Asia were relatively successful at generating economic growth whereas most African countries were not.

1.4.4.2 POLITICAL ECONOMY: MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES

As stated above, political economy meant different things to different writers, and in some cases in mean what is known as economic theory or "pure economics" is indicative that there is no single approach or school of thought within the political economy. Political economy is instead characterized by a large number of contending schools of thought, each of which is distinguished by its distinctive understanding and portrayal of the relationship between politics and economics. Hence, there are

several competing perspectives to political economy, of which three are important in contemporary world: the Liberal and the Marxist.

The Liberal Tradition:

The liberal tradition is the **free market** one in which the role of voluntary exchange and market is emphasized both as efficient and morally desirable. The assumption is that free trade and free movement of capital will ensure that investment flows to where it is most profitable to invest. Free trade is crucial, for it permits countries to benefit from their comparative advantages. In other words, each country can exploit its own natural advantages, resources, and endowments, and gain from specialization. The economy is flourished by freely exchangeable currencies and open markets that create a global system of prices, which, like an **invisible hand,** ensures an efficient and equitable distribution of goods and services across the world economy. Order in the global economy is a fairly minimal one. The optimal role of governments and institutions is to ensure the smooth and relatively unfettered operations of markets. It is assumed that governments face a wide range of choices in the world systems and likewise vis-à-vis their own societies and populations.

The Marxist Tradition:

The Marxian tradition also sees the world economy as an arena of competition, but not among states. Capitalism is the driving forces in the world economy. Using Marx's language, this means that world-economic relations are best conceived as class struggle between the 'oppressor and the oppressed'. The oppressors or capitalists are thos who own the means of production (trade and industry). The oppressed are the working class. The struggle between the two arises because capitalists seek to increase their profits and this requires them to exploit the working class over more harshly. In international relations this description of 'class relations' within a capitalist system has been applid to describe relations between the **core** (industrialized countries) and **periphery** (developing countries), and the unequal exchange that occurs between the two. **Dependency theorists** describe the ways classes and groups in the 'core' link to the 'periphery'. Underdevelopment and poverty in so many countries in explained as the result of economic, social, and political structures within countries that have been deeply

influenced by their international economic relations. The global capitalist order within which these societies have emerged is, after all, global capitalist order that reflects the interests of those who won the means of production.

To sum up political economy approach, it becomes clear in contrasting various traditions of thinking that each focuses on different actors and driving forces in the world economy, and that each has a different conceptions of what 'order' means and what is necessary to achieve it. Comparing different traditions also highlights three different levels of analysis: the structure of the international system; the nature of a particular government or competition within its institutions; and the role of interest groups and social forces within a country.

The field of comparative politics is one in which a variety of different approaches have been undertaken to the material at hand, with varying results. Approaches enables us in deconstructing and understanding a particular phenomenon. The perspective may encompass micro and macro level of local, regional, national, or international issues. In this lesson, we have studies three of the important approaches which are popular among the comparative scientists across the world. These are Systems Theory, Structural-Functionalism and Political Economy approaches. Each one of them studies politics using different tool and compares them with unique perspective. However, there are many approaches which have become popular in recent times such as Constructivism, Institutionalism, Governance Approach, Decision-Making Approach, Game theory, Communication model, Group analysis, Corporatism, etc.\

1.4.5   POLITICAL CULTURE

A political culture, according to Lucian Pye, is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relates to the political system and to political issues. It is defined as the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system (Almond and Powell). The people of a society share a common human nature like emotional drives, intellectual capacities and moral perspectives. The common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, beliefs and emotional attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another, though with greater or lesser modifications, and

thus constitute the general culture of that society. Certain aspects of the general culture of a society are especially concerned with how government ought to be conducted and what it shall try to do. This sector of culture we call political culture. It is this set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order to meaning to a political process and that provides the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system.

The political culture, then, may be seen as the over-all distribution of citizens' orientations to political objects. R.C. Macridis writes of it as the commonly shared goals and commonly accepted rules. Robert A. Dahl has singled out political culture as a factor explaining different patterns of political opposition whose salient elements are:

- Orientations of problem-solving; are they pragmatic or rationalistic?

- Orientations to collective action; are they co-operative or non-co-operative?

- Orientations to the political system; are they allegiant or alienated?

- Orientations to other people; are they trustful or mistrustful?

From the above, one may infer that political culture has certain components having their place in the world of sociology. They are: values, beliefs and emotional attitudes of the people towards their political system. We may observe that the people have, in general, certain political values as elections should be held periodically and also in a free and fair manner; that the ministers should resign if they forfeit the confidence of the people or their chosen deputies, that no person should be made to suffer in body or in goods unless a verdict is given by a competent court of law following a procedure established by the organic law of the country, etc.

Closely linked with political values is the component of political beliefs about the actual behaviour of men and countries. It includes certain norms such as that adult population of a country has the right to take part in the political discussions. The significant cause of the beliefs should also be traced in this fact, as pointed out by Beer and Ulam, that ideas that do not appear at first glance to have relevance to politics may be intimately connected with it through the belief system of the political

culture. Finally, we come to the component of emotional attitudes, the tone and temper of the people. While attitudes inherited from a past full of struggles for a constitutional democracy, as in Britain, may inform that the speakers must behave courteously, the tone of discourse must be conversational and the whole style of behaviour and speech must conform not only to the rules of procedure of the Parliament but also to a complex and largely unspoken set of conventions, attitudes inherited from a long authoritarian past may impede the operation of a democratic ideal.

A political culture hinging on the fact of people's attitudes and beliefs towards the political system, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous, is a product of several inter-related factors—historical, geographical and socio-economic. Moreover, it is not static, it is dynamic and thus responds to the needs generated within the political system or imparted or imposed from outside. A pragmatic orientation, in this direction, is known by the name of 'secularization' of the political culture. A study of history offers ample authentic evidence to prove the continuity or discontinuity of a political system behind which the foundations of a political culture can well be found out. The importance of political continuity in a country like Britain, of example, lies in the fact that there order values have been allowed to merge with modern attitudes undisturbed by violent internal strife or domination by foreign power). France offers a sharp contrast in the chain of historical development. While the revolution of 1789 violently overthrew the existing structures and subsequent events showed the highly emotional attitudes of the French people, the English leaders expressed their shock at the events of 1789 and a leading parliamentarian like Edmund Burke could successfully draw the attention of his countrymen towards the horrors of such a violent upheaval. Such a political culture had its impact upon the fate of the colonies as well.

Geography has its own part in laying the foundations of a political culture. The character of the British Isles protected the country from foreign invasion and also from the massive influx of foreign races that could have created the problem of ethnic differences. Different from this, the limitless frontiers of a country like India opened the ways for the foreigners to invade and even stay here with the result that Indians developed the values of egalitarianism in the midst of sharp ethnic differences. Instances can be gathered to show that in case the ethnic differences are allowed to

develop in the direction of hostile political cultures, national integration suffers heavily and different people in the name of their different nationalities struggle for their separate sovereign states.

Lastly, we take up the determinant of socio-economic development. A predominantly urban industrialized society is a more complex society, putting a premium on rapid communications. Educational standards are higher, groups proliferate, and participation in the decision-making process is, by necessity, wider. Rural societies are not geared to change and innovation, and states with a predominantly peasant population are more conservative. Developments in the field of science and technology have their impact on the growth of agriculture and industry; they also have their impact on the process of transportation and communications, migrations and immigrations, imports and exports, revolutions and warfares. It all leads to changes in political values and beliefs of the people. Thus, the labour classes become 'embourgeoisiefied' in rich countries of the Western world. It contradicts the Marxian law of increasing misery, degradation and pauperization of the proletariat in the industrially advanced countries of the world. The Americans, for instance, abandoned their foreign policy of splendid isolationism at the time of the first Great War and they adopted the policy of effective intervention after the Second War for containing the growth of communism. It is also possible that an industrially developed nation may outstretch its imperialistic arms to subjugate another country and cause a transformation of the political culture of the subjugated people before it withdraws its control as happened in Japan where the promulgation of the Peace Constitution in 1946 at the hands of the Americans led to the superimposition of liberal-democratic values over the feudal political culture providing sanction to the norms of military behaviour (A.N. Burks).

1.4.6 CONCEPT OF SECULARIZATION

Allied with political culture is the subject of secularization of the political culture. It has two attributes: (i) pragmatic and empirical orientations and (ii) movement from diffuseness to specificity of cultural orientations. Times change and so change the beliefs and values of the people. This change should, however, be in a pragmatic and empirical direction and that too in a way from diffuseness

to specificity. That is, the political beliefs and values of the people must change from a parochial to a mundane variety, the people must learn more and more the meaning of political participation and political recruitment and their knowledge of political involvement should grow so that they may grasp the implications of the idea of political legitimacy. Thus, the process of the secularization of political culture means increasing political awareness of the people enabling them to have a growing information about their political system and their role as a political actor in it. It is through the secularization of political culture that these rigid, ascribed and diffuse customs of social interaction come to be over-ridden by a set of codified, specifically political, and universalistic rules. By the same token, as emphasized by Almond and Powell, the secularization process of bargaining and accommodative political actions become a common feature of the society, and the development of special structures such as interest groups and parties become meaningful.

1.4.7 TYPES OF POLITICAL SYSTEM ON THE BASIS OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Almond use the concept of political culture to classify political systems. He identifies distinct types of political system in the contemporary world. These are:

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEMS

These systems are characterized by multi-valued political cultures in which a large majority of the population is firmly committed to the realization of values of individual freedom, mass welfare and security. In such systems, the political culture is homogeneous to the extent that there is general agreement about political ends and the means to their realization. Politics is played like a game. The result of the political struggle is constantly in doubt but the rival groups of political leaders do not convert the atmosphere as the game into a battlefield. The political system presents the scene of a market in which each actor has a well-defined role and a great deal of bargaining takes place between various role incumbents. Policies are offered for sale in exchange for votes. The outcome of the game of politics is determined by votes. That group of leaders wins it which gets more votes than every other group. Roles in these political

systems are highly differentiated. Each structure – party or pressure group or voluntary organization or governmental institution – has a specialized purpose or some specific purposes and performs a specialized function in the political system. In addition to the complex and highly differentiated role structure, there is stability of this differentiation. Each structure performs its functions and contributes to the stability of the system. The Anglo-American political systems operate on the basis of the diffusion of power and influence. There is distribution of power among various structures. There are several meaningful checks and balances among them. Finally, in these political systems, all political interest group in society play a part in the system and make their influence felt in the political process. Anglo-American political systems are at work in developed western countries like Britain and America.

THE CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The continental European Political Systems are less developed than the Anglo-merican Political Systems. The political culture is fragmented and not homogeneous. Different sections of society have different sub-cultures some of which are more developed than others. The political culture is of the nature of a series of sub-cultures. These sub-cultures are the product of internal industrial and technological developments. Some of the sub-cultures are feudalistic while others are modernized. Further, each sub-culture tends to be divided within itself. Each has elements which are more intransigent in their attitude towards other sections of society than the rest. The type of bargaining and compromising which characterizes the Anglo-American systems is absent here. Each cultural sub-section of society has conflicting and mutually exclusive design for the political culture and the political system. Political affiliations become more an act of faith rather than a starting point for negotiations among the competing big political actors. In the process of conflict resolution, each sub-cultural group tries to dominate the other and is not prepared to compromise and adopt the views of others. In Continental European system each sub-culture develops a separate sub-system of roles. These roles are not attached to the system as a whole but become embedded in the sub-cultures themselves. There is a general lack of mobility between role incumbents in various sub-cultures. The sub-cultural divisions are often challenged and sometimes swept by movements of charismatic nationalism using coercive methods

for transforming the fragmented political culture into a synthetically homogeneous one. Continental European Political Systems includes, as Almond Says, the French, German and Italian Political Systems.

PRE-INDUSTRIAL OR PARTIALLY-INDUSTRIALIZED SYSTEMS

The pre-industrial or partially-industrialized systems have a mixed political culture – traditional political culture plus western political culture. The cultural mix is very often the result of an imperialist or colonial era in the country's history. It results from contact between the native political culture and the western type culture which dominated society in the era of imperialism and colonialism. The erosion of traditional political culture often results in tensions appearing in society. People become concerned with the erosion of traditional values, norms, customs and traditions and develop a sense of insecurity which often leads to violent protests against the emergent system. However, like the Continental European systems, the conflict of political cultures often results in the appearance of charismatic nationalism attempting to consolidate the new cultural norms. This type of system has a high potential for violence. It is caused by difficulties of communication and coordination which result from the fact that large groups within the system have radically different conceptions and orientations about the political system as a whole and its various parts. In place of functional specialisation and differentiation which characterises the Anglo-American Systems, in the Pre-industrialised systems there tends to be a high degree of role exchanges among political structures. Armies and bureaucracies often take over the work of legislation, legislatures indulge in interfering with judicial proceedings and policy-making takes the form of party decision-making. Most of the Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are having pre-industrial or partially-industrialised political systems with native-imperialist mixed political cultures.

TOTALITARIAN POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Totalitarian Political Systems have an altogether different political culture from the Anglo-American political systems. Their main features being:

Voluntary-associations are not allowed to exist and operate in the society. Means of

Communications are controlled by the government or its agencies. Political Culture of a Totalitarian Political System is projected as a homogeneous one, but this homogeneity is artificial and synthetic. Use of power as coercion or force stands centralised in the hands of bureaucracy which in turn is controlled by a monolithical political party. Legitimacy of authority in a Totalitarian Political System is secured through forcible means and propaganda. Force and fear are used by the state to control the system. There is centralisation of the power in the hands of a monolith party and no diffusion or decentralisation of power is really permitted. The party controls the government, the bureaucracy, the army and the police. These characteristics were present in the Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The former communist countries of the World, the erstwhile USSR and socialist countries of Eastern Europe and at present China and Cuba fall in this category. During 1985-9 1, Perestroika and Glasnost in the USSR produced several changes not only in the Soviet Political System but also in the political systems of other Eastern European Communist countries. Their political systems, which, in the recent past, had all the above listed features of Totalitarian Political Systems, began becoming open and competitive. Within a short span of about six years, these replaced their communist political systems with liberalised political systems - open, competitive, participatory and multi-party systems. However, their political cultures are yet to imbibe fully the new changes in values and orientations. This can lead to an era of political uncertainty and instability. The happenings in Rumania in this post- communist rule era tend to justify this observation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   How secularization influence the political culture?

_____

_____

_____

2.   The Anglo-American political systems are characterized by multi-valued political cultures. How do you understand this?

    _____

    _____

    _____

3.   The Continental European political culture is fragmented and not homogeneous. Comment.

    _____

    _____

    _____

4.   Charismatic nationalism generally emerges in pre-industrial political culture. Do you agree with this?

    _____

    _____

    _____

5.   What are the main features of totalitarian political cultures?

    _____

    _____

    _____

1.4.8 LET US SUM UP

A deeper examination in this regard, however, leads to this astonishing impression that the process of political socialization is essentially a conservative concept, regardless of the case of democratic and totalitarian societies, in view of the fact that its real concern is with the survival or maintenance of a political system. Whether it is a free and open society like that of the United States or Britain, or it is the opposite of that as we find in the Soviet Union or China, the net over-all effect of political socialization is in the direction of supporting the status quo, or at least the major aspects of the existing political regime. As Greenstein says political socialization in both stable and unstable societies is likely to maintain existing patterns.

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – II: POLITICAL PROCESSES AND POLITICAL CHANGE

2.1 CONSTITUTIONALISM : THEORY & PRACTICE

- V. Nagendra Rao

*Freedom of men under government is to have a standing rule to live by,
common to every one of that society, and made by the legislative
power erected in it.*

- John Locke

STRUCTURE

2.1.0   Objectives

2.1.1   Introduction

2.1.2   Defining the term 'Constitutionalism'

2.1.3   Usage of Constitutionalism

2.1.4   History of Constitutionalism

2.1.5   Features of Constitutionalism

2.1.6   Constitution and Constitutionalism

2.1.7   Constitutionalism in Practice

2.1.7.1 United States

2.1.7.2 United Kingdom

2.1.7.3 India

2.1.8   Constitutionalism in the New Millennium

2.1.9   Let us Sum Up

2.1.10 Suggested Readings

2.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to know:

- What is constitutionalism and its historical development;

- Usage and features of Constitutionalism;

- The difference between constitution and constitutionalism;

- How constitutionalism is practiced in general and in the US, UK and India in particular;

- What is the future of constitutionalism in the new millennium.

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The idea of constitutionalism is often associated with the political theories of John Locke and the founders of the American republic, that government can and should be legally limited in its powers, and that its authority or legitimacy depends on its observing these limitations. In any democratic country, a constitution is the body of law which is the fundamental law of a politically organized society. The Constitution is the supreme law of the political society. It is higher than and takes precedence over all other laws of the society. All the other laws, to be valid and enforceable, must be in accord with the higher and superior law of the Constitution. An official decision of any governmental institution or office must be in harmony with the Constitution, the supreme law of the political community. The legislature, the executive, and the courts must follow the Constitution. In other words, constitution consist of overarching arrangements that determine the political, legal and social structures by which society is to be governed. Its provisions are therefore considered to be paramount law. If constitution itself is inadequate, the nature of democracy and rule of law within a country is affected.

The structure of modern nations has been shaped with government being divided into executive, legislative and judicial bodies, with the commonly accepted notion that these bodies and their powers must be separated. The separation of powers does not mean these bodies function alone. In fact, they work interdependently, but maintain their autonomy. Other tenets include the idea of limited government and the supremacy of law. Together, these can be termed the concept of constitutionalism. In other words, constitutionalism is the idea that government should be limited in its powers and that its authority depends on its observation of these limitations. A constitution is the legal and moral framework setting out these powers and their limitations. This framework must represent the will of the people, and should therefore have been arrived at through consensus.

2.1.2 DEFINING THE TERM "CONSTITUTIONALISM"

Constitutionalism has a variety of meanings. Generally it is considered as "a complex of ideas, attitudes, and patterns of behaviour elaborating the principle that the authority of government derives from and is limited by a body of fundamental law." A political organization is constitutional to the extent that it "contains institutionalized mechanisms of power control for the protection of the interests and liberties of the citizenry, including those that may be in the minority." As David Fellman says, "…the touchstone of constitutionalism is the concept of limited government under a higher law." Constitutionalism, as Robert Albert opines, ". . .informs how states behave in the international order, how governments treat their constituents, how communities order themselves, how groups relate to individuals, and how citizens interact with each other." According to Greg Russell, "Constitutionalism or rule of law means that the power of leaders and government bodies is limited, and that these limits can be enforced through established procedures. As a body of political or legal doctrine, it refers to government that is, in the first instance, devoted both to the good of the entire community and to the preservation of the rights of individual persons."

Jan-Irk Lane in his study *Constitutions and Political Theory* argues that "Constitutionalism is the political doctrine that claims that political authority should be bound by institutions that restrict the exercise of power. Such institutions offer

rules that bind both the persons in authority as well as the organs or bodies that exercise political authority."

Constitutionalism refers to limited government and is an anti-thesis of arbitrary powers. It recognizes the need for government with powers but at the same time insists that limitation be placed on those powers. Its anti-thesis is despotism. A government which goes beyond its limits loses its authority and legitimacy. Therefore, to preserve the basic freedoms of the individual, and to maintain his dignity and personality, the Constitution needs to be permeated with 'Constitutionalism'. It also requires some inbuilt restrictions on the powers conferred by it on governmental organs. In brief, at its core, constitutionalism embodies following two basic commitments that:-

- A political community should be governed by some basic or fundamental rules which delineate an institutional framework within which other sorts of decisions are made. Such rules serve both an enabling and disabling function. They serve an enabling function by creating institutions to make decisions, conferring powers upon them, and laying down rules for these institutions which allow the decisions to be made. They serve a disabling function by limiting the scope of the powers of institutions, through devices such as the separation of powers, federalism, and bills of rights.

- The framework must be stable to provide an enduring set of expectations regarding the behaviour of political institutions. Commitment to stability is synonymous with legal constitutionalism, that is, with a constitution that is written, supreme, entrenched and justifiable. But here again, there are many political communities for example the United Kingdom, which adhere to the principles of constitutionalism, but whose constitutions lack some of these features.

2.1.3 USAGE OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

There is also a different interpretation and usage of the term *constitutionalism* in political discourse. It has prescriptive and descriptive uses. Gerhard Casper argues that descriptively, it refers chiefly to the historical struggle for constitutional recognition

of the people's right to consent and certain other rights, freedoms, and privileges. Prescriptively, its meaning incorporates those features of government seen as the essential elements of the Constitution. In prescriptive constitutionalism, the concept focuses on "constitutional questions," or differing opinions on what a constitution ought to have in its content. An example of this form of constitutionalism exists in American politics whenever the differing sides of a political debate argue over whether or not the constitution ought to be amended, which the United States Constitution allows to occur. One example of constitutionalism's descriptive use is the origins of the US Bill of Rights. While hardly presenting a "straight-line," the account illustrates the historical struggle to recognize and enshrine constitutional rights and principles in a constitutional order. In contrast to describing what constitutions are, a prescriptive approach addresses what a constitution should be. As presented by Wil Waluchow, constitutionalism embodies "the idea … that government can and should be legally limited in its powers, and that its authority depends on its observing these limitations."

2.1.4 HISTORY OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

Historically, the idea of constitutionalism is a product of liberal political ideas, which originated in Western Europe and the United States. Modern liberal political theories found practical expression in the struggle for constitutional government and the earliest, and perhaps greatest, victory for liberalism was achieved in the Britain. The rising commercial class that had supported the Tudor monarchy in the 16th century led the revolutionary battle in the 17th and succeeded in establishing the supremacy of Parliament and, eventually, of the House of Commons. What emerged as the distinctive feature of modern constitutionalism was the establishment of effective means of political control whereby the rule of law might be enforced. Modern constitutionalism was born with the political requirement that representative government depended upon the consent of citizen subjects. Moreover, modern constitutional government was intimately linked to economics that those whose taxes fund the government must be represented in that government. Greg Russell further explains that the decline of the king's feudal revenues, the growth of representative institutions and a feeling of national solidarity as opposed to symbolic allegiance to king and court tended to make real and effective the limited character of kingship. However, as can be seen through

provisions in the 1689 Bill of Rights, the English Revolution was fought not just to protect the rights of property, but to establish those liberties which liberals believed essential to human dignity and moral worth.

The rights of man enumerated in the English Bill of Rights gradually were proclaimed beyond the boundaries of England, notably in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 and in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789. The 18th century witnessed the emergence of constitutional government in the United States and in France, and the 19th century saw its extension with varying degrees of success to Germany, Italy, and other nations of the Western world. After the Second World War due to the process of decolonization, many of the Third World saw the emergence of constitutionalism.

Therefore, in other words, it can be argued that the idea of constitutionalism emerged as a defence of the individual's right to life and property and to freedom of religion and speech in the Western Europe and US, in order to secure these rights, constitutional architects emphasized checks on the power of each branch of government, equality under the law, impartial courts and separation of church and state. The exemplary representatives of this tradition include John Milton, Edward Coke, William Blackstone, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Adam Smith, Baron de Montesquieu, John Stuart Mill, John Austin and Isaiah Berlin.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   How do you define constitutionalism?

        _____

        _____

        _____

2.   How do you differentiate between descriptive and prescriptive usages of constitutionalism?

        _____

        _____

        _____

2.   Briefly write history of constitutionalism.

        _____

        _____

        _____

2.1.5 FEATURES OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

The essential features of constitutionalism are discussed as below:-

1. **Entrenchment:** One of most important features of constitutionalism is that the norms imposing limits upon government power must be in some way be entrenched, either by law or by way of constitutional convention. Entrenchment not only facilitates a degree of stability over time, it is arguably a requirement of the very possibility of constitutionally limited government. Were a government institution entitled, at its pleasure, to change the very terms of its constitutional limitations, we might begin to question whether there would, in reality, be any such limitations.

2. **Writtenness:** According to some political theories constitutional rules do not exist unless they are in some way enshrined in a written document. Others argue that constitutions can be unwritten, and cite, as an obvious example of this possibility, the constitution of the United Kingdom. Though the UK has nothing resembling the American Constitution and its Bill of Rights, it nevertheless contains a number of written instruments which arguably form a central element of its constitution. Magna Carta (1215 AD) is the earliest document of the British constitution, while others include The Petition of Right (1628) and the Bill of Rights (1689). However, Britain seems largely to have an unwritten constitution, suggesting strongly that writtenness is not a defining feature of constitutionalism..

3) **Rule of Law:** This means refers to the supremacy of law and that society is governed by law and this law applies equally to all persons, including government and state officials. Following basic principles of constitutionalism, common institutional provisions used to maintain the rule of law include the separation of powers, judicial review, the prohibition of retroactive legislation and habeas corpus. Genuine constitutionalism therefore provides a minimal guarantee of the justice of both the content and the form of law. On the other hand, constitutionalism is safeguarded by the rule of law. Only when the supremacy of the rule of law is established, can supremacy of the constitution exist. Constitutionalism additionally requires effective laws and their enforcement to provide structure to its framework.

3. **Democracy:** It has been observed that authoritarian governments are by their very nature unconstitutional. Such governments put themselves the law and do not see necessity for the separation of powers or representative governance. Nevertheless, constitutionalism is primarily based on the notion of people's sovereignty, which is to be exercised—in a limited manner—by a representative government. The only consensual and representative form of governance that exists in the contemporary world is democratic government. In this way, there is a very important and basic link between democracy and constitutionalism. Just as mere constitutions do not make countries constitutional, political parties and elections do not make governments democratic. Genuine democracies rest on the sovereignty of the people, not the rulers. Elected representatives are to exercise authority on behalf of the people, based on the will of the people. Without genuine democracy, there can be no constitutionalism.

Louis Honking has discussed the following elements of constitutionalism:

- government according to the constitution;
- separation of power;
- sovereignty of the people and democratic government;
- constitutional review;

- independent judiciary;
- limited government subject to a bill of individual rights;
- controlling the police;
- civilian control of the military; and
- No state power, or very limited and strictly circumscribed state power, to suspend the operation of some parts of, or the entire, constitution.

Broadly speaking, these nine elements of constitutionalism as discussed by Honking can be divided into two groups, one concerns power construction and power lodging; and the other deals with rights protection. These two groups of institutional arrangements together ensure the supremacy of the constitution, existence of limited yet strong government and protection of basic freedom.

2.1.6 CONSTITUTION AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

"Constitutionalism" cannot be equated with "constitution," though the two concepts are linked. At present, most countries – and numerous subnational political units, such as the states in the U.S., the Länder in Germany, and the cantons in Switzerland, republics in the erstwhile Soviet Union, Jammu and Kashmir in India— have constitutions, but not all such constitutions satisfy the requirements of constitutionalism. Whether a country has a constitution is a question of fact, easily answered in most cases—particularly in those where an institutionalized, written constitution is involved. In contrast, whether a constitution conforms to the dictates of constitutionalism cannot be determined without some kind of normative evaluation. Constitutionalism is an ideal that may be more or less approximated by different types of constitutions and that is built on certain prescriptions and certain proscriptions. Determining whether a particular constitution approximates the ideal of constitutionalism, and to what extent, depends on an evaluation of how the institutions and norms promoted by the constitution in question fare in terms of the constitutionalist ideal.

The function of constitutions is to tame as well as protect and enrich democracy and popular and state sovereignty. However, constitutionalism, and the constitution

serving it, is more than simply a promise. It requires a set of institutional arrangements, and there is more than one governmental structure that satisfies the centralization of power.

Constitutionalism is the restriction of state power in the preservation of public peace. It seeks to cool current passions without forfeiting government efficiency. This definition is obviously inadequate, but the imperfection is comforting. In essence, constitutionalism cannot be moulded into a given shape by giving it exhaustive conditions. Constitutionalism is a matter of taste, and taste oscillates around a hard core. Constitutionalism is not merely a legal prescription or prudence elevated to the rank of prescription.

Law cannot be a substitute for morality, tradition, or everyday common sense. Constitutionalism can be called the genius of the people, or the nation's intellect, or justice, or a reasonable tradition, without which the written constitution is just a mere collection of words.

2.1.7 CONSTITUTIONALISM IN PRACTICE

Constitutionalism in the formal sense means the principle that the exercise of political power shall be bounded by rule that determine the validity of legislative and executive action, and the procedure according to which it must be performed will be prescribed. The rule may be, as in the UK, mere conventional norms, or as in India, directions or prohibitions set down in a justiciable constitution. Constitutionalism becomes a living reality to the extent that these rules curb the arbitrary exercise of power and to that extent, permit significant scope for the enjoyment of individual liberty.

Political constitutionalism is based upon common belief in limited government and in the use of a constitution to impose the limitations. Political systems differ in extent to which they wish to impose limitations. The constitution might limit the executive or local bodies, or even the legislature insofar as amendment of the constitution itself is concerned. These limitations may be enforced by various means, like judicial review or special administrative justice. In short, constitutional government involves elaborate rules of political procedure and jurisdiction. Theoretically speaking, constitutional government is predicated upon certain essential attributes. *First,* it is characterized by a division of power. In a constitutional government, no person or official has the authority

to exercise all sorts of governmental power in all sorts of situations. *Second,* constitutional government involves the general acceptance of plurality of interests in society. *Third,* no single organized institution can monopolize authoritative leadership in society. *Finally,* such a system of government seeks to minimize governmental constraint on individual freedoms and liberties.

As the practice of constitutionalism is determined by many factors, viz. nature of constitution, type of political system, political culture, socio-economic development, etc., the following section briefly explains the practice of constitutionalism in three countries – the United States, the United Kingdom and India.

2.1.7.2 UNITED STATES

Constitutionalism in the US has been defined as a complex of ideas, attitudes, and patterns of behavior elaborating the principle that the authority of government derives from the people, and is limited by a body of fundamental law. These ideas, attitudes and patterns of behavior, derive from a dynamic political and historical process rather than from a static body of thought laid down in the eighteenth century. In US history, constitutionalism has traditionally focused on the federal Constitution. Indeed, a routine assumption of many scholars has been that understanding "American constitutionalism" necessarily entails the thought that went into the drafting of the federal Constitution and the American experience with that constitution since its ratification in 1789. There is a rich tradition of state constitutionalism that offers broader insight into constitutionalism in the United States. US constitutionalism contains important features such as democratic polity, rule of law, written constitution, separation of powers, theory of checks and balance and popular sovereignty.

1.4.7.2 UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom is perhaps the best instance of constitutionalism in a country that has an uncodified constitution. A variety of developments in the 17th century England, including the protracted struggle for power between king and Parliament was accompanied by an efflorescence of political ideas in which the concept of countervailing powers was clearly defined, led to a well-developed polity with multiple governmental and private institutions that counter the power of the state.

British scholars especially John Locke made immense contribution to the idea of constitutionalism.

2.1.7.3 INDIA

India is a democratic country with a written Constitution. Rule of Law is the basis for governance of the country. All the administrative structures are expected to follow it in both letter and spirit. It is assumed that constitutionalism is a natural corollary to governance in India. But the experience with the process of governance in India in the last six decades is a mixed one. On the one hand, it has an excellent administrative set up put in place to oversee even the minutest of details related to welfare maximization but on the other it has only resulted in excessive bureaucratization and eventual alienation of the rulers from the ruled. Since independence, those regions which were backward remained the same, the gap between the rich and poor has widened, people at the bottom level of the pyramid remained at the periphery of developmental process, bureaucracy retained colonial characters and overall development remained much below the expectations of the people. Principle of 'Constitutionalism' has been recognized by Supreme Court of India in different cases. The Supreme Court of India has viewed that the principle of constitutionalism is now a legal principle which requires control over the exercise of Governmental power to ensure that it does not destroy the democratic principles upon which it is based. These democratic principles include the protection of fundamental rights. The principle of constitutionalism advocates a check and balance model of the separation of powers, it requires a diffusion of powers, necessitating different independent centers of decision making. The protection of fundamental constitutional rights through the common law is main feature of common law constitutionalism.

2.1.8 CONSTITUTIONALISM IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Though constitutions have come and gone in the last millennium, constitutionalism lives on in this one. Institutions dedicated to the protection of rights are growing in size and number. Movements for constitutional government are sprouting up in lands where despots once reigned.

Constitutional decision-makers are 'internationalizing', increasingly looking to internationally shared principles and foreign sources when setting up institutions and

interpreting constitutional texts. One reason is increased domestic diversity, another one is increased international interdependence. Societies which seemed to have achieved a certain cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic homogeneity or harmony, and therefore had a constitution that was based on either homogeneity or harmony among certain groups, have welcomed an increasing number of people who may not share the constitution's foundational value assumptions. At the same time as human migration changes the composition of national polities, citizens are increasingly interacting with actors outside the physical borders of their nations, stretching the reach of traditional forms of governance and challenging national cohesion, in part because of the Internet, in part due to global economic and cultural integration. Our age is witnessing a dynamic interface between constitutional rights and the digital realm. This and future generations will confront new challenges involving online privacy, cyber terrorism and digitally assisted terrorism, intellectual property, and enforcement of the rule of law across borders.

This situation presents a central problem in judging the fortunes of constitutionalism in the new millennium: how can the foundational regime of legal standards remain both solid and flexible enough to meet the needs of the times? This dilemma is not new.

In the new millennium, constitutions will change with the times, but their stability is no less a source of their force. No matter how technical it may seem, amending a constitution is an essential element of the document itself and of constitutionalism. In the absence of rigorous amendment procedures, a constitution can become the victim of incidental considerations at any time, if any one of its prescriptions were to obstruct a current legislative improvisation or a prevalent legislative interest. Techniques of constitutional stability are particularly important in times of populism. The blessed self-restriction dictated by the constitution would cease to exist, even though it is the task of the constitution to ensure it. With an easily amendable constitution all its guarantees would cease, too. The intimate relationship with the people's sovereignty, which was so important when it was created, would discontinue. The legitimacy of the whole political system would be threatened if the content of the constitution were to appear as, or become part of, the ordinary political bargaining process.

Of course, constitutions are not immutable. In the name of democratic justification, Thomas Jefferson held that all generations should have the opportunity to amend their constitution; because what they inherited was not formulated with their participation, and earlier generations had no right to determine how future generations should live. While it is not always easy to draw a firm line between constitution-making and amending the constitution, from a formal standpoint constitutional amendments are readily identifiable inasmuch as constitutions themselves prescribe how they may be amended.

As the world becomes increasingly interdependent, and as the challenges constitutional law face expand beyond national boundaries, national courts responsible for constitutional adjudication will look more frequently to their counterparts in other countries for ideas and guidance.

Interest in comparative constitutional law has palpably increased in recent decades, because of, among other developments, (1) the proliferation of new constitutions and transitions to constitutional democracy in various parts of the world, such as Eastern Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and now the Middle East, and (2) the internationalization of fundamental rights, begun after World War II.

In more recent times, contact among judges from different countries has increased sharply, and foreign judicial decisions have become more readily available through the Internet. Moreover, interest in, and opportunities for, exchanges among constitutional scholars from different parts of the world have risen in recent years.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1..   Write briefly the basic features of constitutionalism?

    _____

    _____

    _____

2.   How do you differentiate between constitution and constitutionalism?

_____

_____

_____

3.   Constitutional government is predicated upon certain essential attributes. What are they?

_____

_____

_____

4.   How constitutionalism practiced in India?

_____

_____

_____

5.   Write a brief note on the status of constitutionalism in the new millennium?

_____

_____

_____

2.1.9 LET US SUM UP

In brief, constitutionalism is a limited government under a constitution. According to this philosophy, the government must operate in accord with the provisions of the Constitution. It must not exceed the authority granted to it by the Constitution. The essential features of constitutionalism are the government's compliance with these two basic legal requirements. The central purpose of constitutionalism is to limit governmental power, to check and restrain the persons

who hold public office and exercise political authority. Constitutionalism as idea emerged in the Western Europe and US and then expanded in the World countries.

Constitutionalism considers certain basic rights and values to be inviolable, as opposed to the majority principle of the sovereignty of people, which claims the supremacy of laws passed by the majority. The constitution, instead of declaring the sovereignty of people, settles on the appropriate restrictive institutions. What powers constitutional institutions do have was vested in them by the people. On the other hand, the sovereignty of the people does not mean that those who exercise this sovereignty may make sovereign decisions on the individuals' existence.

The principles that have underlain constitutionalism for hundreds of years must continue to do so in the future. Constitutionalism is about limiting power. So long as power exists, so too should a robust commitment to constitutionalism, in this millennium and those to come.

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – II: POLITICAL PROCESSES AND POLITICAL CHANGE

2.2 DEMOCRATIZATION: DIFFERENT PHASES

- Mini Pathak Dogra

STRUCTURE

2.2.0 Objectives

2.2.1 Introduction

2.2.2 Meaning of Democracy

2.2.3 Waves of Democratization

- · First wave:1828 to 1926
- · Second wave: Second World war to 1960
- · Third wave: 1974 onwards

2.2.4 Stages of Democratization

- · Introduction
- · Transition
- · Consolidation

2.2.5 Arab Spring

2.2.6 Factors influencing Democratization

2.2.7 Problems in the Way of Democratization

2.2.8 Summing Up

2.2.9 Suggested Reading

2.2.0 OBJECTIVES

- After going through thechapter you will learn about the meaning of democracy and the process of democratization

- You will be able to learn about the various waves of Democratization

- You will be able to learn about the stages of Democratization

- You will be able to learn about the factors that facilitate and hinder the growth of Democratization

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Democracy in its simplest form is often defined as the rule of people. Ancient Athenian conceptualization of democracy was direct but it was not all inclusive however in present context democracy has become indirect but is based on principle of inclusion. As a concept its evolution is traced from ancient period of Athens but present day formation is a new one which came up with the process of nation building and state building. Prior to phases of enlightenment, modernization, renaissance the regimes mainly were authoritarian or monarchial type and people were designated as subjects not as citizens. This process of transition of political regimes mainly which were authoritarian, totalitarian or monarchial hegemonic type to a new form adopting democratic practices is called democratization. World has witnessed phenomenal growth in consciousness of the people and their demands for democratic rights which in turn has led to speeding up of the process of democratization. Thus, it is essential to understand that democracy is a concept whereas democratization is a process which facilitates transition from nondemocratic to democratic rule.

2.2.2 Meaning of Democracy

Before understanding the process of democratization we need to understand democracy because the case of defining it has been most controversial and debatable. Scholars do not agree on one precise meaning or definition of democracy. For some it is a way of governance, some call it a check on government's exclusive rights or protection of civil liberties. Democracy is often stated as highly valued symbol in present day context so even the most repressive of dictator also wants itself to be

called as 'democrat'. However these are all vague meanings. Democracy is directly related to the political institutions of the state. For *Aristotle* democracy was where 'each to rule and be ruled in turn' was the principle. This was regarded as symbol of direct democracy where everyone can participate in the affairs of the state and can get involved in decision making. But this was not practicable in countries with large population and big geographical areas so the direct democracies got replaced by representative democracies. *Schumpeter* defines democratic state as one in which there is free competition for a free vote.

However, broadly two approaches had been adopted in defining democracy. On the one hand, there are many procedural definitions of democracy, which focus on how the regime is organized and the processes by which representation, accountability and legitimacy are assured. On the other hand, there are the various substantive definitions of democracy, which deals also with the goals and effectiveness of the regime and the extent to which the will of the people might be served in a more purposive sense.

One of the major works in context of democracy has been done by *Robert Dahl* who prefers to use word 'Polyarchy' instead of democracy. He is of the view that procedural cannot be completely separated from substantive. In his major works 'Polyarchy' and 'Democracy and its Critics' he specified several institutional guarantees 'which must exist for a government to be classified as 'Polyarchy' which included elected officials, free and fair elections, inclusive suffrage, the right to run for office, freedom of expression, alternative sources of information and associational autonomy. But they are going to work only if citizens might formulate their preferences, signify these preferences and have these preferences weighted equally in the conduct of government. It is these three later elements which are deemed necessary if government is to be democratically responsive to its citizens.

The post-war years have witnessed emergence of enormous literature on the subject of democracy and various scholars have identified its various forms. Popular democracy, constitutional democracy, liberal and illiberal democracy etc. are a few explained on the basis of the form, shape or its working that takes in any country. In whatever form it exists it has become almost a worldwide phenomenon. According to

Freedom House fewer that one in four of the world's polities were democratic in 1950, democracies now count for almost three in four. Democratic regimes which were once a small and homogeneous group has now become large and heterogeneous. This transition has been termed as democratization.

2.2.3 WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

The pioneering work on democratization came with the publication of *Samuel P. Huntington's* work 'Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century' which was published just after the fall of Berlin wall and collapse of communist bloc. He argued that democracy has developed historically in a series of 'waves'. He defined 'waves' as a group of transitions from non democratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specified perioed of time and that significantly outnumbers transitions in opposite direction during that perioed. He has mentioned that democratization has occurred in three waves in the modern world. They are as follows:-

- First long wave that lasted from 1828 to 1926:- the first modern democracies emerged in the 'first long wave of democratization' between 1828 and 1926. During this first wave nearly thirty countries established atleast minimally democratic national institutions including Argentina, Austria, Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries and the United states.

  Democracies like USA and UK consolidated in early nineteenth century but many of the above mentioned democracies were later overthrown by fascist, communist, or military dictatorships during Huntington's 'first reverse wave' starts almost in the beginning of 1920's and remains till second world war. During this period world has witnessed the rise of Nazism, fascism and communism.

- Second wave after WW II till 1960:- Huntington's second wave of democratization began during the Second World War and continued till 1960. Like the first wave, some of the new democracies created at this time but did not consolidated. Like for example elected governments in several Latin American Countries were quickly overthrown by the military. However,

after1945 there emerged certain established democracies like in West Germany. Italy, Japan and Austria.

Here, it is also important to mention that during this period many new nation states emerged in the world due to process of decolonization and after the success of nationalist freedom struggles that were launched against imperial masters. As the colonies were under the imperial rule mainly from western European nation the impact of their rule was visible even in post independence era of these nations. In these newly emerged nation states initially democracy was adopted either in form of presidential or parliamentary system. Out of these new independent nation-states only few were able to consolidate democracy like India and Sri Lanka. But in many other Asian, African and Latin American States military regimes took over and at many places authoritarian regimes were established like in Brazil and Chile, Pakistan etc. Thus, period of 1960's and 70's has been termed as 'Second Reverse Wave' by him.

- Third wave from 1974 onwards:- the third wave began in 1974 by the end of right wing dictatorships in 1970's especially in Greece, Portugal and Spain. In 1980's Latin American countries also saw the retreat of generals and finally in the beginning of 1990's there was collapse of communist Soviet Union. This disintegration of USSR made liberal democracy too propagate itself as the 'only alternative left'.

However, this classification of process of democratization into waves and ending it on third one has been challenged by scholars like Doorenspleet who makes mention of the 'Fourth wave' after the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 and dissolution of Soviet Union. According to him, the events that occurred in Central and Eastern Europe and the end of cold war marks a beginning of fourth wave in the process of democratization.

Although Huntington has not said anything about a third reverse wave, a number of scholars have noted the decline in democratic attributes in regimes like Brazil, Turkey, Hungary, Russia and Serbia. Anna Luhrmann and Staffan I Lindberg (2019) have argued that the world is witnessing a third wave of autocratization.

Here, autocratization is not sudden as military coups or voting day frauds but the regime change is typically gradual and slowly leading to hybridization into electoral authoritarianism instead of sudden, dramatic transitions. Political leaders are using legal and gradual strategies to undermine democracy to strengthen their grip over power. In such cases, a decline in quality of democracy may be noticed, also called democratic backsliding or de-democratization by elected leaders who incrementally degrade the essential character of a democracy instead of doing it through a revolution. Substantial autocratization has been recorded over the last 10 years in countries as diverse as Hungary, India, Russia, Turkey and Venezuela.

Even Fukuyama who was proponent of End of History thesis himself revised his work in 'Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment' and stated about democratic backsliding. According to him, forces of nationalism, and the assertion of identity and dignity are the forces which has generated dissatisfaction within the liberal democracies and these are the major causes of democratic backsliding. An increasingly bleak picture is emerging on the global state of democracy, even if some maintain that the achievements of the third wave of democratization are still noticeable. But, Luhrmann and Lindberg further opines that if it was premature for Fukuyama to predict 'End of History' in 1992 it will be premature to predict 'End of Democracy' presently.

So, it can be stated even if autocratization is visible still democratization is also there, it was mainly after the disintegration of Soviet Union that this process actually flourished more than other time periods of history. In 1974, 27.5% of all countries were democratic which rose to 64.1% in 2005 according to Freedom House. Although these include exclusively electoral democracies which ignore possible limits on civil liberties. In this context Fukuyama even stated that free-market liberal democracy has defeated communism and that democracy would become a universal value when USSR disintegrated. But his thesis didn't worked completely and he himself states of democratic backsliding in his work.

2.2.4 STAGES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

Generally, as a process, democratization could be understood in three phases, introduction, transition and consolidation of democracy in a non-democratic regime. In

the first phase, democracy is introduced in a non-democratic regime due to breakdown of the non-democratic government which could be linked to loss of legitimacy. This loss of legitimacy may be a result of an economic crisis or lack of loyalty of coercive arms of a state – police and the army. Second, in the transition phase, the democratic features of the given state deepen as new structures and institutions come up. Existing authoritarian structures and agencies are abolished and negotiations over a new constitution, rules and regulations for establishing competitive politics are taken up during this phase. A transition happens when the opposition desirous of democracy becomes strong enough to challenge the authoritarian regime, which is divided or weak to either co-opt for democracy or use force against the opposition. There are three general types of democratic transitions.

- First, there is a transition based on a pact or agreement between the moderate members of an authoritarian regime and moderate faction in the pro-democracy opposition. As there is power sharing between both the factions, the new arrangement contains the elements of both, the old and the new government. Chile in 1990 and Spain in 1977 are illustrative of this type of transition.

- Second, we have the Bottom-Up transition in societies where the authoritarian regime is weakened by popular movements and loses complete legitimacy. Democratic transitions in countries like Hungary and Poland after the fall of Soviet Union are examples of bottom-up transition since it sees them as a necessary tool for survival of its rule.

- Finally, there is the Top-Down transition: Here the authoritarian regime initiates changes since it sees them as a necessary tool for survival of its rule. Leaders of an authoritarian regime implement democratic reforms but sometimes these reforms produce protracted transitions in which the new democratic regime does not break dramatically from the old regime, as in the case of Mexico. Ruling elite may favor democracy over other forms of government due to adverse historical experience (example, post-Second World War Germany, Japan and Italy), pressures from external powers on whom they have come to depend (as in Afghanistan and Iraq) or to gain international recognition and financial assistance. Former Soviet republic, Tajikistan in Central Asia could be cited as one such example of opportunistic democratization.

Third, in the consolidation phase, democratic values become firmly embedded in the state and their reversal becomes unthinkable. Democracy is fully institutionalized when there is dissemination of democratic values in the system. Huntington states that a democracy is consolidated if it sees through two turnovers of power. Consolidation leads to shift in political culture of a society as democracy becomes a common and routine affair.Thus consolidation may be defined in terms of either democracy's sustainability or the deepening of its quality over time. These different understandings of consolidation reflect different definitions of democracy. For minimalist i.e. proceduraldefinitions, which understand democracy as dichotomous variable (a regime is either democratic or it is not), consolidation is merely the survival of an electoral democracy. For broader definitions, which view democracy as a continuous variable (a regime may be more or les democratic), consolidation means going beyond an electoral democracy to include characteristics of a liberal democracy, which incorporates guarantees of fundamental rights and liberties. In either case, it is difficult to know how consolidated a democracy is.

Democratization theorists have identified different patterns of interaction among social groups that shape the way democratization unfolds in a particular environment. Numerous such modes of transition have been identified, reflecting variations in the role of elites and masses in confronting the authoritarian regime, the degree to which the transition is managed by elites from the old regime, the speed with which the transition occurs, and the degree to which the new democratic regime breaks dramatically with the old regime. In all cases, transitions occur when a democratic opposition becomes strong and united enough to confront the authoritarian regime, and the authoritarian regime is too weak and divided to control the situation, either by co-opting the democratic opposition or cracking down through force.

Almost all the continents of the world today have democratic countries and the emphasis has been not just to study the postcolonial societies but also on the study of post-communist countries and the post authoritarian regimes. Post-communist countries are studied because the emergence of new states was not due to process of decolonization but collapse of Soviet Union whereas the postcolonial countries had some sort of

encounter with democracy due to their imperial masters who mainly were western powers where this present day liberal democracy has roots.

There have been various movements in some former Soviet republics to overthrow authoritarian regimes and corrupt leaders. Also called color revolutions, these movements aspired for democracy in countries like Ukraine (Orange Revolution, 2004), Georgia (Rose Revolution, 2003) and Kyrgyzstan (Tulip Revolution, 2005).However, this process of democratization in Post-Soviet countries is seen with suspicion by Russia due to American and European Union's influence. For example, in Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan), democratic institutions exist but opposition is largely marginalized and single-leaders dominate their political scene. It is for this reason that some describe the regimes in Central Asian countries as facade democracies. The ruling elites in the region know that their survival would be at stake if they loosen their grip over power. They very well remember failure of Gorbachev's political and economic reforms which were an important factor in disintegration of Soviet Union. The ruling elites are supported by Russia and China who are against any West-inspired attempts to install democracy in the region.

After decades of regime change in post-Soviet area, the model of liberal democracy emerged and took root only in some post-communist countries. In most former communist states the political transformations either lost their momentum, as a result, partially democratic or hybrid systems were created, but in some states political changes led to the consolidation of new authoritarian regimes as mentioned earlier 'autocratization' happened.

2.2.5   ARAB SPRING

In the study of democratization Arab Spring also need mention because Arab spring was a pro-democracy protests and uprising that took place in the Middle East and North Africa beginning in 2010 and 2011, challenging some of the region's entrenched authoritarian regimes. The wave began when protest in Tunisia and Egypt toppled their regimes in quick succession, inspiring similar attempts on other Arab countries. The first demonstration took place in central Tunisia in December 2010, catalyzed by the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi, a 26-year-old street vendor protesting his treatment by local officials. The protest movement was dubbed as Jasmine Revolution by media and spread throughout the country quickly. The Tunisian government attempted to end the unrest by using violence against street demonstrations and by offering political and economic

concessions. However, protests soon overwhelmed the country's security forces, compelling president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali to step down and flee the country on January 14,2011. In October 2011, Tunisians participated in a free election to choose members of a council tasked with drafting a new constitution. A democratically chosen president and prime minister took office in December 2011, and a new constitution was promulgated in January 2014. In October-November 2019, Tunisia became the first country of the Arab Spring protests to undergo a peaceful transfer of power from one democratically elected government to another.

Arab Spring rising unfolded that youth were dissatisfied with the working of rule of local governments and stood against oppressive authoritarianism to establish a more democratic political system. Enormous factors are sighted for this uprising like human rights violation, political corruption, economic decline in terms of unemployment, poverty, concentration of wealth in the hands of monarchs and wide inequality etc. that forced particularly Young generation to challenge authoritarianism. Youth wanted redistribution and was not ready to accept status quo. Egypt's Uprising of 2011, Yemen Uprising of 2011-12, Libya Revolt of 2011, and Syrian Civil War all were influenced by the revolution in Tunisia. In Egypt, after clashes between protesters and security forces in Cairo a turning point came when military refused to use force against protesters compelling president Hosni Mubarak to leave his office. Although military at that point of time had high public opinion but it didn't took country towards democratic transition or consolidation. In case of Yemen the protest came from tribal and military leaders who aligned with pro-democracy protesters and damaged the support base of President Abdullah Saleh which eventually made him to agree for transfer of power to Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi. However he also failed to maintain stability which resulted in civil war.

The effects of the Arab Spring Movement were felt elsewhere throughout the Middle East and North Africa as many of the countries in the region experienced at least pro-democracy protests. In Algeria, Jordan, Morocco, and Oman, rulers offered a variety of concessions, ranging from the dismissal of unpopular officials to constitutional changes, in order to head off the spread of protest movements in their countries.

Although the protest movements in 2011 were unique in their interconnected struggle for democracy across the region, the push to end corruption and improve citizens' quality of life did not end with the Arab Spring. Protests continued for years to come,

and an additional wave of protests took place in the Arab world in the late 2010s and early 2020s. in February 2019, protests in Algeria toppled the government of president Abdelaziz Bouteflika; in April, Sudan's military ended the 30 year old rule of president Omar al-Bashir after months of protests. Although these are not inspired by on another still they are often referred as second Arab spring. No doubt Arab Spring has shown positive signs towards democratization but the fate of this uprising is still hidden in future about what course democracy will take in these countries.

2.2.6 FACTORS INFLUENCING DEMOCRATIZATION

As the name itself suggests, this approach argues that there are many factors contributing towards democratization in a country. In his later works, Lipset has himself argued in favour of this approach. In his 1994 paper, The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited, Lipset refers to economic prosperity, de Tocqueville's concept of social equality, centrality of political culture, Weber's idea of legitimacy and significance of strong civil society as the multiple factors helping democratization. Robert Dahl in his 1998 book, On Democracy, has given three essential factors for democracy. They are – civilian control of police and military forces, political culture and democratic beliefs and no strong foreign control hostile to democracy. Larry Diamond & others have done an extensive study of politics in developing countries and according to them, the factors which lead to democratization include–performance and legitimacy, political culture and leadership, socio-economic development and social structure, civil society, state and society, regional and ethnic conflict, political institutions, the military and international factors. He has also highlighted role of political culture as being the key to democratic consolidation since democracy requires a number of values from its citizens like civility, tolerance, efficacy and participation. Diamond was not enthusiastic about the fourth wave of democratization as he argued that all the countries which had suitable conditions for democracy had already undergone democratization. The problem with this model is that on the basis of undefined factors, it is not possible to test a hypothesis. It is very difficult to pinpoint a common factor that plays an important role in democratization process in countries with so much diversity in their political, social, cultural and economic conditions.

2.2.7 PROBLEMS IN THE WAY OF DEMOCRATIZATION

There are numerous criticisms or challenges that democratization has faced. The process of democratization is difficult to define, largely, because there exists no universally

acceptable as well as applicable set of definitions of democracy. It is being defined by any political system according to its own interests and political culture that exists also influences it widely. There is no consensus either on from where democratization starts and when it ends. In other words, it is difficult to define that what actually the point is where consolidation of democracy can happens. It is also difficult to say that collapse of one authoritarian regime will surely culminate into smooth functioning of democratic ways. Also, as mentioned above there has emerged many varieties of democracy in the world, proving that it is not essentially linear. There is no way to measure democratic consolidation. As mentioned above democratic backsliding can also happen in the process of democratization. Another point of criticism is that there has been no unanimity regarding the correlation between democracy and economic development. The relation is positive or negative is still a bone of contention between scholars.

2.2.8   SUMMING UP

To sum up, it can be stated that there appear to be many paths to democracy. In some countries, democracy evolved gradually over centuries like Great Britain. In some, it camethrough inheritance from colonizers like Britain for example Canada and Australia, whereas others finally some became democratic through foreign interventions like war for example Germany and Japan. So historically, it is the accumulation of experiences that shape democratization process and make it eventually long or slow down its path. The process in itself is conditioned by time and space dimension i.e. role of elites, institutions, establishment of structural arrangements which are conducive for the process of democratization. The values like accommodating diversity, increasing trustworthiness among citizens, a culture of cooperation and compromise, providing freedom and equality to participate in political system do give rise to a type of political culture where democratization can lay its strong foundations even if the historical experiences have been otherwise. In short it can be stated that although it is difficult to assess the path of democratization and its smooth transition from one stage to another but this is the new norm of new global order. Although it may be more procedural than substantial still it is the fact of the present day world.

2.2.9   SUGGESTED READING

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2.3 Comparative Federalism : Various Models

- Mini Pathak Dogra

STRUCTURE

2.3.0   Objectives

2.3.1   Introduction

2.3.2   Meaning and features of Federalism

2.3.3   Federalism and Decentralization

2.3.4   Federalism: Various Models

- Unions
- Consociations
- Confederations
- Asymmetrical Federal Arrangements
- Leagues
- Local and Non-Governmental Federalism
- Dual federalism
- Cooperative Federalism
- Competitive Federalism
- Fiscal Federalism
- Judicial Federalism
- Progressive Federalism
- New Federalism

2.3.5   Federalism in Practice: A Few Case Studies

- American Federal system

- Swiss Federal System
- Indian Federal System
- Canadian Federal System
- Nigerian Federal system

2.3.6 Summing Up

2.3.7 Suggested Readings

2.3.0 OBJECTIVES

- After going through this lesson you will be able to learn meaning of federalism and its basic features

- You will be able to differentiate between federalism and decentralization

- You will learn about various models of federalism

- you will be able to learn working of federalism in some countries

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Federalism is generally understood as an idea of governance or as adjustment made in structural arrangement so as to suit the regions specifications. Many scholars have tried to explain federal way of governance as against unitary and its benefits along with features, its principles, still it falls short of specific definition. Broadly, federalism is the idea of union of two or more nations that emerged due to certain socio-cultural,regional,political or economic reasons. The heterogeneity that existed in the geographical regions and the coming up of sovereignty giving state a position of dominance over nation made it necessary for the arrangement that could accommodate diversity.So, federalism is in a way important for maintaining unity in diversity.

Federalism is often stated as holding together or coming together, in this context, it is important to mention that confederations like erstwhile USSR were formed as coming together in which nation states came together for mainly economic and security purpose and the units share almost same power as the central government, whereas, in holding together federation the powers are divided in central and state(word is used forprovinces or constituent units within a country) governments but central authority is superior to units

and the states are not given right to secede from the larger union. So, federation and confederation cannot be used in similar way nor interchangeably. Now a days, federations have become context dependent as confederations have seen a fatal end like for example disintegration of Soviet Union was a blow not just to idea of loose federation but also set an example that state sovereignty cannot be compromised both externally as well as internally. It is only because of this federalism differs in theory and practice.

Federations can be centralized or decentralized according to the circumstances as in case of political instability whole constitutional arrangement can give precedence to exercise power to central authority over the state units. In other words, federalism is a kind of mechanism to manage centrifugal as well as centripetal forces that exist in every political system and are largely responsible for creating or disturbing political stability. A successful federal state is one which has the ability to strike a balance between the structural arrangements of governance in a manner to minimize conflicting interests between different sections of the society, where multi-ethnic nationalities exist as well as maximizing the coordination among various layers of the governance.

2.3.2 MEANING OF FEDERALISM

Federalism as mentioned above does not carry any universally applicable meaning or definition, however, scholars have tried to define it in their own understanding according to the context in which they study federalism, it is only because of this that we find many practical variants of federalism in today's world. The classical definition of federalism as given by *K.C.Wheare* is that 'it is the method of dividing power so that general and regional governments are each, within a sphere, coordinate and independent.' But this definition stands for the American federal structure as he considered it to be a par excellence paradigm of federalism. On the other hand, *Livingston* believes that 'federalism is simply a political arrangement through which the federal attributes of society are expressed giving'. He further opines that federalism lies not in the institutional or constitutional structure but in society itself. Federalism for him is a device by which the federal qualities of the society are articulated and protected. *Amitai Etzioni* takes it in direct connection with power which is crucial element in politics and governance. Power sharing federalism is thus an attempt to cope with the problem of power in the process of unification of political communities. When groups as states are aggregated into a collectivity, the most important concern to

them is how much power they have which is major determinant of the amount of resources they get in relation with other. This ensures that power is not concentrated in majority groups.

There is a long tradition of theorizing about federalism. According to *Althusius* 'authority is to be allocated to each according to his sphere of expertise' which means sovereign authority shares power with all those who are under him. *James Madison* in his *Federalist Papers* (1961) has written about the virtues of separate states, as part of a scheme to fragment power.

In theorizing federalism, American political scientist *William Ricker* has contributed a lot by not being concerned with only state specific approach but by asking why federal systems form and why they persist or fall apart. In his major work *Federalism: Origin, Operation, and Significance* his central questions are: why do some polities when they form have unitary structures, and others federal? What happens when the conditions that give rise to the creation of federalist structures later disappear? Does the federal arrangement cease to exist, or do other factors emerge to sustain it? For Ricker, national security of smaller polities is one of the major causes of formation of federation afterwards they agree to pool resources to provide national defense against a common enemy, and once they do this they may find other benefits in form of common market etc. But he further states, that federations may fall apart if the common enemy disappears unless or until any other specific reasons or conditions are present. For him organized political parties and elections are one of the important institutions in keeping up of federation.

Federalism is best understood as a model of promoting 'self rule and shared rule' as conceptualized by *Elazar,* and of balancing the interests of a nation with that of its region. Typically, this is done for dual purpose that of letting the possibility of a tyranny of the majority, and of generating strength through union. A durable federal design thus aims at the contradictory goals of reconciling freedom with cohesion, and a diversity of political cultures and identities with effective collective action. Usually, one can assume such a design to be the product of context with a tradition of political bargaining among autonomous units, and of a political culture leavened with a history of social contract.

Features of Federalism

A federal system is the constitutional arrangement that gives federation its institutional form. It is typically identified with the existence of four institutional characteristics.

- First, there should be two set of governments, each with its independent spheres of administrative and legislative competence;

- second each set of government should have independent tax bases;

- third there should be a written constitution from which each side derives its legislative power; and

- finally, in case of conflict, there should be a system of independent judicial courts to arbitrate between the center and the constituent units. The federal process then is the ensemble of actual participatory, legislative and policy interactions that relate the structure of federal system to the dynamics of everyday political life.

Other than these, Nawbeueze identifies certain principles of federalism. They are as follows:-

- Governments rather than geographical entities or people as the basis of the federal arrangement

- Separateness and independence of each government

- Equality between the regional governments

- Multiplicity of interest groups and constituent units

- Division of powers

- Provision of separate constitutions where federation has its own constitution but states can also have their own constitutions in order to assert their authority but states could surrender their own constitution in favor of federal constitution and accept a new one.

2.3.3 FEDERALISM AND DECENTRALIZATION

As mentioned above federalism is not universally applicable and cannot be defined precisely, it varies in practice from country to country. But before discussing various models

of federalism it is essential to state how it is different from decentralization. As features of federalism states that it is a system in which sovereignty or authority is divided between at least two levels of governments, the nation and its sub-units. Each has some area of sovereignty or autonomy or rights that are inviolable, irrevocable by the other level of government. Neither unit, however much they want to, can undermine the rights of the others. In contrast decentralization is a form of organization in which the more inclusive unit divides itself into useful subunits or delegates certain of its powers to subunits. The purpose of this division is to facilitate efficiency, effectiveness etc. Decentralization is a kind of instrumental calculation set forth by the central authority whereas in federal state subunits are autonomous hence they may or may not form the policies as they see fit. Although it is misconception still it is often stated that what we see in present political systems is more of decentralization at work than federalism in practice.

2.3.4   FEDERALISM: VARIOUS MODELS

Daniel Elazar has been one of the pioneering social Scientist in providing a picture of various models of federalism. For him Constitution, non-centralization and a real division of power is the hallmark of federal political systems. Although federations are often not pure forms they may exist as quasi-federal systems example is India, Pakistan, Canada, South Africa, Malaysia etc. Nation states have elevated themselves to hybrids in which experiences of various political systems are combined to suit to national interest and maintain national integrity. Switzerland and Germany are more confederal in nature then others. Europeans started with confederal elements which even continue today, as European Union which is one of the regional organizations is often quoted as confederal arrangement.(But here what needs mention or rather is cause of concern is that after Brexit is European Union is also showing signs of disintegration as has already happened in case of loose confederation of Soviet Union or will move towards federation where 'distinctiveness' and 'unitedness' both will go hand in hand). But it was in USA that modern foundations of federalism were laid down.

Daniel Elazar has however identified more varieties of federal arrangements of which six are important to be discussed. They are Unions, Consociations, Confederations, Asymmetrical federal arrangements, Leagues and Local and non-governmental federalism other than federations. However various models of federalism that have existed and are

continuing in various forms in present timesalong with these can be discussed in nutshell below:-

- **Unions**

    Union stands for the formation of a Single political unit from two or more separate and independent unitswhich surrender or delegate their principal powers to the government of the whole. These polities consciously and deliberately unite but preserve the integrity of their own. In this form, dual government are not formed but integrities are protected by the national government,such as in United Kingdom,England and Scotland came together in 1707. Unions express themselves through legislative Union and in United Kingdom substantial autonomy has been given to its constituent units like Wales has been given a measure of cultural and administrative autonomy, similarly Scotland has been given own local administration.

- **Consociations**

    Consociation is the term mainly associated with ArendLijphart who borrowed this from Althusius. Literally, Consociation denotes a political system formed by the cooperation of different social groups on the basis of shared power. Executive power sharing is the most important feature of consociational arrangements. Consociations are not territorially definable but are ideological, religious,ethnic or cultural groupings, these may include even the tribal groupings which is jointly governed by coalition of leaders of these groupings. These are constitutionally organized in a such a manner where the identities of the constituent groupings are preserved. Countries like Netherland and Belgium are examples of consociations where power sharing is used a model of governance.

- **Confederations**

    Modern day Federalism actually started with the formationof confederations. Even the most renowned model of federalism i.e. USA started its journey from a confederation. Confederations are built for some common causes like foreign affairs, defense & strategic purposes. But sometimes economic reasons help in creation of such confederations. Confederations were once the classic example of cooperation but withered away because the common government depended upon

the constituent units. United stated remained a confederation from 1776 to 1789 and even when it was established as federation much later the 11 constituent states seceded from it in 1861 to 1865 to form Confederate States of America which however got dissolved after Civil war. Complete sovereignty and exclusive nationalism are often insisted upon by the states which makes possibilities of long lasting of confederations bleak. Disintegration of confederations may also be caused by authoritative attitude of the national government or the federal government as had happened in the case of USSR which tried to hegemonize power in its favor. A modern example of the successor of erstwhile USSR is Commonwealth of Independent states (CIS) that was set up in 1991 by former republics of Soviet Union but is almost invisible as explained by Elazar 'a mere soap bubble- pretty on the surface but empty inside'.

- **Asymmetrical federal arrangements**

  Asymmetrical federal arrangements are done where sub states hold equal constitutional status but have different powers. Smaller units are united with the larger ones but are given more autonomy than other similar units. India is sometimes sighted as an example of this type of federalism as the Indian states have different status asfor example before the abrogation of Article 370 Jammu and Kashmir was vested with more powers than other states. Similarly, Articles 371 accord special status to North-Eastern states.Similarly,in post- Franco Spain for instance, Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia were regarded as 'historic communities' which entitled them to an earlier and wider grant of autonomy than was awarded to other regions. In post-communist Russia, 21 of 89 territorial units are 'republics' authorized to adopt their own constitutions, elect their own presidents and maintain law making assemblies.

- **Leagues**

  League can be called as an association of states or organizations or even individuals for common action. Leagues are one of the loose forms of federation which are not governed by any particular government but by some common authority like secretariat which looks into the routine functioning of the league. Here the constituent states are free to move out of it without changing its overall character. Its membership

may depend on certain basic principles which members have to follow. League of Nations was one of this kind which was formed after World War I to prevent world from another World War and Promote global peace.

- **Local and non-governmental federalism**

  This can also be called the third level of federal structure where local issues are addressed through local governance. Local federalism is debatable but it takes governance to grassroot levels.Best examples of this type isCanadian experiments in Ontario and Local-Self Governmentof India especially after 73rd and 74th Amendments to address the local needs both in rural and urban areas.

- But with the passage of time enormous models of federalism have emerged according to the specific needs and contextual settings in which federalism evolved in any countries. Like **Dual federalism** that originally was envisaged in USA,and is also the original federal principle which stated that the national and state governments would operate independently, each tier acting autonomously in its own constitutional sphere. In early eighteenth century USA had not faced any challenge so this model of separate government worked and the federal & state governments were linked through a constitutional contract. In dual federalism independence of levels was maintained. But with the passage of time this model disappeared.

- **Cooperative federalism** however became more popular where the central government or the federal government offers overall leadership but leaves its implementation to lower levels a division of tasks rather than complete separation. European federalism especially of Germany is often cited as an example of this type of federalism. Cooperative federalism in Germany is based on solidarity where shared commitment to a united society is expressed and is displayed by a type of organic link which binds the participants together. The other principle of Cooperative federalism is subsidiarity that is the decisions to be taken to the lowest level possible. Hallmark of German federalism is interdependence not independence as was given in dual federalism of USA. In Germany all the Lander (states) are expected to contribute to the success of the whole; in exchange, the are treated with respect by the centre. This collaborative spirit is encouraged both by the device of framework legislation- laws passed by the centre which are then fleshed out in

land legislation- and by the powerful Constitutional Court, which has expected the participants to show due sensitivities to the interest of other actors in the federal system.

However, in case of USA Cooperative federalism is also known as marble cake federalism as all the levels of government work together to solve common problems and issues. The metaphor originated in early 1950's pamphlet authored by Joseph E. McLean which was developed by *Morton Grodzins* in 1960 in a book, *'Goals for America'* where he argued that in America dual federalism never existed. In his chapter on the federal system, Grodzins noted, "the American form of government is often, but erroneously, symbolized by a three layered cake. A far more accurate image is the rainbow or marble cake…..As colors are mixed in the marble cake, so functions are mixed in the American federal system. Other theorists however contend that marble cake federalism came into existence during 1930's.

- Another form of federalism that has emerged is that of **Competitive federalism** wherein centre competes with the states and vice versa. Also, the states compete with each other. When centre competes with regional states competition is vertical in nature but when regional states compete among themselves it is horizontal. In Indian context, competitive federalism is promoted mainly horizontally among the states. Competitive federalism encourages healthy competition among states through transparent rankings, in various sectors, along with a hand holding approach. This is done to improve the performance of the states and to achieve the developmental goals. Here, centre government is only responsible to frame rules, union government devolves funds to the states. This system tries to ensure maximum use of resources and minimum wastage so as to improve physical and social infrastructure within the state and among the states. Although not without shortcoming this system helps in more proper and efficient utilization of resources which is very much needed in a developing country like India. Harry N. Scheiber however considers Competitive federalism more close to dual federalism than cooperative federalism and may generate conflict among federal and state governments if the centre's policies breed inequality among states or favoritism is shown by the union government.

- **Fiscal Federalism** can be defined as financial relations between units of governments in a federal government system. Fiscal federalism is part of broader public finance discipline. The term was introduced by Richard Musgrave in 1959 it deals with the division of governmental functions and financial relations among levels of government. The theory of fiscal federalism assumes that a federal system of government can be efficient and effective at solving problems governments face today, such as just distribution of income, efficient and effective allocation of resources, and economic stability. Economic stability and just distribution can be done by federal government because of its flexibility in dealing with these problems. Because states and localities are not equal in their income, federal government intervention is needed. Allocation of resources can be done effectively by states and local governments. Musgrave argued that the federal or central government should be responsible for the economic stabilization and income redistribution but the allocation of resources should be the responsibility of state and local governments. Fiscal federalism operates through the various federal taxes, grants, and transfers that occur in addition to states and localities. The federal government regulates, subsidizes, taxes, provides goods and services, and redistributes income. In federal states like that of USA, fiscal policies have also sought to empower the states through deregulation.

- Another variant i.e. **Judicial federalism** refers to the ability of the Supreme Court and its power of Judicial review to influence the type of federalism during certain times in the country. This happens because of the judiciary and the supreme court's ability to rule on what is constitutional and what is not. In essence, the supreme Court can decide whether the state or the central government should have power over certain laws. Supreme Court justices can allocate where the power goes, which is based on how they choose to rule and on their views of the Constitution.

- **Progressive Federalism** allows the states to have greater control over issue that were once issued to the national government. In some instances, states could enforce more regulations than necessary on government decrees.. for example California regulated on green house emission gases on vehicles. This type of federalism allows the states to comply with the government requirements,but they can also include their own additions. If the states are allowed to experiment with

different variations on the national government's mandates, the national government can learn which variations work and which ones don't. It allows the national government to tailor its own laws so that, in the end, the laws are more effective because of what the different states have learned.

- **New federalism is** specifically used in context of US under president Regan which allowed block grants to be given to the states, which could be used for programs like public health, law enforcement, community development. The federal government would then monitor how the money was used, the outcome of programs, and discretion for how and what social programs are implemented.

2.3.5 FEDERALISM IN PRACTICE: A FEW CASE STUDIES

- **American federal system** was the pioneering experiment in federalism. Where confederation collapsed in very initial years. Between 1776-1787, United states of America was a confederation. Although USA established itself as federal state in 1787 but it was in between 1861-1865 when there was a civil war between Protestants and Catholics, that the forces, which were trying to disintegrate confederation eventually consolidated federalism. USA has two tier system of government the national government and the state government co-ordinate each other in principle but do not share power. American federalism is representative of symmetrical type as it gives equal representation to the districts in upper chamber i.e. Senate. Constitution provides clear demarcation of responsibilities on each level of Government. The power of judicial review is one of the important contribution of American federalism where Judiciary has been granted power to declare any decision of state or national government as null and void if it seems to be unconstitutional. USA is a classic example which has moved a long way from confederation to dual and then to cooperative federalism also having elements of judicial federalism because power of judicial review is contribution of USA itself.

- **Swiss federal system** is one of the oldest political system that remained confederal for centuries. Between 1291 till 1848 Switzerland was confederal state. It started off with the treaty in1291 between three cantons (then known as ote or Orle which were sovereign or independent states). This treaty was mainly regarding defense from external aggression and enhancing commerce. However, the control

of France over the Cantons, its defeat in 1815 and coming up of Europeans in this land for propagation of democracy framed the federal character of Switzerland which famously became Swiss model of federalism. Precisely, the federal structure of Switzerland was a result of a compromise that was resolved after a religious-motivated civic war, where the protestant cantons, influenced,mainly by French liberalism which favored a centralized liberal state, opposed the conservative catholic cantons advocating a confederal arrangement based on the original alliance of sovereign cantons. In 1848 Switzerland became a federal state.

At present, Switzerland has 26 cantons of which 6 are half cantons as they have only one representative each. Each has its own constitution which applies directly to the people of the cantons. It also has a federal Court which directly protects and defends rights of all the citizens irrespective of the canton they live in. Law and order are the prime responsibility of the Cantons as Switzerland has no federal police. Cantons enjoy high autonomy and have different official language, different army, and their own policy with respect to education. Cantons have organized themselves into numerous municipalities for purpose of administration which somehow is often equated with the operation of direct democracy in Switzerland. Cantons and municipalities even have the power to decide their official religion but Church cannot run the public schools. This is how swiss model of federalism has accommodated traditional diversities and has strengthened the bottom-up federalism.

- **Indian federal system**has its unique blend of federalism and unitary models. Due to this it is often termed as Quasi-federal system by the political scientists. India is there by cited as example of both holding together federalism as well as coming together federalism where regionalism has always remained as an active force since its independence from colonial rule in 1947. Even after having rather long spell of one party dominance in Indian politics centralization did not became possible due to regional forces and federalism became inevitable to accommodate diversities. Indian constitution establishes two-tier of government but did not give too much autonomy to the constituent units (states). In other words, India has more of decentralization and division of powers between centre and states but no state can demand secession keeping national integrity intact. In this regard

K.C. Wheare remarks that "India is a unitary state with subsidiary federal principles rather than a federal state with subsidiary unitary principles." In India the centre hold a position much above the state governments mainly as it has emergency power and its power to alter the boundaries of the state even reduce the status of the state to UT or even abolish a state. Recent example of use of such power is the Jammu and Kashmir which is reconstituted as two separate Union territories of J&K and Leh by the Centre Government. States also have unequal representation in Upper chamber of the parliament which makes it asymmetrical in nature. But the division of power under various lists is often quoted as feature of federalism however this is also not without shortcomings because state list subjects can be legislated by Centre not only during emergency but also in times of peace. Despite these, federalism has remained operative mainly because Centre depends on states for the implementation of its policies. Because of this reason India is representative of a very different kind of federalism than any pure form. Morris Jones contend that Indian federalism was a political bargaining process between the central and state leaders—one in which experiments, cooperation, persuasion and conciliation could describe both the generally accepted norms and the usual procedure pattern of inter-governmental relations.

- **Canadian federal system** is one of that came up with the contacts of British and French as both colonized Canada. In Canada, federalism provided an institutional outlet for subnational distinct people as Canada was not only large geographically but diverse demographically. Federalism worked in favor of pluralist countries like Canada with multiple interests and established it as one of the 'well-established federation' as rated by Arend Lijphart in Index of federalism. Canada represents interstate federalism with Canadian provinces having no direct say in federal legislation or implementation, but being relatively autonomous in their own legislative powers. Canadian constitution spells out the main powers of the states but it is most difficult to amend because it has a weighted federal formula that takes into account of both numbers of provinces and population—two third of the provincial legislatures from provinces containing at least half of the population—with unanimity required for sections concerning basic language rights. Because of language diversity Canada provides for the proportional representation to the judges from the linguistic

groups even when the nature of court is one of the general multipurpose courts instead of specialized constitutional courts. Regarding representation also Canada has a distinguishing feature as the representatives of the provinces are not elected but chosen by the prime minister. This feature makes Canadian bicameralism ineffectual as the senators are appointed by the national government on political and patronage grounds although it has considerable formal powers of having to pass, and being in theory able to reject, any bills. Canada today facesQuebec question because it is following symmetrical federalism and is not ready to give special status to any of the province as demanded by French-speaking Quebec.

- **Nigerian federal system** is important to be discussed because it has survived in the hostile conditions where other systems have failed in South Africa. The Nigerian federalism is important from the point of view that it has not only evolved through colonial experiences but also from military and civilian federalism. The early foundations were laid by Britishers which they established for administrative convenience prior to its independence from colonial masters. This period is termed as informal period of federalism in Nigeria. It was in 1946 Richards constitution was introduced in which regions were created but 1954 Lyttleton constitution established Nigeria as a federal state constitutionally. After independence in 1960 the constitution of 1954 became the forerunner of subsequent changes and establishment of federalism. But the role of military cannot be undermined in the establishment of federalism in Nigeria. In January 1966 head of military Ironsi suspended the federal constitution and made it a Unitary state, however, in July 1966 a counter coup brought the country back to military federation. Under this administration, twelve states were created. In 1985, again military took power in its own hands but after some time it was handed over to civilians. This gave Nigerian federalism a distinct shape and structures. In Nigeria, the Government is divided into three levels and local government have become the third tier. Federal government is the gate keeper of the states. The Nigerian federal government precedes over matters in the executive list, shares responsibility with the state in the concurrent list and prevails over the state's responsibilities in the local government. Although federal system is named in the constitution it does not grants self-rule to minorities. States are given equal representation but have limited powers in comparison to federal government.

Federalism is often debated and criticized of not providing any conceptual clarity nor its theories are clear of what it actually is. Many scholars have questioned the validity of this concept as in practice it varies from country to country. It is often viewed in contradiction with terms like nationalism, sovereignty etc. The actual working of federalism is often cited as different from that of theory which makes it debatable. The heavy bias towards centre in granting it more powers and dependence of units for finances on national government has made working of federalism questionable. The constitutional imbalances and the misuse of the same sometimes make demands of secession prominent thereby affecting national integration. In a federal state striking a positive balance between centre-state relations is a key to protect national interest.

2.3.6 SUMMING UP

To summarize, we can state from the above discussion on working of federalism in various countries, that no single form is being practiced in the world and not any one of the models is completely universal. Federalism changes its form, shape and pattern according to the context in which it is being practiced. As the nation states which are unitary in nature also follow some kind of decentralization similarly federal states cannot grant enormous liberty to its constituent units hence, present day federalism is neither coterminous with centralization even if it is rigid nor can be reduced to mere decentralization. Federalism is more about intergovernmental relations than about debates on sovereignty. The federal government acts almost as the custodian of the territory which is under its jurisdiction as well as works for the protection of the interest of its populace. It is the degree of autonomy given to constituent units that determine the actual nature of federalism in any nation state. Federalism is one way of accommodating conflicting interests and heterogeneity that characterizes present day world order. The process of globalization and the shrinking dimensions of time & space has changed the demographic composition of almost all the nations of the world. Thus, federalism is one way out where representation and participation can help in minimizing conflicts if it works in balanced manner. The various models of federalism working in various countries proves the fact that if flexibility is allowed diversity can be accommodated positively.

2.3.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

Comparative Federalism

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – II: POLITICAL PROCESSES AND POLITICAL CHANGE

2.4 REVOLUTION: CONCEPT, TYPES AND THEORIES

- Harjit Singh

STRUCTURE

2.4.0 Objectives

2.4.1 Introduction

2.4.2 Revolution: Meaning and Definition

2.4.3 Features or Characteristics of Revolution

2.4.4 Categories of Revolution

2.4.5 Theories of Revolution

2.4.5.1 Liberal Theory of Revolution

2.4.5.2 Marxian Theory of Revolution

2.4.5.3 Neo-Liberal Theory of Revolution

2.4.5.4 Idealist-Liberal Theory of Revolution

2.4.6 Let us Sum up

2.4.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- know meaning of revolution;

- understand features or characteristics of revolutions:
- know the various categories of revolutions;
- comprehend the theories related to revolution.

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Ever since the times of Plato and Aristotle the issue of revolution has been a focus of attention in all studies of politics. Plato and Aristotle regarded revolution as a violent unnatural overthrow of the existing order and tried to suggest the methods for preventing revolutions. As against this Machiavelli wanted revolution for securing unity and republicanism in Italy and Locke described the right to revolt as a natural right of the people which could be and should be used to overthrow the rulers or any one of all organs of the government in case these failed to keep up their part of the social contract which involved the obligation to protect the natural rights of the people. Hobbes despised revolution and held that revolution would lead the people into a state of anarchy and perpetual war which characterized the state of nature. Hegel, while accepting as the natural culmination of the evolutionary process after it has reached its node, into a big leap—the dialectical leap, rejected all talks of revolution against the state as blasphemy. Against Hegel, Marx held that revolution is the culmination of a historical process that was not only inevitable but also highly desirable for keeping up the march towards its final goal. He openly advocated the need to give a push to history (by revolution) and even talked of a permanent revolution. These ideas were fully supported by Lenin, who stated that revolution was a natural necessity and it involved, of necessity, the use of force, violence and bloodshed. Laski accepted the need for a socio-economic revolution designed to secure a society characterized by freedom and equality, an egalitarian society. The revolutionaries always talk of the need to prevent a counter-revolution and the radical reformists always keep on praising the ideal of a revolutionary change in all aspects of social relations.

2.4.2. REVOLUTION: MEANING AND DEFINITION

In general way we can say that revolution involves an overthrow of the existing social order and the power structure. It seeks to destroy, change and replace the

existing class structure and establish new political institutions. It involves the use of force, violence, suppression, domination and popular upsurge which is often led by a revolutionary elite or group or leader. Further, sometimes a revolution is loosely conceptualized in terms of the process of overthrow of a status quo, introduction of profound changes in the political system by both peaceful and violent means. This view of revolution seeks to admit even a peaceful, widespread, rapid and profound change in the system in the category of a revolution. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 in Great Britain was accomplished without shedding a drop of blood and yet was a revolution in the British political system. The French Revolution of 1789 was a violent and popular revolution by the people of France for overthrowing the despotic regime and for securing their rights to liberty, equality and fraternity. The scientific, important and major inventions of the nineteenth century took the name of Industrial Revolution. The twentieth century stands characterized as the age of revolutions—Social Revolution, National Revolution, Technological Revolution, Information Revolution, State Revolution, Behavioral Revolution, Green Revolution, Anti-communist Revolution etc.

As such we can say that a revolution is taken a mean a big, sudden, fundamental, major and profound change or transformation of social, political, economic and cultural life of the people by peaceful means or by both peaceful and violent means. French scholar Mounier defines Revolution as a combination of rather far-reaching changes intended virtually to erase the real illness of society that has reached an impasse, rapid enough to prevent those terminal illnesses from spreading their poisonous decay throughout the national body, yet slow enough to allow for the growth of whatever requires time to mature. The result is what counts not how romantic or how restrained the language is. It is enough to know that operation is a major and vital one bound to meet violent resistance which in turn provokes counter-violence. Mounier views revolution as a major, profound and big change designed to eliminate the real illness from society. He prefers to measure the success of a revolution in terms of the results produced and does not accept that a revolution involves, of necessity, a violent change. Carl J. Friedrick holds that a Revolution constitutes a challenge to the established political order and the eventual establishment of a new order radically different from the preceding one.

2.4.3. FEATURES OR CHARACTERISTICS OF A REVOLUTION

On the basis of the above discussion on revolution we can describe the following as the characteristics of revolution:

- A revolution involves a profound and big change in the social-economic-political life of the people.

- A revolution in the strict sense of the terms involves a profound change in the society through the use of force and violent means.

- A revolution is not confined only to the political life of the society. It has wider and far reaching ramifications. It brings in profound changes in all major aspects of social life.

- A profound and big change produced through peaceful and constitutional means is also, loosely, defined as a revolution. A better name for such a change, however, happens to be 'revolutionary change.'

- A revolution is different from revolt or rebellion in so far as the former involves a more profound and a bigger change while the latter involves a change in only the established political order.

- A revolution can be made to check or counter another revolution which had taken place earlier. In such a case it is known as a counter-revolution.

- The concept of revolution involves the idea of popular uprising against the prevailing socio-economic-politico system.

- A revolution always reflects a lack of popular faith in the credibility and legitimacy of the prevailing system.

- A revolution involves the replacement of an old order with a new one.

- A revolution can begin as a revolt or a protest and can subsequently develop into an overthrow of the prevailing politico-economic-social order.

- A revolution always involves the overthrow of status quo by the people, or most of the people of the society.

- A revolution is different from a revolt in intensity and scope. It is also different from a revolutionary change in any one aspect of the life of the society. It involves a profound, big and comprehensive change in the prevailing socio-economic-politico order.

- Mostly a revolution has for its basis an ideology or at least a perception of the new order which is to replace the existing order.

- A big and real change in the political system by peaceful and constitutional means is a revolutionary political change. If it is of the nature of downfall, it is called political decay. If it is an upward change, it is called political development. It cannot be really defined as a revolution.

In short we can say that by a revolution we mean a profound, big, far reaching and real change in the prevailing socio-economic-political system through violent means. It always involves an overthrow of the status quo and is mostly based on an ideology or a set of ideological principles. Its intensity and scope is much bigger than a simple revolt or rebellion or *coup d'etat* which simply involves a change of rulers by the use of force.

2.4.4. CATEGORIZATION OF REVOLUTION

Tocqueville has employed a more empirical approach to the problem of revolution, and has defined it as an overthrow of the legally constituted elite, which initiated a period of intense social, political, and economic change. Crane Brinton has continued this empirical thrust by differentiating between the coup d6tat, as a simple replacement of one elite by another, and major revolutions such as the French or Russian, which were accompanied by social, political, and economic changes. Similarly, with respect to Latin America, George Blanksten suggests that we should distinguish between the coup d6tat and revolutions such as the Mexican experience, which eventually had profound consequences for the structure of that society.

The distinction between two forms of revolution may provide a basis for the development of further classifications. For example, Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan present a further refinement in the classification of revolution by the introduction of a three-category typology in which they differentiate between palace revolutions, political revolutions, and social revolutions. Edwin Lieuwen constructs a

similar classification, but instead of the palace revolution he discusses *'caudillismo'* (predatory militarism), which is a common form of the *coup d'etat* in Latin America. These three forms of revolution appear to reflect an increasing degree of change initiated by the successful insurgents, and may be placed on a rank order of increasing political or social change. James Rosenau, in fact, constructs such a classification of revolution.

Samuel Huntington has suggested a classification of revolution in which four categories are enumerated: the internal war, the revolutionary coup, the reform coup, and the palace revolution. Huntington's use of the concept 'internal war' differs from the meaning attributed to that concept in earlier systematic studies. For that reason the term mass revolution will be substituted for internal war as used by Huntington. The terms mass revolution and palace revolution correspond respectively to Rosenau's structural and personnel wars, while the revolutionary and reform coups both may be placed under the heading of the authority wars. Kemal Ataturk's revolution in Turkey, for example, illustrates what Huntington might call a revolutionary coup, whereas the 1955 coup in Argentina might be classified as a reform coup. The major difference between the two forms is in the degree of change initiated in the structure of the political authority. The 'Young Turks' implemented a complete revision of the political authority which led to a truncation of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of a republic. The revolt against Peron, on the other hand, was an attempt at reform, in that Peron's mismanagement of the economy and the dissatisfaction of major political forces, such as the Roman Catholic Church, led to a revolt against what had become an oppressive political executive.

Categorization/Types of Revolution

Type of Revolution	Mass Participation	Duration	Domestic Violence	Intentions of the Insurgents
Mass Revolution	High	Long	High	Fundamental Changes in the structure of political authority and the social system
Revolutionary Coup	Low	Short to moderate	Low to moderate	Fundamental changes in the structure of political authority and possibly some change in the social system
Reform coup	Very low	Short, some times moderate	Low	Moderate changes in the structure of political authority
Palace revolution	None	Very short	Virtually none	Virtually no change

The existence of several types of revolution suggests that we might be able to isolate different categories of revolution. Karl Deutsch proposes that the degree of mass participation in a revolution, as well as its duration, may be essential to an adequate description of the revolutionary experience. A third characteristic may be the number killed as a result of the revolution. Given a high degree of commitment by the revolutionaries and the incumbents, the number of persons killed both during and after the revolution may be a measure of intensity. This measure will be discussed more fully at a later point. Finally, the intentions of the insurgents may be critical to the form of the revolution as well as to its eventual outcome. If the successful insurgents are ideologically committed to certain goals, then they may initiate changes in the societal structure to effect the realization of these goals. If, on the other hand, the revolutionaries have no particular ideological orientation, then they might intend to replace the incumbents in the structure of political authority without recourse to changes in the societal structure.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   How do you understand the meaning of Revolution?

        _____
        _____
        _____

2.   How do you differentiate between Mass Revolution and Revolutionary Coup?

        _____
        _____
        _____

2.4.5. THEORIES OF REVOLUTION

With passage of time, several great political masters and political theorists have offered their conceptualizations of revolution. Their views are classified as theories of revolution. Mainly, we can refer to four main theories of revolution:

1. Liberal Theory of Revolution

2. Marxian Theory of Revolution

3. Neo-liberal theory of Revolution

4. Idealistic-liberal Theory of Revolution

2.4.5.1 LIBERAL THEORY OF REVOLUTION

The Liberal Theory of Revolution can also be described as the traditional theory of the revolution and it encompasses the ideas of great political masters from Plato to Locke. Plato's conception of revolution involved replacement of the traditional Greek city-state with the republic—a state characterized by justice, state controlled and state maintained system of education, communism of wives and property for the guardians and the rule of the philosopher king. Aristotle presented a complete and objective theory of revolution. He described revolution as a forcible overthrow of the prevailing system, analysed its causes and suggested several remedies against it. He was opposed to revolution as means of change, secured by force. He accepted and advocated the cyclic theory of political changes but rejected revolution and suggested several means for preventing revolution. He categorically in observed that inequality everywhere is the cause of revolution. The Church fathers, St. Augustine and St. Acquinas advocated the Christian faith which held that orders that be are ordained by God. But a revolution against an unjust and tyrannical ruler was justified. Machiavelli, the first modern political thinker, supported revolution for the unification of Italy. Bodin suggested a distinction between progress and revolution and advocated the need for preventing revolutions by monitoring the movement of stars. John Milton justified revolution for securing freedom. He supported the idea of overthrowing the oppressive rulers who were guilty of depriving their people of liberty.

In the writings of British political thinker John Locke, the concept of revolution (the support for revolution) received a big boost. He justified and supported the right of the people to revolt against the rulers or the government or any one of its organs which failed to protect the natural rights to life, liberty and property, as well as for removing the rulers or the government of the state in case they failed to

undertake the liability to perform the assigned functions as per the terms of political contract. He epitomized the spirit and philosophy of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and accepted the need and necessity of revolution against inefficient and arbitrary rulers. The French Revolutionaries justified the overthrow and elimination of despotic rulers for securing liberty, equality and fraternity of the people. The American Revolution against the despotic British rule was described as American War of Independence and eulogized as a necessary exercise for securing and preserving the liberty of the people. As such, the Liberal Theory of Revolution regards revolution as an overthrow of the prevailing system for securing the rights and freedom of the people. It is described as a means or as an instrument for protecting the rights of the people. Obviously it supports revolution only for securing rights and freedom of the people. Since it also supports the use of revolution as a means for rescuing or for preserving an order which is considered good for the rights and freedom of the people, it is described by some as a reactionary or conservative theory of revolution.

2.4.5.2 MARXIAN THEORY OF REVOLUTION

Marxian Theory of Revolution conceptualizes revolution as the overthrow of the existing social, economic and political order by forcible means. It regards use of the forcible means as an essential feature of revolution because the attempt to overthrow the prevailing order is bound to be opposed by the ruling class. As such a revolution is always characterized by force and violence. It further, describes revolution as a culmination of a particular stage of social evolution, which has to go after it has reached its saturation point. It, by nature, involves a comprehensive and violent change in all spheres of social life. Not only this, Marxism believes that revolution is always a revolution of the working class, the 'have-nots', against the 'haves' and its basis lies in the evolution of the material means of production in society. A revolution is a socio-economic revolution which takes the form of a political revolution. A social revolution takes place when there is change in the existing relations of production. A major change in the means of production changes the production relations and makes a way for the revolution. Marxian theory of revolution regards revolution as the means for securing the rights of the 'have-nots' by ending the exploitation being inflicted upon them by the 'haves'. However, this objective can be really and finally achieved by a proletarian revolution against the capitalists.

According to Marxists, the bourgeois or capitalist revolution involves the displacement of one minority class by that of another, feudal rule by bourgeois one; the use of state power to remodel political and legal structures to suit the interests of the new ruling class, or remains passive but acquiescent. Marx accepts the importance of each revolution because it constitutes a step towards the final goal—emergence of a classless and stateless society. The bourgeoisie revolution overthrows the feudal system and leads to the establishment of a bourgeoisie rule which in turn sets the stage for the proletarian revolution. Thus, Marxian Theory of Revolution regards revolution as the ideal, fruitful and essential means for the overthrow of the prevailing system and as a valuable and essential step towards the attainment of the final goal. Revolution, of necessity, as Lenin points out, involves the use of force, violence and bloodshed. The ruling bourgeoisie can be thrown out only by force. The revolution has to be planned, organized and successfully executed in practice. This theory supports the cause of a socialist revolution for the overthrow of the capitalistic system. In fact, it believes that capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction and it is destined to pave the way for a socialist revolution, a proletarian revolution, which is destined to overthrow it. The capitalist system is its own grave digger as its evolution is accompanied by a concentration of wealth into fewer and fewer hands, increase in economic inequality, recurrent economic crises, ever worsening condition of the proletarian class, disunity among the capitalists due to cut throat competition, and unity among the proletariat due to the rise of a strong bond of class consciousness. The capitalist system, involving the bourgeoisie rule, evolves into a hollow system which is overthrown by the proletariat emerges and it liquidates the forces and group-reaction and prevents attempts at counter-revolution. When the revolutionary class, the bourgeoisie, gets completely liquidated the state also withers away. The society then becomes a classless and stateless society. The pre-history ends and the real history begins. Thus Marxian Theory of Revolution accepts and advocates a socialist revolution as the best and only means for securing the replacement of the existing bourgeois capitalist system with the socialist system. It regards revolution as a socio-economic-politicocultural revolution which is both natural and essential.

Marxian theory accepts the inevitability of socialist revolution in every bourgeoisie ruled state and advocates fully the need to secure socialist revolution in all

such states. It calls upon the workers of the world to unite for securing socialism in the world. Marxian theory designates this as permanent revolution. It implies the idea of export of revolution (socialist revolution) to all states for securing international communism. This theory says that socialist revolution in one state would always remain involved in a permanent revolution for exporting socialism to other countries. Both Marx and Engels categorically observed, and Lenin accepted the logic while Trotsky desired it at all costs. It is in our interest and task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of the proletarians, not only in one country but it all dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces concentrated in the hands of the proletariat. For us the issue cannot be alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothening over of class antagonism but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but laying down the foundations of a new one (Trotsky). The final purpose of revolution is to secure the attainment of the final goal of historical evolution—the classless and stateless society. In contemporary times, this theory of revolution stands almost refuted by the events that had taken place in the former Soviet Union and the former socialist states of Eastern Europe. Revolutionary changes have taken place in these countries through revolutionary as well as constitutional means. These 'revolutions' have replaced the socialist systems of these countries with liberal democratic capitalistic system. Democratization, Liberalization, Development, Competitive Economic System, Market Economy and opposition to one party rule have all been the key words of these revolutions. By Marxian standard these have to be described as counter-revolution and not revolution because to it revolution in reality means socialist revolution.

2.4.5.3 NEO-LIBERAL THEORY OF REVOLUTION

Neo-liberal theory of revolution stands adopted by several scholars who came under the influence of Marxism. This theory accepts the use of force for the capture of power but at the same time rejects the Marxian idea of class war. It defines revolution as an attempt by the use of force against the government legally in power to compel a

change in what are held to by those using such force, the actual purposes of the state (Laski). Explaining the meaning of revolution, C.B. Macpherson writes that by revolution means a political overturn more far-reaching than a *coup d'etat* or 'palace revolution'. Revolution means a transfer of state power by means of involving the use of threat of organized unauthorized forces and the subsequent consolidation of that transferred power, with a view to bringing about a fundamental change in social, economic and political institutions. The neo-liberal theory of revolution accepts, as Davis observes, that as violent civil disturbance that cause the displacement of one ruling group by another that has broader popular basis of support. But at the same time it rejects the Marxian logic that the basis of each revolution is class consciousness. The revolutions can be spontaneous or organized, but these are not necessarily governed by class consciousness. Several social, economic, political and cultural factors, and not class consciousness alone, are the causes of revolutions. Even oppressive regimes survive for a very long time and people continue to tolerate these. At times these get replaced or in the end these get replaced due to the weakness suffered by the ruling group or its leader, and through revolutions.

As such the neo-liberalists hold that a revolution takes place when people get alienated from the political process or their relations become estranged. When a political system fails to provide opportunities for a peaceful change of rulers, the people can go in for a revolution, as Friedrick opines that it is the result of a deep rooted and slowly evolving political and social malformations rather than the sudden outbreak that they appear to be at the surface.

In short, it can be said that the neo-liberal theory of revolution accepts Karl Marx's idea of revolution as the capturing of power through the use of force but at the same time rejects the Marxian view that revolution is the result of class antagonism and that in it one class (the Haves). A revolution is the result of several socio-economic-politico-cultural factors and at times has an ideological basis. A revolution can be avoided by a process of continuous adaptation and integration, and gradual transformation of the political system in accordance with the changes in the environment within which it operates.

2.4.5.4 IDEALIST-LIBERAL THEORY OF REVOLUTION

The idealist-liberal theory of revolution, particularly as expounded by Kant and Hegal, seeks to analyse revolution on the basis of ethical values and norms. It describes revolution as a spiritual and cultural upheaval through which a group of persons seeks to establish a new basis of existence. It describes revolution as a big historical leap or step towards a higher moral end. Hegel described it as a sudden dialectical leap registered in the process of evolution of the universal spirit from imperfection towards perfection. It occurs at the culmination level of a particular stage of evolution. Hegel praised and described French Revolution as an event of world's historical significance. He described it as an overthrow of the unnecessary feathers which had come to be developed by many political institutions and it constituted a welcome step in the liberation of the spirit. Earlier, Kant had observed that revolution was a factor of nature, not morally or legally allowable as such, but to be accepted as natural if directed towards a higher ethical goal of life. He analysed the nature and importance of the French and American revolutions on the basis of such a logic.

Hegel described revolution as a historical step in the dialectical evolution of the universal spirit. The contradictions between the thesis and anti-thesis develop into a saturated situation (node) when further evolution cannot take place without a transformation. At this stage the dialectical leap—a revolution, takes place and a synthesis, combining the best in the Thesis and Anti-thesis emerges. This synthesis then becomes the new thesis and contains a new anti-thesis. The process of evolution then begins again, and reaches its node again sets the stage for a dialectical leap. The process, as such, continues endlessly. In this way Hegel accepted the naturalness and inevitability of revolutions and he praised revolution as a step towards the higher stage. Further Hegel advocated what was real was the 'idea' and not the 'thing'. The thing was a manifestation of idea. The idea was subject to dialectical evolution and hence to revolution. The evolution of things followed the evolution of ideas. Hegel and his follows advocated that history was the record of the evolution of the universal spirit (the real and the rational) from imperfection towards perfection and in this process revolution were of historical

significances, developments or steps. A revolution implies the emergence of a higher stage of evolution and is a necessary and vital link in the ever-continuous process of dialectical evolution of reality.

The idealist liberal theory of revolution accepts revolution as a natural phenomenon and explains it as step towards the liberation of human beings and their march towards moral perfection. It stands based upon the concept of evolutionary nature of all reality and supports revolution as a culminating act of an existing stage of evolution as well as the beginning of a new and higher stage of evolution. The great Indian thinker M.N. Roy was also a protagonist of the idealist-liberal theory of revolution. He defined justified revolution as the awakening of the urge of freedom in man. He justified revolution, provided it was for securing the freedom of man. Any revolution directed towards the suppression of human freedom was rejected by M.N. Roy. The idealistic-liberal theory of revolution, as such supports revolution as a means for securing the liberation of man as well as for his moral and spiritual perfection.

To sum up, the review of the four theories of revolution brings out the fact that a revolution stands conceptualized differently by different scholars. Each scholar is guided by his own values and even biases. No one can deny the fact that revolutions have characterized the life of the people living in several different societies. These have been the results of several different societies. These have been the results of several different factors. Several social, economic, political cultural and ideological factors have acted as the causes of various revolutions that humankind has witnessed and experienced. Their natures and results produced by them have also been different.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   Write briefly about liberal theory of revolution?

        _____

        _____

        _____

2.   Marxist theory describes revolution as a culmination of a particular stage of social evolution How do you understand this?

        _____

        _____

        _____

3.   Briefly explain the neo-liberal theory of revolution?

        _____

        _____

        _____

4.   The idealist-liberal theory of revolution seeks to analyse revolution on the basis of ethical values and norms .Explain.

        _____

        _____

        _____

2.4.6 LET US SUM UP

Revolution, in social and political science, is a major, sudden, and hence typically violent alteration in government and in related associations and structures. Historically, the concept of revolution was seen as a very destructive force, from ancient Greece to the European Middle Ages. The ancient Greeks saw revolution as a possibility only after the decay of the fundamental moral and religious tenets of society. Plato believed that a constant, firmly entrenched code of beliefs could prevent revolution. Aristotle elaborated on this concept,

concluding that if a culture's basic value system is tenuous, the society will be vulnerable to revolution. Any radical alteration in basic values or beliefs provides the ground for a revolutionary upheaval.

Only after the emergence of secular humanism during the Renaissance did this concept of revolution, as a cause of the desecration of society, change to embrace a more modern perspective. The 16th-century Italian writer Niccolò Machiavelli recognized the importance of creating a state that could endure the threat of revolution; but, at the same time, his detailed analysis of power led to a new belief in the necessity of changes in the structure of government on certain occasions. This new acceptance of change placed Machiavelli at the forefront of modern revolutionary thought, even though he never used the word revolution in his texts, and he was primarily concerned with the creation of a truly stable state.

Scholars of social sciences interpreted revolutions interpreted revolutions differently based on their ideological foundations and perspectives. Hence, each one of them has interpreted revolutions in their way. In this lesson, we have studies four major theories related to revolution: a) liberal theory, b) Marxist theory, c) neoliberal theory of revolution and d) idealist theory of revolution.

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT-III: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, DEPENDENCY AND POLITICAL ELITE

3.1 THEORIES OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- Shikha Malhotra

STRUCTURE

3.1.0 Objectives

3.1.1 Introduction

3.1.2 Emergence of the Concept of Political Development

3.1.3 Concept of Political Development

3.1.4 Pye's Concept of Political Development

3.1.4.1 Equality

3.1.4.2 Capacity

3.1.4.3 Differentiation

3.1.5 Other Concepts of Political Development

3.1.5.1 Huntington's views on Political Development

3.1.5.2 Riggs Views on Political Development

3.1.5.3 James and Coleman's Views

3.1.5.4 Kenneth Organsui's Views

3.1.5.5 Walt W. Rostow' Views

3.1.6 Features of Political Development

3.1.6.1 Problem of State-Building

3.1.6.2 Problems of Nation-Building

3.1.6.3 Problem of Participation

3.1.6.4 Problem of Distribution

3.1.7 Factors that Influence Political Development

3.1.8 Crisis in the Political Development

3.1.9 Critical Appraisal

3.1.10 Suggested Readings

3.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you shall be able to understand:

- how the concept of political development emerged;

- the meaning and concept of political development;

- the features of political development;

- the factors that influence the political development;

- the basic criticism against this approach.

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of political development, which is having a very important place in the field of comparative politics, is the post-Second World War phenomena. The concern with development was prompted by the emergence of many new states in the Third World. The new states that emerged on international scene posed a challenge to Western political scientists on comparative politics to develop frameworks for understanding and predicting the politics of new nation-states. The atmosphere of the

Cold War with competing superpowers of the US and the USSR provided the motivating force since these two superpowers also stood for completely different ideologies. Almond and others in *Politics of the Developing Areas* directed attention to backward areas that promised to develop, and he found it necessary to tie his ideas about the nature of the political system and about political culture to development. The volumes commissioned by the Socia Science Research Council's (SSRC's) Committee on Comparative Politics (1963) also place an emphasis upon comparative development theory.

The literature on development actually falls into at least five categories. The first, represented by Almond and others, attempts to utilize traditional notions of democracy and political democracy and to recast them into more sophisticated, sometimes abstract, terminology. A stage theory of development is depicted in A.F.K. Organski's *The Stages of Political Development,* a work modelled after that of the economist Walt Rostow. These conceptions of political development, however, rest heavily upon the Anglo-American experiences in politics. Studies in the second category focus on conceptions of nation-building. These studies attempt to combine old notions of nationalism with new interpretations of development. Modernization is the focus of a third category of studies on development. Examples of this type of literature include Marion J. Levy's *Modernization and the Structure of Societies,* an ambitious effort to apply structural-functionalism to a theory of modernization, and David Apter's *The Politics of Modernization,* a provocative attempt at model building. A fourth category comprises the studies of change, a prominent example being Samuel P. Huntington's *Political Order in Changing Societies.*

3.1.2 EMERGENCE OF THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

It was in 1951, when the normative and the theoretical aspects of the subject were first brought out for discussion in a conference. Howard Wriggins (a political scientist) presented a paper entitled "Foreign Assistance and Political Development" in which various types of functions performed by the government in a more developed politics, was spelt out. He made a suggestion of the extent to which any state was not able to fulfil these functions, it was underdeveloped. Philip Curtright made another early effort in 1963. He prepared a statistical index of levels of political development in terms of degrees of democratisation.

It was however, left to the committee on comparative politics to make the concept of political development a major focus of theoretical inquiry. In 1963, Almond made a proposal to relate his framework of political system to the problem of political development. After writing an article "A Development Approach to Political Systems", Almond wrote a book in 1966 on comparative politics with development approach. The committee on comparative politics sponsored a series of conferences and institutes leading to the publication of a set of volumes exploring various aspects of political development. Between 1963 to 1966, the committee brought out six volumes from the Princeton University press on various aspects of political development contributed by the western political scientists like Lucian Pye, Rastow, Verba, Coleman, Myron Wiener David Apter, E. A. Shils, Leonard Binder, Eisenotadt, Riggs Huntington and others. The commending of these volumes brought out some valuable ideas, proved to be of great importance to subsequent efforts at theory building in this field.

3.1.3 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Some pioneering efforts in conceptualisation of the phenomenon of political development were made by Lucian Pye and later on by several authors, particularly Huntington challenged some of the parameters of the Pye model. Therefore, it becomes imperative to be acquainted which the Pye's conception of Political Development.

Lucian W. Pye is the leading light among the earlier batch of writers to analyse the concept of development in depth, and left an abiding impression on the entire literature of political development. Lucian Pye in his books *Aspects of Political Development, Political Culture and Political Development, Communication and Political Development* has evolved the key elements of political development. He has acknowledged the relevance of social, economic, administrative, political and cultural variables in political development. He has traced the signs of political development at three different levels—with respect to the population as a whole, with respect to the level of governmental and general systematic performance, and with respect to the organisation of polity.

In his book *Aspects of Political Development* Pye presents the case of political development in a quite elaborate form. Before trying to furnish his own interpretation of the term political development, he discusses diverse definitions and goes ahead

often accepting same and rejecting same other parts of each definition.

3.1.3.1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS THE POLITICAL PREREQUISITE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economists like Paul A. Baran, Nariman S.Buchanam, Benjamin Higgins, Alberit O. and Barbara Ward have laid stress on the point that political development should be taken as a result of the economic development. They are of the view that politics and social conditions can play a quite decisive role in impeding or facilitating the economic growth.

Pye criticises this concept of political development on four grounds. Firstly, it has a negative character in the sense that it is easier to be precise about the ways in which performance of a political system may impede or prevent economic development then about how it can facilitate economic growth. Secondly, such a concept of political development does not focus on a common set of theoretical consideration. Thirdly it should also be taken into account that the prospects for rapid economic development have become exceeding dim in most of the poor countries. Finally in most of the under-developed countries, people are concerned with far more than just material advancement. They are anxious about political development quite independent of its effects on the rate of economic growth. Therefore, to link political development solely to economic events would be to ignore much that is of dramatic importance in the developing countries.

3.1.3.2 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT CONCERNS ONLY THE POLITICS OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

Some social theorists like W. W. Rostow hold that the process of political development is related only to countries of industrialisation. Pye rejects it also on the ground that it ignores the role of several other factors like forces that threaten the vested interests of significant segments of the society, some sense of limitation to the sovereignty of politics, an appreciation of the values of orderly administrative and legal procedures, an acknowledgement that politics is rightfully a mechanism for solving problems and not an end in itself, a stress on welfare programmes and

finally an acceptance of some form of mass participation.

3.1..3.3. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS POLITICAL MODERNISATION

A good number of social theorists like James S. Coleman, Karl Deutsch and S.M Lipset hold that political development means a study of the developed western and modern countries and of their ways that the developing countries are trying to emulate. It means that the advanced western and modern countries are the pace-setters of political development. Pye disagrees with such a view, as it fails to distinguish between the western and the modern and that it ignores the fact that the backward or developing countries may have their own historical traditions that they may not like to give up for the sake of merely emulating everything that is western or modern.

3.1.3.4. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS OPERATION OF NATION-STATE

Social theorists like K.H. Siluert, Edward A Shils and William Mccord have laid down that political development consists of the organisation of political life and the performance of political function in accordance with the standards expected of a modern nation-state. Political development is thus, identified with the politics of nationalism. Rejecting this view Pye says that nationalism is necessary. But far from being a sufficient condition to ensure political development political development is identifiable with nation-building and not with merely a nation-state.

3.1.3.5. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL DEVELOPMENT

Some social theorists like Max Weber A. M. Handerson and Talcott Parsons and Joseph La Palombara have pointed out that political development is intrinsically linked with the legal and administrative order of the community. Thus the establishment of an effective bureaucracy is essential for the process of development. Pye, however finds some shortcoming in this view point also. It is quite possible that if administration is over-stressed it can create imbalances in the polity that may impede political development. This view according to Pye overlooks the problems of citizenship training and popular participation that are one of the essential aspects of political development.

3.1.3.6. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND MASS MOBILISATION AND PARTICIPATION

Clifford Greetz, Rupert Emerson, Eisenstadt stressed the role of a politically awakened citizenry and the behaviour of the people in the direction of an expanded

popular participation. Pye considered the disastrous effects of the politics of mass manipulation and thus pointed out that such a view of political development is also fraught with the dangers of either sterile emotionalism or corrupting demagoguery, both of which can sap the strength of a society.

3.1.3.7. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS THE BUILDING OF DEMOCRACY

Joseph la Palombara and J. Ronald Pennock held the view that the case of political development is integrally connected with the building of democracy and inculcating "values" of a democratic order in the minds of the people. Pye points out that such a concept would exclude the cases of those countries where democracy is non-existent.

3.1.3.8. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS STABILITY AND ORDINARY CHANGE

Karl Deutsch and F.W. Riggs have emphasised that stability is legitimately linked with the concept of development in any form of economic or social advancement does generally depend upon an environment in which uncertainty has been reduced and planning based on reasonably safe predictions is possible. Pye differs from this viewpoint and says that it leaves unanswered how much order is necessary or desirable and for what purpose change should be directed.

3.1.3.9. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS MOBILISATION AND POWER

Some social theorists like James S. Coleman G. Almond and Talcott Parsons have taken the view that the concept of political development can be evaluated in terms of the level or degree of absolute power which the system is able to mobilise. According to this view, states naturally differ in proportion to their inherent resource base with the result that the measure of development is the degree to which they are able to maximise and realise the full potential of their given resources. Pye is critical of this view that such an explanation is applicable to the case of democratic political system and thus it ignores the case of development in others where the mobilisation of power is deliberately kept limited.

3.1.3.10. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS ON ASPECT OF A MUTE-DIMENSIONAL PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Max F. Millikam, Donald L. M. Blackmer and Daniel Lerner hence put forth an argument that the political sphere may be autonomous from the rest of the society, for sustained political development to take place. It can only be within the context of

a multi-dimensional process of social change in which no segment or dimension of the society can lag behind. Pye appreciates this view on the plea that here all forms of development are related, development is much the same as modernisation, and it takes place within a historical context in which influences from outside the society impinge on the process of social changes just as changes in the different aspects of a society—the economy, the polity and the social order—all impinge on each other.

3.1.3.11. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS SENSE OF NATIONAL RESPECT IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Finally, Pye refers to the view that takes into account the case of post nationalism era where nation-state will no longer be used as the basic unit of potential life. Pye says nothing to criticise this interpretation it appears that the either accepts it or ignore it altogether.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. Write briefly about how the concept of Political Development emerged.

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. On four grounds Pye criticised limiting political development only to the economic growth. What are they?

    _____

    _____

    _____

3. Do you agree with the view that Political Development concerns only with the politics of Industrialised societies?

    _____

    _____

    _____

4. What is the Pye's objection to the view that looks Political Development in terms of Administrative and Legal Development?

_____

_____

_____

3.1.4 PYE'S CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The meaning of the concept of political development that Lucean Pye offers after viewing diverse definition and viewpoints, bears three characteristics, equality, capacity and differentiation. The degree of development of a country can be determined with the help of these characteristics. James S. Coleman called these characteristics as "development syndrome". "Syndrome" simply means characteristic features.

3.1.4.1 EQUALITY

The first broadly shared characteristic noted is a general spirit or attitude toward equality. The subject of political development according to Pye, involve mass participation and popular involvement in political activities. Participation may be either democratic or a form of totalitarian mobilisation, but the key consideration is that subjects should become active citizens and at least the pretence of popular rule is necessary. Equality also means that laws should be of a universalistic nature, applicable to all and more or less impersonal in their operation. Finally, it means that recruitment to political offices "should reflect achievement standards of performance and not the inscriptive considerations of a traditional social system.

3.1.4.2 CAPACITY

It refers to the capacity of a potential system by which it can give "output" and the extent to which it can effect the rest of the society and economy. Capacity is also closely associated with governmental performance and the conditions that effect such performance. It also means effectiveness and efficiency in the execution of public policy. There is a trend towards professionalisation of government. Finally it is related to rationality in administration and a secular orientation towards policy.

3.1.4.3 DIFFERENTIATION

It implies diffusion and specialisation of structure. The offices and agencies tend to have their distinct and limited functions and there is an equivalent of a division of labour within the realm of government. It also involves the integration of complex structures and process. Thus, differentiation is not fragmentation and the isolation of the different parts of the political system but specialisation based on an ultimate sense of integration.

According to Pye, in recognising these three dimensions of equality, capacity and differentiation as the heart of development process, we do not mean to suggest that they necessarily fit easily together. On the contrary, historically the tendency has usually been that these are acute tensions between the demands for equality, the requirements for capacity and the process of greater differentiation. Moreover, development is clearly not unilinear nor is it governed by sharp and distinct stages, but rather by a range of problems that may arise separately or concurrently. In the wider perspective of comparative politics, a study of political development shows that while the characteristic of equality is concerned with political culture, the problems of capacity are related to the performance of the authoritative structures of government, and the questions of differentiation touch mainly on the performance of the non-authoritative structures and the general political processes in the society at large. This suggests that in the last analysis the problems of political development revolve around the relationships between the political culture, the authoritative structures, and the general political processes.

3.1.5 OTHER CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

3.1.5.1 HUNTINGTON'S VIEWS ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Samuel P. Huntigton in his works, particularly in his *Political Order in Changing Societies* and in his famous article "Political Development" has played the most important role in liberating "political development" from "socio-economic modernisation" and challenged the very idea of "political development" as a "unilinear process". He introduced the idea of "political decay". He says that Chinese, Greek, Egyptian and Indian societies were highly developed political systems in ancient

time. But later on there was political decay in these societies. Huntington presents this main thesis in his article "Political Development and Political Decay" by saying that "Institutions, decay and dissolve, as well as grow and mature". So, Huntington seriously objected to the prevalent tendency of "linking up political development with modernisation not only on political field, but also in economic, social and cultural fields. "We identified political development with "institution building" based on a well institutionalised polity that would be marked by high levels of adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence.

3.1.5.2 RIGGS VIEWS ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Riggs sought to reconcile the formulations of Pye and Huntington in his dialectical theory of political development. Political development is represented as a kind of dialectical relationship between the process and forces of capacity and equality. With the growing process of differentiation, there is demand for equality. Unless movement towards equality is accompanied by the capacity of the system to integrate the system, there can be no political development.

3.1.5.3 JAMES AND COLEMAN'S VIEWS

In "Crisis and Sequences", Coleman defined political development as a process which involves a continuous interaction among the process of structural differentiation, the imperative of equality and the integrative response and adaptive capacity of political systems. The interaction of these three dimensions, as Coleman remarked, is called as the "Development Syndrome".

3.1.5.4 KENNETH ORGANSUI'S VIEWS

Organsui is of the view that in order to study the developing societies, treatment of economic development was most essential. He outlined four essential stages to pass through before reaching goals of development: –

> → Political unification, designed to achieve a centralisation of power in the hands of the state.

> → Industrialization, with a view to bring about economic development.

→ National Welfare, where the results of political and economic power gained by the state are available to the masses, and

→ Abundance, where people begin to achieve high standards material affluence.

As Organsui laid stress on economic development, he would not mind if a state achieved development through bourgeois system (as in the west), Communist methods (as in USSR, China) or by following Nazi approach.

3.1.5.5 WALT W. ROSTOW' VIEWS

Walt Rostow in his book, *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto,* has mentioned six stages of Political Developments. These are:

→ Traditional stage

→ Precondition to take off stage

→ Take off stage

→ Drive towards maturity

→ Age of high mass consumption

→ The search for quality

In this way, many western political scientists related Political development to political modernisation having following characteristics: social mobilisation, Economic development, Rationalisation of authority, differentiation of structures and specialization of roles, expansion of political institutions, and secularisation of world culture.

Certain comparative political scientists tend to emphasize political development in relation to nationalism. They stress socialization as the means through which nationalism provides the ideological impetus and motivation for development. They also give attention to patterns of inculcating behaviour so that people not only will recognise their nation with pride but also render respect and obedience to authority and governmental legitimacy.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

1. According to Pye the first characteristic of Political Development is equality. Explain.

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. What are the other two characteristics of Political Development in Pye's Model?

    _____

    _____

    _____

3. Write briefly about Hantington's concept of Political Development.

    _____

    _____

    _____

4. Organsui outlined four essential stages to pass through before reaching goals of development. What are they?

    _____

    _____

    _____

5. What are the six stages of Political Development given by Walt Rostow?

    _____

    _____

    _____

3.1.6 FEATURES OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Though political development cannot be defined precisely, its broad features can be outlined. Accordingly, following factors affect political development:

i.   Industrialization

ii. Urbanization

iii. Spread of education and literacy

iv. Expansion of secular culture.

These independent factors are said to account for a variety of more strictly political developments such as:

i.   Growth of modern bureaucracies;

ii. Development of a sense of nationhood;

iii. Advent of political parties;

iv. Expansion of popular political participation;

v.   Increased capacity of the political system to mobilise resources for the accomplishment of its ends in the most modern politics, and

vi. Decline in the missionary fervour of the political movement.

According to Almond and Powell, the events leading to political development came from the international environment, from the domestic society, or from political elites within the political system itself. Development results when the existing structure and culture of the political system are unable "to cope with the problem or challenge which confronts it without further structural differentiation and cultural secularisation". So, Almond and Powell painted out four types of problems or challenges to political development:

i.   Penetration and integration or state-building

ii. Loyalty and commitment of nation-building,

iii. Pressure from various interested groups in the society for taking part in the decision-making process or participation.

iv. Pressure from the society to employ coercive power of the state to distribute opportunities, income, wealth and honour or the problem of distribution.

3.1.6.1 PROBLEM OF STATE-BUILDING

The problem of state-building arises when there is a threat to the survivals of the political system from the international environment or from the society in the form of revolutionary pres sure challenging the stability or the survival of the political system. Even a change in the political goals of the powerful elites may create serious threats to the very existence of the political system.

3.1.6.2 PROBLEMS OF NATION-BUILDING

Nation-building emphasizes the cultural aspects of political development. It is the process by which people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller tribes, villages or pretty principalities to the larger central political system. The problems of state-building and nation-building may be studied together, but it is important to view them separately. While the problem of state-building can be solved, the problem of nation-building that still remained to create threatening postures for the very survival of the political system.

3.1.6.3 PROBLEM OF PARTICIPATION

We are many interest groups in the society that strive to have a share in the decision-making process. Thus, political infrastructure comes into being in the form of political parties, groups, cliques, factions, etc. It leads to the expansion of "demands" and also for participation in the process of decision-making, so that "outputs" are favourable to the interests of the claimants.

3.1.6.4 PROBLEM OF DISTRIBUTION

There also, arises the problem as to how national income or wealth be distributed or opportunities be given to all without any artificial discrimination on the grounds of religion, caste, creed, colour etc. Talent should be recognised and that merit should be the deciding factor in the midst of "equal opportunities" for all. It is also known by the name of the politics of welfare or general good.

3.1.7 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Almond and Powell have also pointed towards the factors that needed to be considered in the analysis of political development.

3.1.7.1. NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

There is no doubt that the stability of a system is heavily dependent upon the types of problems it faces. Different people demand different forms of participation, national integration, economic betterment, situations of law and order and the like. The burden is not so heavy on the political system of the advanced countries, as they have solved most of problems. Difference is in the case of backward and developing societies, where such demands have come up suddenly and their effect is cumulative and reinforcing. It is generally recognized that a major problem in the new nations today is the cumulative revolutions they must face.

3.1.7.2. RESOURCES OF THE SYSTEM

According to Almond and Powell, a second factor is the resources the system can draw upon under various circumstances. A political system has to satisfy the "demands" made upon it. It may be possible that the load of demands is too great that a political system may not bear or may do so at a heavy expense.

3.1.7.3. EFFECT OF FOREIGN SOCIAL SYSTEMS

According to Almond and Powell, developments in other social systems constitute a third factor which may affect political development. In this sense, it is quite possible that international institutions like the International Monetary Fund or World Bank may develop a regulative or distributive capability that reduces the pressures on the domestic political system. Thus, the existence or the development of capabilities in other social systems may affect the magnitude of the challenges confronting political systems.

3.1.7.4. FUNCTIONING PATTERN OF THE SYSTEM

The problem of political development or decay also depends upon the pattern of the political system. It means that a political system may or may not cope with the burden of 'inputs'. It may be resilient enough to bear the stress of 'loads' and thus keep itself

going, it may also be weak enough to break down under the pressure of 'demands'. It is not necessary that all political systems may be geared for change and adoption in an equal measure.

3.1.7.5. RESPONSE OF THE POLITICAL ELITES

It is also possible that powerful elites may change their goals in response to the pressure of demands and thereby save the political system from decay, or they may misjudge the seriousness and intensity of input fluctuations and thus either radically modify the system or fail to respond until it is too late with the result that there is the breakdown of the system itself.

3.1.8 CRISIS IN THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

From the above, it is quite clear that the subject of political development is rested with certain crises that, according to Lucian W. Pye, may be enumerated as under:

3.1.8.1. IDENTITY CRISIS

The first and foremost crisis is that of achieving a common sense of identity. The most of the new states, traditional forms of identity ranging from tribe or caste to ethnic and linguistic groups compete with the sense of larger national identity. This undermines national unity and leads to conflict between ethnic loyalty and national commitments.

3.1.8.2. LEGITIMACY CRISIS

Closely related to the identity crisis is the problem of achieving agreement about the legitimate nature of authority and the proper responsibilities of government. In many new states, the crisis of legitimacy is a straight forward constitutional problem. The questions related to the pattern of central or local authority, limits of the executive or bureaucratic authority, the extent to which the colonial structure of government needs to be maintained, etc. are the problems related to the legitimacy crisis.

3.1.8.3. PENETRATION CRISIS

The critical problems of the new states give rise to the penetration crisis, which involves the problems of government in reaching down to the society and effecting basic policies. To carry out significant developmental policies a government must be able to

reach down to the village level and touch the daily lives of the people. The problem arises when an endeavour of the government in this direction, leads to the inculcation of 'demands explosion' that it feels hardly capable of solving.

3.1.8.4. PARTICIPATION CRISIS

It occurs when there is uncertainty over the appropriate rate of expansion and when the influx of new participants creates serious strains on the existing institutions. In a sense, the participation crisis arises out of the emergence of interest groups and the formulation of a party system.

3.1.8.5. INTEGRATION CRISIS

It deals with the extent to which the entire polity is organised as a system of interacting relationships, first among the officers and agencies of government and then among the various groups and interests seeking to make demands upon the system and finally in the relationship between officials and articulating citizens.

3.1.8.6. DISTRIBUTION CRISIS

It refers to the questions about how governmental powers are to be used to influence the distribution of goods, services and values throughout the society. In some cases, governments seek to meet the problem directly by intervening in the distribution of wealth; in other cases the approach is to strengthen the opportunities and potentialities of the disadvantages groups. Pye tries to highlight the nature of this crisis and determines the sequence of political development in different countries of the world. It is therefore needed that ultimately any useful theory of Political development "must come to grips with the types of problems that may be subsumed under the category of crisis".

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 3

1.   Write the factors that affect political development.

_____

_____

_____

2.   Almond and Powell painted out four types of problems or challenges to political development. What are they?

_____

_____

_____

3.   Write briefly about any of the three factors that needed to be considered in the analysis of political development.

_____

_____

_____

4.   How do you understand the Identity crisis in Political Development?

_____

_____

_____

5.   Write about penetration crisis in Political Development?

_____

_____

_____

3.1.9 CRITICAL APPRAISAL

The concept of political development is not free from ethno-centric biases. It is subjected to following criticism.

Firstly, the concept lacks a precise definition. After studying the enormous literature on this subject, it seems difficult to decide what it really covers and what it really excludes entangles the case of political development into all sorts of developments whether economic or cultural, or sociological and the like with the

result that concept lacks cohesion. Even Riggs feels at the very outset of his study, "In fact, of course, there is as yet no such theory, although there are a host of speculations and even hypothesis. Nor is there any consensus on the meaning of the word 'development' in this context, or even, for that matter, of the word 'political'."

Secondly, there is an absence of any coherent political model of the development process. The entire study presents a very confusing picture and, in addition to that, it plunges the discipline of political science into the ocean of other social-sciences like economics and sociology.

Thirdly, the greatest drawback of these studies was that they treated political development as a dependent variable generated by something else, a world-wide wave of modernisation, nationalism or democracy and not as an independent, or intervening variable which, in its own turn, could shape things.

Fourthly, the concept of political development does not offer a model that may be uniformly applicable to all countries of the world and, for this reason, be appreciated by social theorists belonging to any school.

Finally, diverse analyses of political development given by the American writers are just like the critiques of one directed against another. It will not be an error to say that the theorists of political development have certainly failed to understand the political reality of the countries of the third world is as much as they have tries to look at the poor and backward peoples of the Afro-Asian region through the affluent spectacles of the Chicago and Harvard Universities. It is due to this, that whatever theories of political development have been developed so far "lie in shambles today".

Despite these serious drawbacks, the theory of political development still has a relevance of its own. This approach has certainly broadened the scope of empirical political investigations by joining the frontiers of comparative politics with those of other social sciences. It has also engaged the attention of a host of new social theorists towards the study of the political conditions of the new and developing societies of the third world.

3.1.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

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- Higgott, Richard A., *Political Development Theory: The Contemporary Debate* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1983).

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT-III: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, DEPENDENCY, ELITE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

3.2 THEORIES OF DEPENDENCY (A. G. FRANK, IMMANUEL WALLENSTEIN & SAMIR AMIN)

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

3.2.0 Objectives

3.2.1 Introduction

3.2.2 Emergence of Dependency Theories

3.2.3 Dependency: Divergent Positions

3.2.4 Dependency Theory: Convergence and Consensus

    3.2.4.1 Major Propositions of Dependency Theory

3.2.5 Andre Gunder Frank: Development of Underdevelopment

3.2.6 Immanuel Wallerstein: World-system Theory

    3.2.6.1 World-system Theory

    3.2.6.2 World-system Theory: Critical Appraisal

3.2.7 Samir Amin: Unequal Development

3.1.8 Let us Sum Up

3.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you shall be able to understand:

- historical context in which dependency theory emerged;

- the divergent positions and perspectives among dependency theorists;

- the contribution of A G Frank to dependency theory and his theory of development of underdevelopment;

- Immanuel Wallerstein's World-system with critical appraisal;

- Samir Amin's theory of unequal development.

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Dependency approach has been widely used by various scholars to explain the political realities in third world countries. Although this concept, in its original formulation, had aimed at explaining 'development of underdevelopment' of Latin American countries against the backdrop of international capitalist development and penetration into those countries, later on this concept has found support both in Asia and in Africa. Broadly speaking, the dependency is a process through which peripheral countries have been integrated as well as assimilated into the international capitalist system, and the way the former have experienced structural distortions in their domestic societies because of such assimilation and penetration. According to the ECLA (United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America) tradition, the international system is divided into the centre and the periphery. The traditional international division of labour has resulted in an excessive concentration of production at the centre. To them development and underdevelopment cannot be differentiated from each other; on the contrary they are the two sides of the same coin. This tradition is broadly termed as 'structural' dependency theory.

The second school of dependency is known as the radical tradition, which is strongly influenced by Marxism and identified with the famous scholar Andre Gunder Frank, Immanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin. The basic thesis of this radical tradition is the 'development of underdevelopment'. According to Frank,

capitalism constantly generates underdevelopment in satellite countries through the expropriation of surplus by the advanced metropolitan countries. He visualizes "a whole chain of metropolises and satellites, which runs from the world metropolis down to the hacienda or rural merchants who are satellites of the local commercial metropolitan centre but who, in their turn, have peasants as their satellites. In his centre-periphery model, Frank argued that the entire world is divided into centre and periphery. This centre-periphery model is not only useful to explain the dependence of the developing countries on the developed world but it is an effective tool to understand the phenomena of underdevelopment within a country.

3.2.2 EMERGENCE OF DEPENDENCY THEORIES

In the early 1950s, a group of economists stationed at the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) in Santiago, Chile, launched a rigorous research program around one pressing question: What accounts for the growing divergence in living standards and gross domestic product (GDP) between the wealthy countries of the industrialized North and the poorer developing countries of the South? In 1850, for example, Argentina was among the richest nations of the world and GDP per capita in Latin America was $245, compared to $239 in North America. A century later, Argentina was mired in debt and poverty, and GDP per capita in Canada and the United States had quickly outpaced that of Latin America as both had firmly joined the ranks of the developed-country bloc.

According to neoclassical economic theory, strong trade and investment linkages between North and South should lead to a positive-sum outcome for all participants. However, by the 1950s it was difficult to ignore the widening global cleavages between North and South, as well as the growing gap between rich and poor within the developing countries. This latter trend, characterized by an uneasy coexistence between a modern urbanized sector of the economy with strong global ties and a largely rural traditional sector where production modes sorely lagged, was increasingly referred to as dualism. Both dualism and the North-South divide became the focus of conceptual debates and practical policy prescriptions for a new generation of dependency school theorists that emerged during the 1960s and 1970s.

3.2.3 DEPENDENCY: DIVERGENT POSITIONS

An initial wave of dependency thinking was triggered by the work of the Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch (1901–1986), director of his country's first central bank from 1935 to 1943 and subsequently the executive secretary of United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) between 1949 and 1963. In Prebisch's classic 1949 treatise, *The Economic Development of Latin America and Its Principal Problems,* he introduced the idea of an industrial, hegemonic centre and an agrarian, dependent periphery as a framework for understanding the emerging international division of labour between North and South. Prebisch argued that the wealth of poor nations tended to decrease when that of rich nations increased due to an unequal exchange of industrial versus agricultural goods in the North-South trading relationship. For the early dependency theorists, industrialization was considered a necessary step toward rectifying this pattern of unequal exchange and thus the most important objective in a development program.

From here, dependency theory quickly divided into diverse strands. The following aspects differentiate these two positions. First, they are rooted in divergent theoretical frameworks: Marxism in one case and structuralism in the other. Second, the Marxist perspective is far more critical of orthodox economic and sociological theories: neo-classical and modernization theory respectively. Third, there are political differences. The Marxist dependency writers characterize the local bourgeoisie as non-progressive and unable to overcome 'Underdevelopment' and 'Dependency'. They reject the structuralists' claim that a populist political alliance between the local bourgeoisie and the popular sectors will be able to reform the international economic system and thereby resolve the problem dependence. For the Marxists, only a socialist revolution can resolve the problems of dependence and underdevelopment. This, however, is seen as utopian by structuralists.

Those dependency theorists who have strongly influenced by Marxism like André Gunder Frank Paul Baran argue that imperialism and the colonial legacy had left Asia, Africa, and Latin America in a highly disadvantageous position. Frank identified a "comprador class" of local southern elites whose interests and

profits from this system of exploitation had become closely intertwined with their counterparts in the developed or metropolitan countries. For both Baran and Frank, this third world bourgeoisie was parasitic in nature, leaving it to workers and peasants to break with imperialism and move a given nation toward progress. While acknowledging the debilitating nature of these dual economies, others such as Ernesto Laclau criticized the Marxists for overlooking important distinctions between capitalist and precapitalist modes of production in the South. Given the tenacity of the latter, Laclau argued, it made no sense for dependency analysts to focus solely on capitalist modes of production as the linchpin for change.

Another key debate within the dependency school concerned the weight that should be given to domestic or international factors. In contrast to the hard-line Marxian viewpoint, which held that southern development could only be grasped by placing this process within its proper global historical context, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto argued that it is the internal dynamics of the nation-state and not its structural location in the international division of labour that determines a country's fate. Cardoso and Faletto emphasized that external factors had different impacts across the developing world due to the diverse internal conditions (history, factors of endowment, social structures) inherent in each country. In contrast to Frank or Baran, they regarded the national bourgeoisie within dependent peripheral societies as a potentially powerful force for social change and economic progress.

Dependency theorists were most likely to part ways when it came to the practical political and economic policy prescriptions that flowed from this worldview. One main difference arose between those advocating that the development of the periphery could still be achieved by working within the confines of the capitalist system and those who saw the need for a complete rupture with the advanced capitalist powers and the pursuit of a state-planned socialist model. The former stance embraced a more dynamic and evolutionary view of economic development and the possibilities to achieve upward mobility within the capitalist framework; the latter saw the future of the underdeveloped periphery as locked into a static world economic system that had determined its

fate since the sixteenth century and could only be rectified via outright revolution and the installation of a socialist economy.

DEPENDENCY: DIVERGENT POSITIONS

Structuralist Anti- Imperialist	Marxist Anti-Imperialist
Desarrollista, Structuralist and Nationalist Autonomous development (Prebish, Furtado, and Sunkel)	Monopoly Capitalism (Baran and Sweezy)
Internal Colonialism (Gonzalez Casanova)	Sub-imperialism (Marini)
Poles of development (Andracle)	Capitalist development of underdevelopment (Frank, Rodney) New dependency (Das Santos) Dependent Capitalist development (Cardoso)

3.2.4 DEPENDENCY THEORY: CONVERGENCE AND CONSENSUS

Although there are different streams within dependency theory, they share a common view on the meaning of dependency. For example, Sunkel's structuralist definition of dependency is very similar to Dos Santos' Marxist definition, as both emphasize 'Interdependence' and the absence of autonomous development in dependent countries:

Development and underdevelopment can therefore be understood as partial structures, but interdependent, which form a single system. A principal characteristic which differentiate both structures is that the developed one to a large extent by virtue of its endogenous capacity of growth, is the dominant, and the underdeveloped, due in part to the induced character of its dynamic, is dependent. (SUNKEL)

Dependence is a *conditioning situation* in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. A relationship of interdependence between two or more economies or between such economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent relationship when some countries can expand through self-impulsion while others, being in a dependent postion, can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries, which may have positive or negative effects on theier immediate development. In either case, the basic situation of dependence causes these countries to be both backward and exploited. (DOS SANTOS)

Both dependency positions also share the view that underdevelopment, or the pattern of development of dependent countries, is the particular form which capitalist development takes in these countries. They also agree that dependency originated when these countries were forcefully incorporated into the world capitalist system by the dominant countries. They concur that, in order to understand the internal dynamics of Third World countries, it is necessary to examine their relationships with the world capitalist system. Thus, underdevelopment is not an historical stage through which developed countries passed, as argued by stage and modernization theorists like W.W. Rustow. As Sunkel puts it, "Development and underdevelopment ... are simultaneous processes: the two faces of the historical evolution of capitalism".
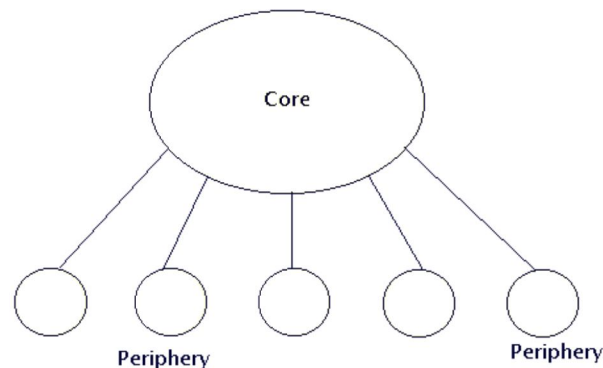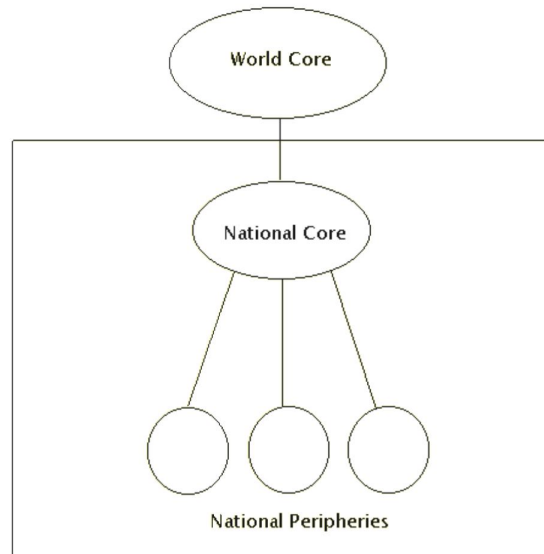
Diagram 1: Dependency Theory View of the World

Diagram 2. Dependency Theory View of the Relationship between the National Core, the Rest of the Nation, and the World System

3.2.4.1 MAJOR PROPOSITIONS OF DEPENDENCY THEORY

Some of the propositions where one can see a general consensus among all shades of dependency perspective are give below.

1.   Third World countries do not exist in isolation. They can only be understood in the context of the world economic and political system. Political events in Third World countries are directly related to events in First World countries. However, relations between First and Third World countries are asymmetrical. The flow of power and control is from the First World (centre or core) to the Third World (periphery). Political and economic events in the First World have a huge impact on the politics and economics of Third World countries, but Third World political and economic events usually have little impact on the First World.

2.   Within the world political and economic system there is a tremendous amount of interaction among core countries and peoples, and between the core and the periphery. There is very little interaction just among periphery countries. The consequences of this are great, resulting in an isolated and weak periphery country having an unequal relationship with the united and strong core.

3.   Politics and economics are related. They cannot be understood apart from each other. Economic ties and relationships between core and periphery countries are particularly important. These are advantageous for the core, and disadvantageous for the periphery. Core-periphery trading patterns result in continuous growth of political and economic power for the core at the expense of the periphery. Economic trade causes a widening of the gap between developed and developing countries, rather than a narrowing of that gap. Historically, lower priced raw materials have been exchanged for higher priced finished goods.

4.   It follows from #3 that underdevelopment is not a natural state, but rather a condition that is caused. The fact is that developed nations are actively underdeveloping Third World countries as a result of the systems of interactions between them.

5.   Put another way, the underdevelopment of weak Third World countries is directly related to, and makes possible, the "development" of the powerful countries of the industrialized core. Both the centre and the periphery are part of the world political-economic system, and neither would exist without the other.

6.   Furthermore, so long as capitalism remains the dominant world economic system, there is no reason for the situation of developed and underdeveloped countries to change. Underdevelopment is not a temporary condition, as had been thought in the past, but is a permanent condition. In fact, if the present world system does not change we can expect the core to become more powerful and the periphery weaker in the future. Rather than "catching up" to the developed countries, most currently underdeveloped countries will fall farther behind. (In a limited number of cases, where exceptional circumstances exist, it may be possible for an underdeveloped country to move from the periphery to the core.)

7.   The worldwide system of relationships is duplicated within individual Third World countries. There is a core area (usually the capital) which dominates and exploits the periphery (interior) of the country. The nation's centres of economic, political, cultural, and military power are found in the national core, and the core's power and wealth grows more rapidly than that of the interior as a result of contacts and interactions between the two areas. The urban sector becomes increasingly powerful, while the

rural sector becomes increasingly weaker. Resources flow from the periphery to the centre. The core profits at the expense of the periphery as a result of the movement of products and resources. The passage of time does not bring a growing equality within the country, but rather brings about an increasing gap between life in the capital and that in the countryside. 8. In a sense, national leaders in the capital exploit the people for their own personal benefit and power. Consequently, these "national" leaders could really be conceptualized as agents of the international system. Their national power and prominence derive from their international contacts. It is they (the military, government officials, and commercial and financial leaders) who act as links between the Third World country and the world political and economic system. They direct the country's contacts with the world, and they direct those contacts in such a way that the world core benefits more than their own country, although they themselves clearly benefit at a personal level. These national leaders may actually have more in common with their counterparts in London or New York than they do with interior citizens of their own country. (style of dress, food, literature, housing, travel, economic interests, etc.).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. What are the two major traditions in Dependency Theory? How they differ one from the other?

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. What is the context that led to the emergence of Dependency Theory?

    _____

    _____

    _____

3   One of the key debate within the dependency school concerned the weight that should be given to domestic or international factors. Elaborate.

_____

_____

_____

3.   Briefly state the issues on which both structural and Marxist theorists join together or converge with each other?

_____

_____

_____

4.   What you consider as important among the propositions advanced by Dependency Theorist?

_____

_____

_____

3.2.5 ANDRE GUNDER FRANK: DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Andre Gunder Frank is considered to be one of the most important Dependency Theorist who attempt to apply Marxist perspective to analyze situation in most of Third World countries. In his writing regarding underdevelopment of development, Andrew Gunder Frank has tried to illustrate the history of the development, underdevelopment, and the evolution of dependency to a world system theory. Finally he has come up with some alternatives and has tried to elaborate the new dualism and the recent movements in the world.

Frank argues that the mainstream history that we have been subjected to (namely modernization theory) does not at all explain the underdevelopment of

countries, and that an alternative historical viewpoint is necessary. Using Latin America as an example for the model, he begins his analysis by dubbing the urban centres (what Frank calls "metropoles") of these countries as the centres of exploitation. The exploitation comes from the "interdependence" that the metropolis has with the satellite region. What it means is that the productive (and natural) resources from the outside regions are forced to these centres of exploitation so that they can trade their resources for ones in the metropolis. In doing so, however, these satellites become caught in a relationship of pseudo-servitude.

What comes of this exploitative chain, according to Gunder Frank, is "a whole chain of constellations of metropoles and satellites [that] relates all parts of the whole system from its metropolitan centre in Europe or the United States to the farthest outpost in the Latin American countryside". Satellites supply cheap primary commodities to the rich countries that then use the raw materials to produce specialized goods, and then send them back to the satellites for profit. This metropolis-satellite relationship is only in existence to serve the "interests of the metropoles which take advantage of this global, national, and local structure to promote their own development and the enrichment of their ruling classes." This is what Gunder Frank means by the "development of underdevelopment". These countries are not undeveloped because of their lack of technological advancement, or disconnect from the real world. The case is, however, quite the contrary. Because of the exploitative relationship through the metropolis-satellite model, whole regions develop a state of "underdevelopedness" that is witness to the massive upheaval of its capital resources and the transference of said recourses to the metropoles. He says that:

> ... in short, that underdevelopment is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the stream of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very same historical process that also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself.

This resulted in a situation where the development in satellite countries linked to the economic success of metropolis countries (a linkage that is neither "self-generating nor self-perpetuating"). Therefore, Frank says, when countries in the

core experience growth, countries in the periphery also tend to experience growth at a proportional level. But, when world metropoles experience economic recession, the satellite countries feel it at a larger rate due to the loss of their resources and their subordinate relationship to metropoles.

This is not always the case, however. There are points when these satellite countries are safe from the exploitation of the world capitalist system, according to Gunder Frank. One of his hypotheses in developing this theoretical model states, "satellites experience their greatest economic development and especially their most classically capitalist industrial development if and when their ties to their metropolis are weakest." We can examine this historically, when we look at the economic growth of some satellite countries in relation to core countries throughout the first half of the 20th century. Periods of crisis in core countries' economies, namely during World Wars I & II and the Great Depression in 1930, were times that many Latin American countries saw their most consecutive expansions of development due to the deregulated terms of trade that kept these countries locked in a losing battle for attaining economic autonomy.

Another safe haven from the exploitative metropolis was being isolated from the world economy. The weak connection, as satellites, that certain countries were fortunate enough to have, saved them for a time, from their eventual underdevelopment. Unfortunately, once the crisis that the core undergoes becomes settled, or if metropoles find ways to penetrate the markets of the isolated regions, the relationships that were previously in effect, become reinstated. Any hope for "self-generation or perpetuation" becomes non-existent, choked off in a sense, and signs of growth begin to reverse.

By clearly articulating his position of underdevelopment in Asia and Africa to the development and exploitation of Western countries, Frank forcefully debunked the political development theories of Pye, Huntington, Almond and others. According to Frank, ideas about development based on unique attributes of Western society or culture were unfounded, as were suggestions about the difficulties to be faced by those from non-Western societies or cultures.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is
   not sufficient.

1.   Why A G Frank criticizes Modernization theorists?

       _____

       _____

       _____

2.   According to Frank, "a whole chain of constellations of metropoles and satellites
       relates all parts of the whole system". Comment.

       _____

       _____

       _____

3.   Do you agree with the Frank's opinion that the development of Western world
       took place at the cost of under-development in the peripheral countries like Asia
       and Africa?

       _____

       _____

       _____

3.2.6 IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN – WORLD-SYSTEM THEORY

       Immanuel Wallerstein is the sociologist who invented world-systems analysis.
Though a sociologist by profession, Wallerstein's work is inherently political and he
does not recognize the possibility of social writing not being political. In his book,
***The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the
European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century,*** Immanuel Wallerstein
develops a theoretical framework to understand the historical changes involved in
the rise of the modern world. The modern world system, essentially capitalist in

nature, followed the crisis of the feudal system and helps explain the rise of Western Europe to world supremacy between 1450 and 1670. According to Wallerstein, his theory makes possible a comprehensive understanding of the external and internal manifestations of the modernization process during this period and makes possible analytically sound comparisons between different parts of the world.

Wallerstein's work developed at a time when the dominant approach to understanding development, modernization theory, was under attack from many fronts, and he followed suit. He himself acknowledges that his aim was to create an alternative explanation. He aimed at achieving a clear conceptual break with theories of 'modernization' and thus provide a new theoretical paradigm to guide our investigations of the emergence and development of capitalism, industrialism, and national states. Criticisms to modernization include (1) the reification of the nation-state as the sole unit of analysis, (2) assumption that all countries can follow only a single path of evolutionary development, (3) disregard of the world-historical development of transnational structures that constrain local and national development, (4) explaining in terms of ahistorical ideal types of "tradition" versus "modernity", which are elaborated and applied to national cases. In reacting to modernization theory, Wallerstein outlined a research agenda with five major subjects: the functioning of the capitalist world-economy as a system, the how and why of its origins, its relations with noncapitalist structures in previous centuries, comparative study of alternative modes of production, and the ongoing transition to socialism.

3.2.6.1 WORLD-SYSTEM THEORY

World-system theory is in many ways an adaptation of dependency theory. Wallerstein draws heavily from dependency theory, a neo-Marxist explanation of development processes, popular in the developing world. His World-system theory inherently adopted the Dependency theory logic of core and periphery.

For Wallerstein, "a world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each

group seeks eternally to remould it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism, in that is has a lifespan over which its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in others… Life within it is largely self-contained, and the dynamics of its development are largely internal". A world-system is what Wallerstein terms a "world-economy", integrated through the market rather than a political centre, in which two or more regions are interdependent with respect to necessities like food, fuel, and protection, and two or more polities compete for domination without the emergence of one single centre forever.

In his own first definition, Wallerstein said that a world-system is a "multicultural territorial division of labour in which the production and exchange of basic goods and raw materials is necessary for the everyday life of its inhabitants". This division of labour refers to the forces and relations of production of the world economy as a whole and it leads to the existence of two interdependent regions: *core* and *periphery*. These are geographically and culturally different, one focusing on labour-intensive, and the other on capital-intensive production. The core-periphery relationship is structural. He further elaborates his World-system theory by division of world into four different categories: core, semi-periphery, periphery, and external. The categories describe each region's relative position within the world economy as well as certain internal political and economic characteristics.

The Core: The core regions benefited the most from the capitalist world economy. For the period under discussion, much of northwestern Europe (England, France, Holland) developed as the first core region. Politically, the states within this part of Europe developed strong central governments, extensive bureaucracies, and large mercenary armies. This permitted the local bourgeoisie to obtain control over international commerce and extract capital surpluses from this trade for their own benefit.

The Periphery: On the other end of the scale lay the peripheral zones. These areas lacked strong central governments or were controlled by other states, exported raw materials to the core, and relied on coercive labour practices. The core expropriated much of the capital surplus generated by the periphery through unequal trade relations. Enslavement of the native populations, the importation of African slaves, and the coercive labour practices and forced mine labour made

possible the export of cheap raw materials to Europe. Labour systems in peripheral areas differed from earlier forms in medieval Europe in that they were established to produce goods for a capitalist world economy and not merely for internal consumption. Furthermore, the aristocracy in periphery grew wealthy from their relationship with the world economy and could draw on the strength of a central core region to maintain control. He specifically mentions Eastern Europe and Latin America as an example for periphery.

The Semi-Periphery: Between the two extremes lie the semi-peripheries. These areas represented either core regions in decline or peripheries attempting to improve their relative position in the world economic system. They often also served as buffers between the core and the peripheries. Good examples of declining cores that became semi-peripheries during the period under study are Portugal and Spain. Other semi-peripheries at this time were Italy, southern Germany, and southern France. Economically, these regions retained limited but declining access to international banking and the production of high-cost high-quality manufactured goods. Unlike the core, however, they failed to predominate in international trade and thus did not benefit to the same extent as the core.

External Areas: These areas maintained their own economic systems and, for the most part, managed to remain outside the modern world economy. Russia fits this case well. Unlike Poland, Russia's wheat served primarily to supply its internal market. It traded with Asia as well as Europe; internal commerce remained more important than trade with outside regions. Also, the considerable power of the Russian state helped regulate the economy and limited foreign commercial influence.

Operation of the World-system: The capitalist world economy, as envisioned by Wallerstein, is a dynamic system which changes over time. However, certain basic features remain in place. Perhaps most important is that when one examines the dynamics of this system, the core regions of northwestern Europe clearly benefited the most from this arrangement. Through extremely high profits gained from international trade and from an exchange of manufactured goods for raw materials from the periphery (and, to a lesser extent, from the semi-peripheries), the core enriched itself at the expense of the peripheral economies. This, of course, did not mean either that everybody

in the periphery became poorer or that all citizens of the core regions became wealthier as a result. In the periphery, landlords for example often gained great wealth at the expense of their underpaid coerced labourers, since landowners were able to expropriate most of the surplus of their workers for themselves. In turn in the core regions, many of the rural inhabitants, increasingly landless and forced to work as wage labourers, at least initially saw a relative decline in their standard of living and in the security of their income. Overall, certainly, Wallerstein sees the development of the capitalist world economy as detrimental to a large proportion of the world's population.

Through this theory, Wallerstein attempts to explain why modernization had such wide-ranging and different effects on the world. He shows how political and economic conditions after the breakdown of feudalism transformed northwestern Europe into the predominant commercial and political power. The geographic expansion of the capitalist world economy altered political systems and labour conditions wherever it was able to penetrate. Although the functioning of the world economy appears to create increasingly larger disparities between the various types of economies, the relationship between the core and its periphery and semi-periphery remains relative, not constant. Technological advantages, for example, could result in an expansion of the world economy overall, and precipitate changes in some peripheral or semi-peripheral areas. However, Wallerstein asserts that an analysis of the history of the capitalist world system shows that it has brought about a skewed development in which economic and social disparities between sections of the world economy have increased rather than provided prosperity for all.

On the political side of the world-system a few concepts deem highlighting. For Wallerstein, nation-states are variables, elements within the system. States are used by class forces to pursue their interest, in the case of core countries. *Imperialism* refers to the domination of weak peripheral regions by strong core states. *Hegemony* refers to the existence of one core state temporarily outstripping the rest. Hegemonic powers maintain a stable balance of power and enforce free trade as long as it is to their advantage. However, hegemony is temporary due to class struggles and the diffusion of technical advantages. Finally, there is a global class struggle.

The current world-economy is characterized by regular cyclical rhythms, which provide the basis of Wallerstein's periodization of modern history. After our current stage, Wallerstein envisions the emergence of a socialist world-government, which is the only-alternative world-system that could maintain a high level of productivity and change the distribution, by integrating the levels of political and economic decision-making.

3.2.6.2 WORLD-SYSTEM THEORY: CRITICAL APPRAISAL

There are as many critics of world-systems theory as there are advocates, and Wallerstein addresses some of the charges levelled against his work. The most common criticisms claim that world-systems theorizing is too vague, overly selective in the historical examples it employs, and excessively capitalist-centric. Despite Wallerstein's arguments based on judicious research, some of his conclusions do appear too sweeping. An example of over-generalization is Wallerstein's concept of "antisystemic," e.g. nationalism. However, an ideology such as nationalism has simultaneously legitimated and destabilized the international order.

Despite these issues, Wallerstein challenges our conventional units of analysis (such as the national state) and the temporalities that we habitually rely on to frame our understandings of the world. His work may be read as a much-appreciated corrective to trendy postmodernist assaults on comparative research and on sweeping grand generalizations. There are, after all, grand patterns to history, that, if carefully assessed, may reveal crucial aspects of the human condition and how it relates to social change, property relations, and technological innovation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 3

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   Write Wallerstein's criticism towards Modernization theorists?

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2.   According to Frank, "a whole chain of constellations of metropoles and satellites relates all parts of the whole system". Comment.

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_____

3.   For Wallerstein, "a world-system is a social system, one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Elaborate.

_____

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4.   What are the political consequences of World-system?

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3.2.7 SAMIR AMIN: UNEQUAL DEVELOPMENT

Samir Amin, the Third World Forum President, is well-known for his "dependency theory" and the study of capitalism and the Third World development issues. He discusses the problems of underdevelopment in the Third World macroscopically and criticizes the traditional bourgeois economics and development theory, emphasizing that the Third World underdevelopment results mainly from the control and exploitation by the United States and other Western powers. Dependency theory is the notion that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system". So, in Samir Amin's opinion, if the Third World countries can't depart from the world capitalist system and move towards socialism, namely "delinking", it is impossible for them to get rid of their dependent status and get real independence.

3.2.7.1 VALUE, ACCUMULATION AND UNEQUAL EXCHANGE

According to Samir Amin, at present all societies form part of the capitalist

world system which has expanded gradually over the last few centuries. It resulted in concomitant subjection of previously autonomous countries to the rule of the capitalist system. It implies that a theory of 'accumulation on the world scale' has to be used to explain the present-day relationship between developed and developing countries. The integration of the periphery into the capitalist world system would have as its main objective the countering of this negative tendency, says Amin: "(1) by enlarging markets and exploiting new regions where the rate of surplus value was higher than the all the centre; and (2) by reducing the cost of labour power and of constant capital".

Amin's theory of accumulation on a world scale starts from the idea that the centre and periphery play different, unequal roles in the capitalist world system. The centre is the dominant part of the world system and is therefore able to impose its will upon the countries of the periphery with respect to the relations of exchange. The exchange of commodities between the centre and the periphery turns out to be *unequal, i.e.,* in favourable for the centre and unfavourable for the periphery. This unequal exchange transfer 'value' from periphery to centre, hence becomes central mechanism to the process of 'accumulation on world scale'. The ever-continuing tapping of resources from periphery, through this transfer of value, causes a situation of *underdevelopment.* In Amin's view underdevelopment is first and foremost a situation of unbalance.

The theory of unequal development acknowledges the different patterns of transition to peripheral capitalism and to central capitalism as the consequence of the impact of the capitalist mode of production and its mechanism of trade upon precapitalist formations. According to him, this resulted in the destruction of craft without their being replaced by local industrial production. Unequal international specialization is manifested by distortions in the export activities, bureaucracy, and light industries of the periphery. Given the periphery's integration within the world market, the periphery is without adequate economic means to challenge foreign monopolies. The underdeveloped countries should not be confused with the advanced countries at an earlier stage of their development, for the underdeveloped countries are characterised by an extreme unevenness in the distribution of production, which primarily serves the needs of the dominant centre. Underdevelopment is accentuated and growth is blocked in the periphery, making autonomous development impossible. The capitalist

mode of production tends to become exclusive at the centre, but not in the periphery where other modes may be evident. In the periphery capitalism may be limited to activities of the state.

According to Amin, whatever their differences of origin, the peripheral countries all tend to converge upon a typical model, characterised by dominance of agrarian capital and ancillary (comprador) commercial capital. The domination by central capital over the system as a whole, and the vital mechanisms of primitive accumulation for its benefit which express this domination, subject the development of peripheral national capitalism to strict limitations. The weak nature of the national community in the periphery confers an apparent relative weight and special functions upon the local bureaucracy that are not the same as those of bureaucratic and technocratic social groups at the centre. The contradictions typical of the development of underdevelopment, and the rise of petty-bourgeoisie strata reflecting these contradictions, explain the present tendency to state capitalism. This new path of development for capitalism in the periphery does not constitute a mode of transition to socialism but rather expresses the future from in which new relations will be organized between centre and periphery.

Two issues are apparent in theoretical discussion of inequality. One is the question of national and international development. Amin leans to an interpretation that sees capitalism as a world system upon which national entities may be dependent. Class, production, struggle, and transition all must be analysed in a world context. Thus the transition from capitalism to socialism must be on an international order, and it must begin in the periphery. "Under the present conditions of inequality between the nations, a development that is not merely development of underdevelopment will therefore be both national, popular-democratic, and socialist, by virtue of the world project of which it forms part".

The other issue is the debate as to whether analysis should concern exchange or production. Writers such as Emmanuel and Frank stressed exchange and market inequalities, whereas Amin seemed to use concepts such as the mode of production to move beyond market categories while focussing

on the world system, centre, and periphery. Amin followed in the tradition of Marx who noted the crises generated by financial and trade cycles in the capitalist system, but who also focused on the development of productive capacity by capitalism (including technology and resource accumulation), which would create the conditions, probably spurred on by these exchange crises, that would lead to change.

3.2.7.2 THE THEORY OF DELINKING FROM THE CAPITALIST WORLD SYSTEM

Apart from analysing the fundamental structures and processes characterizing the capitalist world system, Samir Amin has also developed a theory of development for the underdeveloped countries of the periphery. It might be called the 'theory of delinking'.

In discussing "delinking", Amin emphasizes the need for underdeveloped countries to adopt new market strategies and values different from northern developed countries. Delinking, he explains, does not mean "autarky but refusal to bow to the dominant logic of the world capitalist system". Delinking implies a transfer of political hegemony to new "centres". Delinking is a form of cutting oneself off, "a kind of active anti-globalization which is in dialectical relationship with globalization itself". Amin has four propositions in justifying delinking. *First,* the necessity of delinking is the logical political outcome of the unequal character of the development of capitalism. Unequal development, in this sense, is the origin of essential social, political and ideological evolutions. *Second,* delinking is a necessary condition of any socialist advance, in the North and in the South. *Third,* the potential advances that become available through delinking will not "guarantee" certainty of further evolution towards a pre-defined "socialism". Socialism is a future that must be built. *Fourth,* the option for delinking must be discussed in political terms. This proposition derives from a reading according to which economic constraints are absolute only for those who accept the commodity alienation intrinsic to capitalism, and turn it into an historical system of eternal validity.

Amin agrees that the center grows at the expense of the periphery. It is in this context that Amin argues that the only way for the Third World to prosper would be through the process of delinking. But, because the capitalist Third World

countries haven't yet achieved economic take-off, even though they verbally express to be self-sufficient, they are very weak and have no means for achieving delinking. Therefore, delinking can only be relative. It depends on the negotiating capacity, bargaining power and the economic, cultural and political advantages of the peripheral countries. As a development proposal, delinking is associated with some kind of social program, which is the plan to build a national, modern and self-centered nation.

As for the means of "delinking", Amin suggests that socialism be a fundamental condition for progress and independence, and that only socialism can make "marginal capitalism" move towards the path of real self-reliant development, and only the socialist development path can be the only alternative to "the development of underdevelopment", because only in socialism, the Third World can really get rid of the control and exploitation by capitalism in the centre of the world capitalist system, thus achieving "delinking". That means, only by economically "delinking" from the developed countries and getting rid of unequal exchange, peripheral countries can gradually embark on a healthy path of development and ultimately surpass the developed capitalist countries economically. Amin believes that for the Third World countries, the prerequisite for realizing the socialist structure and creating a new international economic order is self-reliance. Self-reliant development path must be of a mass character, because only the "mass" development can lead to "national and self-reliant economy".

3.2.7.3 CRITIQUE

Ira Gerstein provided one of the few critiques of Amin's work. He argued that Amin's treatment of the class struggle and possible transition to socialism is somewhat ambiguous, perhaps reflecting his commitment to the national bourgeoisie of the peripheral countries. Although Amin corrected negated Emmanuel Wallerstein's thesis that the dichotomy of centre and periphery relate to a division and therefore potential class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletarian nations, however, his emphasis on the market with resulting tendency toward dualism, making the class struggle, and ignoring the relations of production, lead him to a questionable world class analyst. Amin's rebuttal to these charge emphasized that

the world capitalist system is heterogeneous, composed of central dominant formations and peripheral dominated ones. Within this framework, class conflicts cannot be considered within the narrow scope of national entities but only on a world scale. Thus attention to national bourgeoisie is suspect, for they are the main allies of contemporary imperialism.

3.2.8 LET US SUM UP

Dependency theory became popular in the 1960's as a response to research by Raul Prebisch who was active in ECLA. Prebisch found that increases in the wealth of the richer nations appeared to be at the expense of the poorer ones. Known as structural Dependency theory, this tradition of theory advocates an inward looking approach to development and an increased role for the state in terms of imposing barriers to trade, making inward investment difficult and promoting nationalisation of key industries.

In its extreme form, dependency theory is based on a Marxist view of the world, which sees globalisation in terms of the spread of market capitalism, and the exploitation of cheap labour and resources in return for the obsolete technologies of the West. This view of dependency theory is that there is a dominant world capitalist system that relies on a division of labour between the rich 'core' countries and poor 'peripheral' countries. Over time, the core countries will exploit their dominance over an increasingly marginalised periphery. While few of the dependency school's theoretical assertions have stood the test of time, this perspective continues to offer a powerful description of the political and economic plight of the majority of countries that remain on the periphery of the world economy. A full understanding of the causal mechanisms and policy solutions for remedying underdevelopment may still be a long way off; however, the dependency school's specification of concrete problems like dualism, inequality, diminishing returns to trade, and the North-South divide have enriched debates about development and helped them to move forward.

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT-III: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, DEPENDENCY, ELITE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

3.3 THEORIES OF RULING CLASS & ELITES (PARETO, MICHAELS AND MOSCA)

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

3.3.0   Objectives

3.3.1   Introduction

3.3.2   Elites

3.3.3   Political Elites

3.3.3.1 Political Elites and Ruling Class

3.3.4   Theories of Ruling Class and Elites

3.3.5   Vilfredo Pareto: The Circulation of Elites

3.3.5.1 Pareto's Circulation/Cycles of Elites

3.3.6   Michels: The Iron Law of Oligarchy

3.3.7   Gaetano Mosca: The Ruling Class

3.3.7.1 The Theory of The Ruling Class

3.3.8   Elite Theory: Contemporary Relevance

3.3.9   Let us Sum Up

3.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you shall be able to understand:

- the meaning and concept of elites and political elites;
- theories of ruling class and elites;
- Pareto's theory of elites and his concept of circulation of elites;
- Michels concept of the Iron Law of Oligarchy;
- Mosca's views regarding ruling class.

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Although the elite concept is often employed broadly and diffusely, it best refers to persons who are able, by virtue of their strategic decision-making positions in powerful organizations and movements, to affect political outcomes regularly and substantially. At the national level in modern polities elites number a few thousand people spread across the tops of all important sectors—politics, government administration, business, trade unions, the military, pressure groups, major mass movements, and so forth. Holding that such power concentrations are inescapable, elite theory seeks to explain political outcomes principally in terms of elite conflicts, accommodations, and circulations.

The theory's origins lie most clearly in the writings of Italian political scientist Gaetano Mosca (1858–1941), Italian economist and sociologist Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923), and German-Italian sociologist Robert Michels (1876–1936).

3.3.2 ELITES

At one level, elites can be defined simply as persons who hold dominant positions in major institutions or are recognized leaders in art, education, business, and other fields of achievement. Such individuals exist in all societies, but beyond this mundane observation, social scientists are interested in why particular individuals attain positions of status and power. In the social sciences, the concept of elites refers to a more specific issue as well: the concentration of societal power—especially political power—in the hands of a few. At the heart of theoretical debates and empirical research

on elites is the famous assertion of Mosca: "In all societies . . . two classes of people appear—a class that rules and a class that is ruled". One can distinguish the conception of "functional elites" in a variety of institutional contexts from that of a "ruling" or "political" elite that in some sense wields societal-level power.

Elites are differentiated and stratified. Differentiation accords principally with economic, political, administrative, military, and other 'strategic' or functional sectors of society. As these sectors wax or wane in power and functional importance, relations between elites heading them shift. Moreover, historically contingent crises sometimes alter elite relations profoundly. Elites are stratified, with central circles, executive cores, power cliques, inner leaderships or other 'elites within elites' discernible. Debates about the extent and shape of elite differentiation and stratification are similar to the Marxist debates about compositions and structures of capitalist ruling classes.

3.3.3 POLITICAL ELITES

In contemporary social analysis, the term political elites refers to the segments of national elites—the groups of powerful individuals influencing the political outcomes on the national level in a systematic and significant way—that control the government and other political institutions of the state. In liberal democracies they typically include political leaders, top parliamentarians and government officials, and leaders of the major political parties. Their power and influence reflect control over political power resources concentrated in the state as well as mutual access and the capacity for solitary action. Members of the political elite are typically identified as holders of the top power positions in government and the key organizations of the state, by involvement in making key political decisions, by reputation among their peers, or finally, by a combination of the three methods.

At the other end of the power spectrum are the masses (or nonelites). In democratic regimes, political elites operate electoral systems in which their members compete for leadership by mobilizing popular electoral support. They also collaborate and compete peacefully with other elite groups, including political opposition. Dominant elite groups monopolize political leadership, and they restrict competition by intimidating political rivals.

3.3.3.1 POLITICAL ELITES AND RULING CLASS

Political elites are sometimes conflated with ruling classes. The latter are typically circumscribed in terms of ownership of capital and land. Class theorists of Marxist persuasion treat political power as derived from property ownership, and they see political elites as executive arms of the ruling/ownership class. Some students of elites, such as William Domhoff, combine the class and elite perspective and depict elites as socially anchored in the dominant ownership class. The classical and contemporary elite theorists, by contrast, point to the autonomy of political elites, as reflected in elites' capacity to dominate or even expropriate the owners (e.g., in revolutions).

Contemporary elite theorists see the bases of elite power in command over the resources of the state (including the military might), organizational capacities, and intra-elite cohesion. C. W. Mills analyzed the emerging "power elite" in post–World War II America as firmly anchored in the national government, the military directorate, and the largest business corporations. Elite cohesion, according to him, did not preclude the possibility of temporary intra-elite divisions on specific policy questions. However, when faced with political challenges, the power elite acted in unison. Other contemporary students of political elites stress that the elites' grip on power is strengthened by their influence over the mass media, their alliances with nonelite social forces—dominant classes, strata, movements, and politically organized groups—and their control over political succession.

3.3.4 THEORIES OF RULING CLASS AND ELITES

Social thought on elites goes back at least to Plato and Aristotle, but contemporary debates usually begin with the "neo-Machiavellians" Pareto, Mosca, and Michels. Reacting to the turmoil of European society in the early twentieth century, each developed arguments supporting the inevitability of elite rule in opposition to classical democratic theory, Marxian class analysis, and socialist political movements. Subsequent renditions of these theories also carried a strong imprint of Max Weber's ideas, especially concerning the centrality of political power and charismatic leadership.

The classic theorists focused on the inevitability of a group of powerful "elites" in all large-scale societies, offering a radical critique of two competing theoretical-

ideological streams of thought: the democratic theory ("government of the people, by the people, for the people" in Lincoln's Gettysburg Address), and the Marxist vision of class conflict leading to revolution and egalitarian socialism. In contrast with both of these ideologies, the elite theories suggested an inescapable division between dominant minorities (variously called "elites," "ruling classes," "political classes," "oligarchies," "aristocracies," etc.) and the dominated majority, or the "masses".

The elitist theory deny that there can be, in any real sense, government by the people and argued that "government of the people" is a sheer fantasy, a myth, a deceptive concept, which is impossible in practice. In every political system authority vest in the political elite because only they provide the leadership. The elitist theory does not accept the concept of political equality as the governors and the governed cannot be equal. The theory stands on the classical doctrine of natural in equality of mankind. It implies that even if all men are taken as equal according to Biblical injunction of 'Fatherhood of god and brotherhood of man', some are more equal than others with the result that few have position of advantage over the many. In other words, men are inherently unequal and thus only a few have a little to rule many. However, the supporters of this theory do not accept inequality by birth, instead they hold that the basis of inclusion elite is higher ability, knowledge, character, efficiency, wealth, or skill.

The supporters of the elitist theory maintained that though the political elite may give the slogans of "will of the people", "public interest:, "majority rule", "responsible government" and "popular sovereignty" to appease or bluff the people; though there may be elections at fixed intervals, yet political organisations demands that the political power should vest in the minority. The Elitist theory of Democracy emphasized that democracy "is a political system in which the influence of the majority is assured by elective and competitive minority to whom it is entrusted."

Elite theories can also be seen as an intellectual response to the "modern trends" that strengthened the state and have led to the rapid expansion of government bureaucracies, the emergence of bureaucratized mass parties, the concentration of corporate power, the growth of powerful and centralized mass media, and the rise of fascist movements and regimes—all of which have weakened liberal capitalism and

dented the hopes for participatory democratization. Mosca, Pareto, Michels, and Weber all saw these trends as a consequence of bureaucratic industrialism. In their view, the increasing complexity of modern society implied progressive bureaucratic organization of all activities and power concentration in the hands of elites, who can effectively manage democratic institutions, accumulate the privileges that power brings, orchestrate mass support, and protect their positions by controlling access to the top. This view of power stratification, combined with the insistence on the universality of elites and treatment of elite characteristics as key explanatory variables, constitutes the most distinctive tenet of classic elite theory.

The second theoretical tenet concerns the capacity of power holders to organize themselves and form cohesive groups. Strong cohesion does not preclude the possibility of temporary intra-elite conflicts and divisions on specific policy questions. However, when it comes to defending common power interests, members of the elite act in unison, and this makes their power irresistible.

The third tenet concerns the linkages between elites and various "social forces," such as social movements, classes, and ethno-racial groups. The classic elite theorists insist that such linkages are an essential condition of elite power, but they are less than clear on precise meaning of such linkages.

The fourth tenet is about access and succession. Entry to the elite ranks depends on acquiring certain rare attributes (e.g., wealth, prestige, education), and it is carefully controlled—directly and indirectly—by elite incumbents. Elites control recruitment of their successors through institutional "gatekeepers" (e.g., corporate hierarchies, political party machines) as well as through elite "selectorates" operating at each level of hierarchical promotion. One outcome of these selective practices is a biased social composition; another is a persistence of elite outlooks, even at times of rapid social mobility and elite circulation, that is, replacement of elite members.

The final tenet highlights the way in which elites typically exercise their power. All elite theorists converge on a view of "engineered" elite domination through persuasion and manipulation, occasionally backed by force. Democratic elections have a symbolic character and are an important tool for the orderly circulation of elite personnel, but they seldom alter elite structure.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1. Elites are differentiated and stratified. Comment.

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    _____

    _____

2. Political elites are sometimes conflated with ruling classes. How do you understand this?

    _____

    _____

    _____

3. The Elite theory stands on the classical doctrine of natural in equality of mankind. Elaborate.

    _____

    _____

    _____

4. Elite theories can also be seen as an intellectual response to the "modern trends". Do you agree with this?

    _____

    _____

    _____

5. Briefly state the core tenets of Elite theory?

    _____

    _____

    _____

3.3.5 VILFREDO PARETO: THE CIRCULATION OF ELITES

Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) is an Italian economist and sociologist who is known for his theory on mass and elite interaction as well as for his application of mathematics to economic analysis. Believing that there were problems that economics could not solve, Pareto turned to sociology, writing what he considered his greatest work, *Mind and Society* (1916), in which he inquired into the nature and bases of individual and social action. Pareto, in this work, examined many societies, political regimes, and alternating eras of faith and scepticism in Western history. He sought to illustrate an intricate theory about humanity's several and conflicting non-logical propensities ('residues'), the rationalisations, superstitions, and ideologies derived from them ('derivations'), and how changing combinations of propensities and derived beliefs, together with concrete economic interests, shape the era-like fortunes of societies.

Pareto's starting point was deceptively simple. He portrayed all societies as containing two analytic and interacting categories: largely powerless masses and powerful elites, with the latter sub-divided into 'governing' and 'non-governing' elites. Historically, governing elites were hereditary aristocracies anchored in the most gifted and talented – the qualitatively superior élite of a society – and in socially delineated monopolies of power and privilege. For Pareto, the class and status underpinnings of governing elites are less important than their psychosocial profiles, that is, key personality traits and proclivities that shape dominant styles of governance and interest alliances. Pareto stressed that economic interests are always important determinants of elite preferences and actions, but he postulated that powerful non-logical biases, passions, values and the ways in which they are justified are in the long run more decisive.

Three aspects of Pareto's governing elites stand out. First, he conceived of them as complex aggregations of powerful political, economic and social groups, the inner leaderships of which are located in governments. In Pareto's usage, governing elites encompass opposing parties and allies rotating in and out of government offices and squabbling endlessly over policy matters. But these rotations and squabbles do not alter basic psychosocial propensities and governing styles.

Elite members are disposed to combine the two modes of political rule, force and persuasion, but over time they, and especially their leaders, come to rely primarily on one mode, one style of governance. They constitute intertwined and polyarchal webs of patrons with diverse clienteles, but there is always a 'common accord' resulting from 'an infinitude of minor acts, each determined by present advantage'. In Pareto's treatment, governing elites are in no sense monolithic; their unity is manifested at a meta-political level – in shared outlooks and tacit consensus about boundaries of political patronage and a style of governance. The major difference between Pareto's governing elites, Marx's ruling classes and Weber's dominant status groups is that for Pareto shared elite outlooks and tacit consensus encompass not only a dominant class interest and a legitimation formula, but also and most importantly a basic set of non-logical ('residual') propensities that shape the balance or imbalance between force and persuasion.

Second, Pareto agreed with most of his contemporaries, such as Weber, Michels and Mosca, that government executives in modern bureaucratic states acquire overarching control of national policies. Accordingly, a modern governing elite's inner leadership is pivotal, often displaying a sufficient commonality of purpose to be treated analytically as a social actor, though Pareto always stressed the broader governing elite's importance. For him, as for Weber, political and social change is mainly top-down, but Pareto located its causalities in a governing elite's psychosocial complexion, which, he held, alters in step with changing rates of circulation between the elite and the masses. This gave his theory a more systemic character than Weber's leader-centred theory. Pareto's conception of governing elites also differed from Marx's thesis that in capitalist societies state executives are mere management committees of ruling bourgeois classes and their main interests. Pareto agreed that state power lies in the hands of bourgeois ('plutocratic') interests, but, like Weber, he held that the leaders of governing elites enjoy considerable autonomy vis-à-vis bourgeois interests and can, in fact, 'despoil' those interests by wasting their wealth. The inner cores of governing elite leaders favour only some economic interests, only some holders and producers of wealth, and this selective patronage tends to squander economic resources and weaken economies.

Third, Pareto famously theorized that governing elites can be distinguished most fundamentally according to which of two non-logical propensities predominates: a 'Class I' propensity to combine things in innovative ways, which renders governing elites fox-like in actions; a 'Class II' propensity to keep or restore things to traditional forms and ways, which produces lion-like actions. Vulpine governing elites act in cunning, inventive, innovative and manipulative ways; leonine elites act with idealism, intolerance and a strong preference for applying force to achieve and cement social unity. Cutting across the customary right/left spectrum – Pareto portrayed revolutionaries as exemplifying the Class II propensity.

In sum, governing elites embody wide and complex patronage networks and practices, as well as a psychosocial propensity and consequent style of governance tending to rely on cunning and persuasion or determination and force. Governing elites seldom achieve a high degree of integration and are rarely if ever cabals; they are instead broad condominiums of groups and circles that are normally capable of defending their advantaged positions and pursuing mutually beneficial courses of action. More concretely, governing elites are congeries of political party leaders competing for government offices, groups promoting specific economic interests, factions trumpeting various ideologies, as well as groups of ethno-religious, military, regional and other important leaders.

3.3.5.1 PARETO'S CIRCULATION/ CYCLES OF ELITE

Pareto's discussion of elite cycles can be summarised into five principal claims:

- While routine elite circulation – movements of persons from non-elite to elite positions and vice versa – is constant and produces gradual elite change, the inflow of talented persons with a different psychosocial profile varies in a broad cyclical manner as a consequence of gradual elite closure and degeneration followed eventually by intensified elite replacement and renewal.

- The closure and degeneration that occur in broad cycles subsume cultural, economic, and political sub-cycles that accelerate broad cycles when they coincide and retard them when they cross cut.

- Each broad cycle is distinguished mainly by a governing elite's predominant non-logical propensity – especially but not exclusively its mix of Class I and Class II propensities – and by economic alliances within the elite.

- The end of a broad cycle and start of a new one may be sudden or gradual, but it is usually marked by a profound crisis that is contingent in details, yet path dependent in the sense that some 'general regularities' are discernible.

- In the course of each broad cycle there are periods of elite renewal and periods of deterioration, but degeneration eventually becomes pronounced and signals a profound crisis that terminates the cycle.

The duration of elite cycles is unclear in Pareto's exposition. In fact, Pareto seemed to have two kinds of elite cycles in mind: (1) long cycles involving enduring configurations and dispositions of elites, both governing and non-governing, accompanied by slow-moving mass currents prevailingly religious-ideological or secular-rationalist in thrust; (2) short cycles book-ended by crises that materially alter governing elite composition and political regime type, such as shifts from 'demagogic' to 'military' plutocracies and back. Long cycles begin and end with definitive collapses of governing elites and much of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical orders they have overseen. But long cycles encompass shorter cycles during which the stability and effectiveness of governing elites weaken but are renewed by adjustments made during periodic crises that stem from this weakening.

The end of a long cycle is the result of a governing elite's gradual but inexorable degeneration and the dire situation it eventually creates. Degeneration occurs in three principal and interrelated ways. First, routine circulation slows so that a governing elite becomes increasingly closed, with able persons who do not fit the elite's preferred psychosocial and stylistic profile more and more excluded from its ranks. This not only unbalances the elite's composition and denudes the elite of talent, it breeds frustration among aspirants, who, on finding their careers blocked, foment mass opposition. Second, a governing elite's intellectual and political qualities deteriorate, with key positions held increasingly by mediocrities who have risen to power through family inheritance, cronyism, and sycophancy, and who lack the

vigour and wisdom necessary for decisive and effective actions. Elite members who promise such actions are shunted aside because they threaten to upset mutual back-scratching practices. Third, a governing elite becomes increasingly biased, doctrinaire and inflexible, less and less able to adjust its policy repertoire to fit changing circumstances. Where new circumstances call for policies more persuasive or forceful, more cunning or coercive, the elite – especially its inner leadership core – sticks to templates and bromides its members regard as true. As a consequence of all three processes, blunders and miscalculations multiply.

Thus, governing elites of both types degenerate and ultimately fail, though they do so in somewhat different ways. The degeneration of predominantly leonine elite typically involves enervating military over-extensions, quagmires and setbacks; that of a predominantly vulpine elite typically involves enervating gridlocks and dissipations of authority that stem from trying to placate myriad patrons and clienteles. Either degenerative process culminates in a crisis that triggers wide elite circulation and an influx of groups and persons inclined toward the alternative propensity. This circulation may take sudden and violent forms, as in revolutions or military coups, or it may involve discredited leaders being shouldered aside by those better able to deal with the crisis at hand. In the latter case, groups and persons formerly excluded from leading positions assail the existing modus operandi, out-manoeuvre current leaders and take charge. The exact mode of a wide circulation depends on contingencies such as the extent of elite degeneration, the relative severity of the crisis to which it has led, or a conjunction of military failure and fiscal insolvency.

Pareto spurned any idea that a lasting elite equilibrium – an efficacious balancing of persuasion and force – is possible. Cycles of elite circulation and degeneration can never be eliminated. He observed, however, that the start of a cycle may provide a temporary respite – an interval of renewal and hope – because the influx of new elite groups and leaders supplies needed flexibility, innovation, talent, and vigour. A measure of temporary equilibrium is achieved, and a honeymoon period for the new elite unfolds. But this is bound to be short-lived, because the new elite tends to attribute its predecessor's downfall to specific errors and stylistic shortcomings, rather than to more general bias and closure, political mediocrities in high positions and inflexible policies.

It is important to bear in mind that Pareto's theory of elite circulation and degeneration was but a component of his more general theoretical vision, in which he conceived of societies as moving constantly toward or away from the equilibrium of non-logical propensities and clashing economic interests. No society attains full and lasting equilibrium; it can at most be partial and temporary, because circumstances change constantly, and imbalances of propensities and interests cannot be prevented. When these imbalances become great, major upheavals occur and reduce them, so a condition closer to equilibrium obtains for a time. But inevitably, imbalances again become aggravated and the process is repeated. Imbalances in the propensities and interests of governing elites are political manifestations of this wider flux in societies. Treating Pareto's elite theory in isolation from his general theory makes the former seem more simplistic than it actually is.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   In Pareto's schemes how governing elites are different from non-governing elites?

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        _____

        _____

2.   What are the two propensities that governing elite possesses?

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        _____

        _____

3.   Pareto's discussion of elite cycles can be summarised into five principal claims. What are they?

        _____

        _____

        _____

4.   How the long cycles are different from short cycles?

        _____

        _____

        _____

5.   According Pareto degenerative process culminates in a crisis that triggers wide elite circulation. How do you understand this?

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        _____

        _____

3.3.6 MICHELS: THE IRON LAW OF OLIGARCHY

Robert Michels (1876-1936) belongs to that generation of European social scientist which tried to understand twentieth-century Western society. Michel's standing in social sciences is assured by his brilliant monograph *Political Parties* (1911 a), in which he formulated the problem of oligarchical tendencies in organizations. Michels grappled with the problems of democracy, socialism, revolution, class conflict, trade unionism, mass society, nationalism, and imperialism, and with the role of intellectuals and of elites.

To Michels organizations are the only means for the creation of a collective will and they work under the 'Iron Law of Oligarchy'. He explicitly points out the indispensability of oligarchy from the organizations by saying that "It is organization which gives birth to the domination of the elected over electors, of the mandatanes over the mandators, of the delegates over delegators, who says organization, says oligarchy".

Oligarchical tendencies in organizations are not related to ideology or ends of the organizations. Of course, it is evident that any organization which is set up for autocratic aims, it is oligarchic by nature. To Michels, regardless of any ideological concerns, all types of organizations have oligarchic tendencies. It was his major question in political parties that "how can oligarchic tendencies be explained in socialist and democratic parties, which they declared war against it?"

When he examines this question throughout in his book *Political Parties,* he sees organization itself particularly bureaucracy, nature of human being and the phenomenon of leadership as major factors for oligarchical tendencies in organizations. According to Michels' assessments, the crowd is always subject to suggestion and the masses have an apathy for guidance of their need. In contrast the leaders have a natural greed of power. To Michels, leadership itself is not compatible with the most essential postulates of democracy, but leadership is a necessary phenomenon in every form of society. He says "At the outset, leaders arise spontaneously, their functions are 'accessory' and 'gratuitous'. Soon however, they become professional leaders, and in this second stage of development they are stable and irremovable".

Leaders also have personal qualities that make them successful as a ruling class. These qualities are: the force of will, knowledge, strength of conviction, self sufficiency, goodness of heart and disinterestedness. Furthermore there is a reciprocal relationship between leadership functions and the organizational structure. Majority of leaders abuse organizational opportunities for their personal aims by using their personal qualities and by creating means, organizational process or principles like party discipline.

As for as organization itself is considered as a source of oligarchy, Michels says that it is generally because of "psychology of organization itself" that is to say, upon the tactical and technical necessities which result from the consolidation of every disciplined political aggregate. Further as a particular type of organization bureaucracy and its features require an oligarchic structure.

At the societal level, although development in the democracy, oligarchy still exists. First of all he says by looking at the state as an organization, which needs a bureaucracy that is the source of enemy of individual freedom, the state represents a single gigantic oligarchy. An attempt to destroy this gigantic oligarchy in fact brings a number of smaller oligarchies in society but does not eliminate it. Secondly he agrees with Rousseau on the idea that "it is always against the natural order of things that the majority rule and the minority ruled". Along with this idea professional leadership is seen by Michels as an incompatible phenomenon with

democracy, because, although the leaders at once are not more than executive agents off collective will, as soon as they gain the technical specialization, they emancipate themselves from the masses and start to use their power against the majority. In addition to this, representative political system is not compatible with the ideal democracy, because to Michels, "a mass which delegates its sovereignty, that is to say transfer its sovereignty to the hands of the few individuals, abdicates its sovereign function".

The third factor is related to level of socio-economic development of societies and experience of democracy in history. To him in this time ideal democracy is impossible due to socio-economic conditions. He further says that, "The democracy has an inherent preference for the authoritarian solution of the important questions".

3.3.6.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF OLIGARCHY

Michels used the term "oligarchy" or "oligarchic tendency" to cover several aspects of political behaviour that are conceptually quite distinct and that may or may not coexist in organizations, parties, or trade unions: (1) the emergence of leadership; (2) the emergence of professional leadership, and its stabilization; (3) the formation of a bureaucracy, that is, an appointed, regularly paid staff with distinct duties; (4) the centralization of authority; (5) the displacement of goals, particularly the shift from ultimate goals (e.g., achieving a socialist society) to instrumental goals (i.e., perpetuating the organization); (6) increased ideological rigidity—conservatism, in the sense of adherence to policies and ideas that have been rendered obsolete by changed circumstances, and intolerance toward attempts to revise such policies or ideas; (7) the growing difference between the interests and/or points of view of the leaders and of the members, and the precedence of the leaders' interests over those of the members; (8) the decrease in the members' opportunities to participate in policy decisions, even when they are willing to participate; (9) the co-optation of emergent opposition leaders by the existing leadership; (10) the "omnibus" tendency of parties, the shift from appeals to the membership to appeals to the electorate and from appeals to a class electorate to appeals to a broader electorate—such shifts may produce a more moderate program, while opposition as a matter of principle is replaced by competition with other parties, and disloyal opposition to the social and political system is replaced by loyal opposition and even by participation in governing.

If, as the list suggests, the label "oligarchic tendencies" is used to cover so many different things, it becomes quite meaningless. Such critics as Cassinelli and Dahl therefore have tried to define the meaning of "oligarchy"— or of related concepts, like "ruling class"— in more precise and operational terms.

3.3.6.2 MODIFICATION TO PARETO'S THEORY OF CIRCULATION OF ELITES

As a logical result of his 'iron law of oligarchy', he admits there are elites in society but not elite circulation in terms of replacing one another. He does not redefine the concept of elite, he took Pareto's theory of circulation of elites and modified it. To Michels, there is a battle between the old and new elites, leaders. The end of this war is not an absolute replacement of the old elites by the new elites, but a reunion of elites, a perennial amalgamation. Complete replacement of elites is rare in history. The old elites attract, absorb and assimilate the new ones, and it is a continuous process. Because for Michels, first old aristocracy does not disappear, does not become proletarian or impoverished, does not make way for new group of rulers, but that always remains at the head of nations, which it led over the course of centuries. Secondly, the old aristocracy be it very old rejuvenated, does not exercise the rule alone but is forced to shave it with some kind of new rulers.

Aristocracy for Michels is not homogenous stratum, and consists of nobility and ruling class. Nobility represents a small but strong part of aristocracy. In this sense it seems that nobility represents real oligarchical power in the society. To Michels nobility holds itself at the helm and does not even dream of disappearing from the stage of history. Though not coinciding with aristocracy, and not constituting more than a part of it, nobility generally takes hold of it and makes itself its master. It pervades, conquers, and molds, the high middle class according to its own moral and social essence. In contrast to nobility, aristocracy is heterogeneous and a place where lower class members can easily rise and members of aristocracy can be subject to downward social mobility. For his time, he describes elements of aristocracy (1) aristocrats by birth (2) aristocracy of government clerks, (3) aristocracy of money (4) aristocracy of knowledge. All this groups also represent ruling class.

Michels does not get in too much special analysis of the relationships between aristocracy, ruling class and majority. He doesn't see that there are much differences in oligarchy in organization and oligarchy in society at large.

To sum up, Michels in his work, *Political Parties,* traced the necessity of elite rule in modern societies to the imperatives of complex organization. Influenced by Weber's work on politics and bureaucracy, Michels's most famous conclusion is summarized in his "Iron Law of Oligarchy", the argument that large-scale organizations necessarily concentrate power in the hands of a few at the top. Once in power, leaders in organizations such as labour unions and political parties act to preserve their positions. Those who rise from lower levels in the organization are co-opted in a process that preserves the structure of power. The resources available to institutional leaders and their relative unity of interest and perspective give them numerous advantages in maintaining their power over the unorganized rank and file. Over time, leaders develop similar interests and intraelite attachments that reflect their elevated position and separate them from the masses. For their part, Michels saw the masses contributing to elite rule through their general apathy and acquiescence. With his focus on organizational factors, Michels has been very influential in the development of contemporary elite approaches to power.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 3

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   To Michels, organizations are the only means for the creation of a collective will and they work under the 'Iron Law of Oligarchy'. Explain.

        _____

        _____

        _____

2.   Why Michels consider that oligarchy continues even in societies where democracy is developed?

_____

_____

_____

3.   How Michels modified Pareto's theory of Circulation of Elite?

_____

_____

_____

3.3.7 GAETANO MOSCA: THE RULING CLASS

Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) was an Italian political philosopher, political scientist, journalist and public servant. He is credited with developing the Theory of Elitism and the doctrine of the Political Class and is one of the three members constituting the Italian School of Elitists together with Vilfredo Pareto and Robert Michels.

Mosca's hostility toward democratic ideology and the parliamentary system was evident in his first major work, "On the Theory of Governments and Parliamentary Government" (1884). The book is an outburst against contemporary Italian political life, which, Mosca alleged, had become arbitrary and corrupt as a necessary consequence of popular sovereignty. Mosca's criticism is, in part, simply an instance of the then prevailing antiparliamentarianism; but it stands apart because of its clear-cut distinction between the ideal of liberty on the one hand and the evils to the democratic "myth" on the other hand.

Basic to Mosca's thought was the conviction that only the substitution of scientific truth (such as the doctrine of "ruling class") for "metaphysical abstractions" (such as the democratic myth) would make it possible to purify and to heal political practice. His faith in the redeeming power of political science appears to have been fostered by the prevailing cultural atmosphere of his youth. At that time, in Italy as elsewhere, positivist philosophy was dominant, and Mosca believed he could transfer its inductive method from the study of nature to the study of human society.

3.3.7.1 THE THEORY OF THE RULING CLASS

Mosca's ideas were first systematically presented in *The Ruling Class* (1896), the work that may be said to mark the birth of Political Science in Italy. Mosca was never to change basically the theory he presented at that time, although by 1923, when the second edition of the work appeared, his doctrine had been in many respects deepened and elaborated.

Mosca maintains that in every society there are governors and governed. The governors belong to minority and are organized whereas the governed belong to majority and are unorganised. To quote his own words: "In all societies two classes of people appear, a class that rule and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more arbitrary and violent and supplies the first, in appearance at least, with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism."

As indicated by the title of Mosca's programmatic lecture "The Aristocratic Principle and the Democratic One, in the Past and the Future" (1908), he held that two opposite tendencies are inherent in society: the aristocratic tendency toward keeping power in the hands of the descendants of those who govern and the democratic tendency toward renewal by means of elements derived from the governed. Paralleling these tendencies are two principles, likewise opposed to each other: the "autocratic," according to which authority is transmitted downward, and the "liberal," by which authority is delegated from below. The two antitheses are independent and may coexist.

The theory acquires a tighter articulation by its distinction between two levels within the ruling class, with government proper being at one level, and at the other, lower level all the existing political forces. Finally, the theory is crowned by the concept of "juridical defence," possible only when there exist a "balance of social forces" and therefore a government of law dispensing "relative justice". Juridical defence can be realized only when there is a plurality of forces, independent of and checking each

other and sharing in the power of government. His concept of "relative justice" gives us an indication that Mosca believes in a kind of law, that the governing elite, in course of time, is not able to provide are no longer regarded as valuable can be replaced.

According to Mosca, the distinguishing characteristic of the elite being "the aptitude to command and to exercise political control", once the ruling class loses this aptitude and people outside the ruling class cultivate it in large numbers, there is every possibility that the old ruling class will be deposed and replaced by the new one. Mosca is able to establish some relationship between the changes in social circumstances and individual characteristics. New interests and ideals are formulated in society, new problems arise, and the process of circulation of elites is accelerated. He prefers a mobile society and change through persuasion. He also advises the governing elite to bring about gradual alterations in the political system in order to make it conform to changes in the public opinion.

Mosca explains the rule of the minority over the majority by the fact that it is organized, whereas the individual in the majority stands alone before it, and also by the fact that the minority is usually composed of superior individuals. Mosca recognizes the role of certain social forces in balancing and limiting the influence of other 'social forces'. Mosca also introduces the concept of the 'sub-elite', composed practically of the whole 'new middle class' of civil servants, managers of industries, scientists and scholars, and treats it as a vital element in the government of society. He states that "The stability of any political organism", depends on the level of morality, intelligence and activity that this second stratum has attained".

Mosca attaches a great deal of importance to what he calls the 'political formula'. Mosca's 'political formula' is equivalent to Pareto's 'derivations'. In every society, he believes the governing elite tries to find a moral and legal basis for its being in the citadel of power and represents it as 'the logical and necessary consequence of doctrines and beliefs that are generally recognized and accepted'. The political formula may not, and generally does not, embody absolute truth. It may as well be merely a plausible myth which is nothing but plain and simple fraud cleverly contrived by the ruling class in order to dupe the masses into subjection. The fact that the policies of the ruling class, even though formulated in its own

interest, are covered in a moral and legal garb satisfies, according to Mosca, a definite social need and gratifies a deeply felt human requirement that man should be governed on the basis of some moral principle, and not by mere physical force. It also serves as a factor in the unification of political institutions, peoples and civilizations. Mosca would, therefore, regard it as an instrument of moral cohesion.

To sum up, Mosca, through his work of *The Ruling Class,* Mosca emphasized the ways in which tiny minorities outwit large majorities. He states that "political classes"—his term for elites—usually have "a certain material, intellectual, or even moral superiority" over those they govern. Pareto postulated that in a society with truly unrestricted social mobility, elites would consist of the most talented and deserving individuals but that in actual societies they are those who are most adept at using the two modes of political rule, force and persuasion, and who usually enjoy important advantages such as inherited wealth and family connections.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 4

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   Mosca maintains that in every society there are governors and governed?

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        _____

        _____

2.   According Mosca two opposite tendencies are inherent in society. What are they?

        _____

        _____

        _____

3.   Briefly state about Mosca's notions about 'political formula'.

        _____

        _____

        _____

3.3.8 ELITE THEORY: CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

The classical elite theory significantly contributed to increasing our understanding on how the contemporary political systems are functioning. It also contributed to comprehend modern bureaucratic state and its top-down functioning. However, the post–World War II students of elites played down the cohesion of elites and questioned the classic theorists' skepticism as to the prospects for democratization. In the seminal formulation of Joseph Schumpeter (1954), elites are an essential ingredient of modern democracy, which implies a regular electoral competition for political leadership. This idea was followed up by Robert Dahl (1971), Giovanni Sartori (1981) and many other "plural," "demo-," and "neo-" elite theorists. It was backed by empirical studies of modern elites, especially in advanced democracies, that revealed complex networks of competing and collaborating elite groups, rather than cohesive minorities. The results of these studies, however, were inconclusive, largely because any picture of power distribution depends on the way power is defined and measured. Those who identified power holders by their reputation and incumbency in top organizational positions produced a picture of cohesive "establishments" and "power elites." In contrast, those who defined elites as key decision makers produced a picture of "plural" elites, that is, competing elite groups.

3.3.9 LET US SUM UP

The elitist theories were originally developed in the field of Sociology to explain the behaviour of men in social setting. This theory was put forward by liberal sociologists in the 19th century in opposition to the Marx's theory of ruling class which maintains that in a class-divided society, the economically dominant class is always the ruling class. As T.B.Bottomore writes in his book *Elites in Society,* "the idea of elites was originally conceived in opposition to the idea of social classes." Historically the concept of elite originated in the works of Pareto, Mosca and Michels who emphasized that elite is not a static concept since there is always "circulation of elites." Though in the beginning the elitist theory was in opposition to socialism and democracy yet later on the elitist theory of democracy was built up on the argument that if there is a competition between the elites for people's votes, and people vote in periodic election to choose the ruling elite, then, in spite of the ruling elite, there will be a democracy.

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3.4 THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- Mini PathakDogra

STRUCTURE

3.4.0   Objectives

3.4.1   Introduction

3.4.2   Features, Causes and Types of Social Movements

3.4.3   Various Theories of Social Movements

3.4.3.1 Marxist Theories

3.4.3.2 Collective Behavior/ Collective Action Theory

3.4.3.3 Deprivation Theories

3.4.3.4 Relative Deprivation Theories

3.4.3.5 Mass Society Theory

3.4.3.6 Resource Mobilization Theory

3.4.3.7 Political Process Theory

3.4.3.8 Value Added Theory

3.4.3.9 Structural Strain Theory

3.4.4   New Social Movements

3.4.5   Gandhian Perspective on Social Movement

3.4.6 Criticism of Various theories

3.4.7 Summing Up

3.4.8 Suggested Readings

3.4.0 OBJECTIVES

- After going through thechapter you will be able to understand meaning of Social Movements

- You will be able to differentiated between social movements and mass gatherings

- You will be able to learn the features, causes and types social movements

- You will be able to learn about the various theories of social movements

- You will be able to learn about the shortcomings of various theories

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Society, by definition, is aggregate of people living together in more or less orderly way having common interests, beliefs, traditions and institutions. Social interaction of the individuals is inevitable to keep society working. However, the twin processes of social change and social conflict are brought about by the interactions held in between various groups that form the society. This also shows the dynamic nature of any social system. As change is the law of nature, societies need to change according to the changing pace of time and advancement. But this change can be both, evolutionary as well as revolutionary. Wherever the social conflicts can no longer be minimized, controlled or contained within the working framework of social norms of any society, demand of change arises. When the change seems to be unavoidable and the conservative or orthodox forces are not ready to bring those changes, social movements arise in form of collective actionof either the entire group or some section of it. Thus,Social movements are the movements which signify a type of change associated with collective action. Social movement may not necessarily be demanded due to social conflict as in case of new social movements but harbingers of social movements demand change which is more positive in nature.

So, to define the term social movement it is a wide variety of collective actions or attempts that directly or indirectly bring about change in the social order or create a new social order. But all the collective actions may not be called as social movements as it needs some kind of leadership, a set of some common program or principles, an organization more formal in nature that can frame its own strategy and is largely oriented to bring change etc. Thus, a collection of masses or crowd at certain place cannot be termed as social movement as they are less organized and integrated. Social movements not only challenge the established order they also propagate to bring changes in institutional arrangements hence they may take longer period to attain this objective.

Views of Various Scholars

Touraine had provided a large account of interaction between social conflicts and social movements. He also believed that there is a close and permanent relationship of social movement with social life. **Blumer** saw social movements as collective enterprise to establish a new social order of life. For him, dissatisfaction with the current form of life is the major motivating factor behind the activists of social movements. For **Diani** a social movement is a form of collective behavior that develops out of the process of social interaction of the members of any given society in context of social and cultural conflicts. Hence, it is a distinct social process marked by the engagement of the actors in collective action. Charles Tilly has however stated that a social movement is always a gradually unfolding political process.

3.4.2 FEATURES, CAUSES AND TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

a) Features of Social Movements

Above mentioned explanations give us certain elements or features of social movements which distinguish them from other types of associations or just gathering of mob. **Firstly,** a movement must gather collective mobilization which means a support from either a large section of society or at least a group of it. A movement can be a thought of an individual but it becomes visible only when it gathers public support. The quixotic efforts of bold, imaginative individuals do not constitute social movement. A social movement is a collectivity in which individual members experience a sense of membership in an alliance of people who share their

dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs and their vision of a better order. Members of movement are subject to some kind of discipline as the movement possesses norms.**Secondly,** a movement is weaved around certain ideological moorings or some set of principles that every member participating in the movement agrees to. This is important to provide legitimacy to the movement. In other words, it provides justification or validity to the movement. **Thirdly,** leadership and organization are also required to lead the people in a desired direction of change required. This also helps in functional specialization and role differentiation where participants are assigned roles according to their capabilities and efficiency is sought to make movement a success. Leadership guides the movement and the organization helps in taking firm decisions.**Lastly**, Unity and feeling of commonness are essential in a social movement i.e. to work for a common cause and realize the common identity for achieving the set objectives. The participants should be joined by solidarity not subsidiarity.

Although,the duration and volume in terms of membership is often relative in social movements. Some social movements, lasting many decades, may enlist hundreds of thousands of members. Some may take place in specific group or community with few members, some may be global in nature with no definite membership but are supported by many other organizations like ongoing movement to save environmental degradation and climate change has supporters from all around the world.

b) Causes of Emergence of Social Movement

Social movements and their why and how has given shape to many theories which will be dealt later. But the general causes of social movements often sighted are social injustice, discrimination, exploitation, unlawful activities etc. Social disorganization is also importantly regarded as one of the major causes of social movements. Social disorganization may arise due to inequality of wealth and income and due to rifts between different religions and castes. Other than these, cultural drift can also cause movements as for example enormous changes in life style due to modern advances may cause movement for change in traditional belief system.

Social movement can be against social evils. All in all, they arise when the social conditions become extremely unfavorable.

c) Types of Social Movements

Various scholars have given their typology of social movements like **Aberle** gives four types of social movements on basis of who is changed? and how much change is required. He gives his classification as alternative social movements, reformative social movements, redemptive social movements and revolutionary social movements. **Anthony Giddens** identifies four areas where social movements arise. They are democratic movements that work for political rights, labor movements that work for control of the workplace, ecological movements and peace movements.

3.4.3 VARIOUS THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements are often associated with the coming up of industrial societies and the emergence of social conflicts. The division of society into classes as promulgated by Karl Marx, the inevitability of the emergence of conflict and exploitation of one class by the other made it necessary to raise voice against the oppressor or the one perpetuating inequality as well as injustice. This was the beginning of studies on social movements where social conflict was put at the forefront and demands of more just social order started coming up. Classical theories of social movement were based largely on conflict and ideology.

The study of social movements got momentum largely around the period of second world war when democracies like America had to face movements in form of civil rights movement. A variety of theories have been given by various scholars to explain how social movements develop. Some of them are given below.

3.4.3.1 Marxist Theories

These theories have origin in the writings of Karl Marx who gave the scientific explanation for the social conflicts as well as the change that occurs in society due to class struggle. Marx not only gives full explanations about the division of society into two groups based on economic factors but also describes how the inequality and injustice done by the

oppressor leads to the rise of revolution and the movement against the exploitative regime. This theory can be treated as the first of its kind in explaining the origins of social conflicts as well as the social change that can be brought about by the collective actions of the proletariats as it dates back to the period of progression of industrialization and the subsequent changes brought by it. Although Marxist writings have been under severe criticism specially after the disintegration of Soviet Union still it is credited with making visible that too much deprivation or oppression may lead to collective action resulting in overthrowing of even the powerful regimes.

3.4.3.2 Collective Behavior / Collective Action Theories (1950s)

These theories mainly focus on the collective action of the crowd. Tilly sees collective behavior as involving the study of crowds, fads, disasters, panics and social movements. He argues that this behavior may go on spontaneously and unpredictably in many geographical areas and involve very large numbers of people such as in the case of riots. For Crossman, collective behavior is a type of social behavior that occurs in crowd or masses. collective behavior theories of social movements are studied from contagion perspective, emergent Norm perspective also known as Mass perspective. The collectivity in social movement may range from local to global. However, social movements are the study of collective behavior but cannot be equated with the crowd or a mass which is unguided or unorganized. Organization plays important role in mobilizing and collectivity. If the purpose of the individual is met on his own there would be no point in raising an organization. But when a number of individuals have collection action or collective interest than individuals will not be able to advance their single interest. Therefore, an organization can perform when there are common goals through collective action. Collective behavior can be non-institutionalized gathering but collective action is based on shared interest.

3.4.3.3 Deprivation Theory

Robert Merton was the first to discuss about deprivation theory. He stated that social movements arise among people who feel deprived. It argues that social movements have their foundations among people who feel deprived of some good(s) or resource(s). According to this approach, individuals who are lacking some good, service, or comfort are more likely to organize a social movement to improve (or defend) their conditions. When people compare themselves to others, they feel that they are at a disadvantage and

they join social movement to end their grievances. The sense of deprivation can be associated with lack of money or any kind of injustice or low status that is ascribed to some section of the society.

One fine example of this is the women's movement where a realization of deprivation came in women as they were treated as the secondclasscitizens for centuries. Although the movement started with demand of equal rights (especially right to vote) but pushed it to demand more of gender equality and gender justice. This helped them in competing with male counterparts leaving aside the traditional and conservative roles which restricted women to the four walls of the house.

3.4.3.4 Relative Deprivation Theory

Closely associated with deprivation theory is relative deprivation theory propounded by **Ted Gurr and Garry Runciman.** Within the deprivation theory camp, there were two branches: absolute deprivation and relative deprivation. The proponents of absolute deprivation treated the grievances of the affected group in isolation from that group's position in society. Proponents of relative deprivation, on the other hand, regarded a group to be in a disadvantageous position vis-à-vis some other group in that society**.**Relative deprivation is formally defined as an actual or perceived lack of resources required to maintain the quality of life to which various socio-economic groups or individuals within those groups have grown accustomed, or are considered to be the accepted norm within the groups. Relative deprivation is thus the feeling of being worse off when quality of life is compared with others. Hence,relative deprivation is described as player's recognition of inconsistency between their value desires and their environment's manifest value potentialities. Value prospects are the goods and conditions of life to which people suppose they are fairly entitled. The determinants of value potentialities are to be appeared extensively in the social and physical surroundings; they are the stipulations that decide people's known possibilities of obtaining or retaining the norms they justifiably desire to achieve.

Where Merton deals generally with deprivation, Walter Runciman deals specifically with relative deprivation. In proposing the formal definitions of relativedeprivation, he has listed four required conditions:

- A person does not have something

- That person knows other people who have the thing

- That person wants to have the thing

- That person believes they have a reasonable chance of getting the thing.

Runciman further draws distinction between egoistic and fraternalistic relative deprivation. Egoistic one is individual's feeling of being treated unfairly compared to other in their group whereas fraternalistic is more associated with massive group social movements.

Ted Robert Gurr explains in "why people Rebel" about the relation inbetween relative deprivation and the political violence. Gurrstated that the frustration – aggression mechanisms triggered by feeling of relative deprivation provide the basic motivational link between Relative Deprivation and the potential for collective violence.Gurr treats "deprivation" as primarily psychological; thus he does not handle the socio-economic framework. For him, if the sense of deprivation is confined to an individual against another individual it leads to crime. When it is transformed to collective transformation a deprivation of region, community or caste – it assumes the shape of collective activity.

M.S.A.Rao,an Indian sociologist, also states in this context that,a sufficient level of understanding and reflection is required on the part of the participants, and they must be able to observe and perceive the contrast between the social and cultural conditions of the privileged and those of the deprived, and must realize that it is possible to do something about it**.**

U. S. Civil rights movement is one of the best examples to be quoted for relative deprivation that led to the end of end of discrimination meted out to black by the white. Another example can be LGBTQ movements where people fought for their rights as they thought they have been denied justice by making them compromise to the whims of the social order. The fight for same sex marriage is one of the examples where the group has turned their feeling into collective action and various demonstrations world-wide raised the question of relative deprivation which was not really attached to material deprivations but psychological orientations.

3.4.3.5 Mass-Society Theory

William Kornhauser, a political sociologist, first developed Mass Society theory. Mass-Society theory argues that social movements are made up of individuals in large societies who feel insignificant or socially detached. Social movements, according to this

theory, provide a sense of empowerment and belonging that the movement members would otherwise not have. Kornhauser feels that social movements are influenced by the media as media is a powerful force that can subvert essential norms and values and thus undermine social order. Media not only influences peoples thinking it also transforms it having long term consequences. In fact, according to Mass-Society theory the key to join the movement is having a friend or associate who is a member of the movement in which media plays significant role.

3.4.3.6 Resource-Mobilization Theory

Resources mobilization theory focuses on the assets and capacities of aggrieved groups to explain the rise, development and outcome of social movements. Resource-Mobilization theory emphasizes the importance of resources in social movement development and success. Resources are understood here to include tangible resources such as knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal and external support from power elite. The theory argues that social movements develop when individuals with grievances are able to mobilize sufficient resources to take action. The emphasis on resources offers an explanation why some discontented/deprived individuals are able to organize while others are not.

According to **Jenkins** 'The rise and outcome of movements are shaped by the interaction of strategies with political opportunities. Movements that think small in terms of incremental goals, avoid schisms, use unruliness and selective incentives, and have allies that are more successful. Political opportunities in terms of institutional permeability, favorable public opinion, elite divisions, and the availability of allies and patrons facilitate success.'

Edwards and McCarthy provide five-fold typology of resources

1. Moral resources include legitimacy, solidarity, and sympathetic support to the movement's goals. These resources tend to originate outside of a social movement are generally being granted by an external source. Therefore, the source can also retract those resources. A fact that makes them less accessible and more proprietary than cultural resources.

2. Cultural resources are artifacts and cultural products such as conceptual tools and specialized knowledge that have become widely known. These include among

others understanding of these issues, collective action know-how, prior activist experience, and organizational templates. Those resources are widely available, less proprietary, and accessible for independent use.

3. Social organization resources are divided into three general forms: infrastructures i.e. public goods such as transport, postal services or communication networks etc., social networks and organizations.

4. Human resources like labor, skills and experience and expertise that is embedded in the human capital of the movement i.e. in leadership, staff or the volunteers of the movement.

5. Material resources refer to financial and physical capital including monetary resources, equipment, supplies, office space or property etc.

Further, four mechanisms advocated by them for access to defined resources are aggregation of resources, self-production in terms of value addition by actors to resources, co-optation and patronage. This theory is in contrast of mass-society theory which calls social movements as irrational acts, saw collective behavior as based on social contagion and view social movement participants as being alienated, atomized individuals and highly susceptible to the influence of extremist leaders and ideologies. The resource mobilization theory conceives of collective action in terms of the mobilizing, converting, and transferring of resources from one group and one arena of action to other groups and actions.

 A basic argument of the resource mobilization perspective is focused on two factors (a)cleavage factors, which tend to separate people from one another or see them at odds, (b) integrating factors, which pulls people together in social groups (whether or not collective action usually occurs). In other words, the theory asserts that before understanding social movement we need to see under what circumstances collective action took place and it is only through study of cleavage factors and integrating forces we can understand how people got mobilized.

The theory further state that discontent has to be mobilized in such a manner that those who feel dissatisfied have to come together, they need to be persuaded to join and their activities should be coordinated then only movement can be launched not just by realizing the deprivation. In such movements, members are recruited through networks;

commitment is maintained by building a collective identity and continue to nurture interpersonal relationships

In the resource mobilization theory one of the assumptions is that the actors are rational and practical, they weigh the costs and benefits from movement participation. Their behavior is goal oriented.However, one of the important agent in resource mobilization issocial movement organizations which are termed as backbone of social movements. What they require is resources and continuity of leadership and it is social movement entrepreneurs that transform collective discontent into social movements.There is no clear pattern of movement development nor are specific movement techniques or methods, all the success depends on how the resources are at best utilized for the advantage of the movement.

One of the great advantages of this theory is that it offers a convincing explanation as to why in some situations some grievances may give birth to a successful social movement, whereas in other situations the same types of grievances may not give birth to anything similar.This theory does provide a good explanation of why some social movements have been able to grow at an exponential rate, even in the presence of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. The civil rights movement in the U.S. is a classic example of this type. The leaders of that movement — primarily Martin Luther King Jr. and his colleagues in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference — were able to successfully elicit the support of thousands of supporters (including many sympathetic whites) in launching and propagating the movement. They were able to do that in spite of the fact that a majority of the white population at that time were strongly opposed to some of the fundamental objectives of the movement for example the ending of separate public facilities for whites and non-whites and the awarding of voting rights to blacks.

3.4.3.7 Political Process Theory

Also known as "political opportunity theory" political process theory offers an explanation of the conditions, mindset, and actions that make a social movement successful in achieving its goals. According to this theory, political opportunities for change must first be present before a movement can achieve its objectives. So, a movement ultimately attempts to make changes through the existing political structure and processes. Sociologist **Douglas McAdam,** is credited with developing this theory in his book, '*Political Process*

and the Development of Black Insurgency,1930-1970.' However, **Neal Caren** in the *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* has made certain revisions in the original articulations of McAdam. He outlines five components that determine the success or failure of a social movement: political opportunities, mobilizing structures, framing processes, protest cycles, and contentious repertoires.

To explain,Political process theory is similar to resource mobilization in many regards, but tends to emphasize political opportunities more than other factors. It is argued in the theory that there are three vital components for movement formation: insurgent consciousness, organizational strength, and political opportunities. Here, insurgent consciousness is related to the ideas of deprivation and grievances. The idea is that certain members of society feel like they are being mistreated or that somehow the system is unjust. The insurgent consciousness is the collective sense of injustice that movement members feel and serves as the motivation for movement organization, whereas, organizational strength signifies strong leadership and sufficient resources. And most importantly, political opportunity which refers to the receptivity or vulnerability of the existing political system to challenge.

More precisely, this theory looks at the social movement in question to that of the state – or the power of the government in charge. If the government's position is strongly entrenched and it also is prone to repressive behavior, then the chances are high that a social movement might fail. If, on the other hand, the government is weak or more tolerant of dissent, then the chances are high that any social movement that is born might have the opportunity to grow and flourish. A system may feel vulnerable due to political pluralism, internal fragmentation among elite, or the support to the movement from organized opposition of elite, access to institutional participation may also weaken the strength of the system to effectively deal with the rising social movement. Vulnerabilities in the system may arise for a variety of reasons but hinge on a crisis of legitimacy wherein the populace no longer supports the social and economic conditions fostered or maintained by the system.

One of the advantages of the political process theory is that it addresses the issue of timing or emergence of social movements. Some groups may have the insurgent consciousness and resources to mobilize, but because political opportunities are closed, they will not have any success. Many pro-democracy movements going on in various

countries are ruthlessly crushed as the system does not provide opportunities for suitable changes as demanded by the supporters. Whereas exactly opposite happens in the case of environmental movements where systems willingly try to bring desired changes.

3.4.3.8 Value-Added Theory

The value-added theory of collective behavior determines whether or not collective behavior will occur. The value added theory developed by **Neil Smelser** is based on the assumption that certain conditions are necessary for the development of social movements. Smelser called it valued added approach because it is based on the concept that each step in the production process adds something to the finished product. The theory argues that a specific combination of determinants facilitates and promotes collective outcomes and behaviors. The determinants of collective behavior form a value-added process. Smelser asserted six conditions are necessary and sufficient to produce social movements when they combine or interact in a particular situation. They are as follows:-

- Structured conduciveness which refers to a social situation that permits or encourages some type of collective behavior.

- Structural strain refers to a situation in which some type of deprivation exists. (This was further developed by Smelser and is discussed after the theory separately)

- Growth and spread of a generalized belief, it refers to a belief that makes the situation meaningful to actors by identifying the possible source of strain, attributing characteristics to the source, and articulating possible responses to the strain.

- Precipitating factors refers to an act that confirms a generalized belief or exaggerates the condition of strain.

- Mobilization of participants for action refers to bringing the affected group into action.

- Operation of social control refers to the counter-determinants that prevent, defect, or inhibit the accumulation of the previous determinants.

Value-added theory asserts that values, followed by norms, roles, and facilities, are the most important factor influencing social behavior and collective action. Values in

this scheme are the foundation for social system integration and institutionalized action. Value-added theory explains how grievances turn into generalized beliefs and then into social movements. Value added theory, also referred to as social strain theory, is part of a larger body of theory called strain theory. Strain refers to the cycle of inadequate regulation at the societal level that negatively impacts how the individual perceives his or her needs, means, and opportunities. Value-added theory of collective behavior argues that individuals join hostile and radical social movements because they experience social strain. Social movements develop to reassure members that action is being taken to address strain, grievances, and deprivation.

While value-added theory explains all types of collective behavior, value-added theory is particularly suited to analyzing and possibly predicting collective hostile outbursts. Hostile outbursts, a form of collective action often a precursor to social movement, refer to the act of mobilization for action under a hostile belief. The spread of hostile outbursts is understood in two main ways: Real and derived phases. The real phase of a collective hostile outburst forms in response to the accumulation of unfavorable conditions prior to the beginning of the hostile outburst. The derived phase of a collective hostile outburst includes divide between the hostility and the conditions that caused the outburst.

3.4.3.9 Structural-Strain Theory

One of the popular and influential structural explanation of arising of social movements is that of **Neil Semelser**. This is also referred as structural functional approach to study social movements. He wrote that social movements and other collective behavior occur when several conditions are present. One of these conditions is structural strain, which refers to problems in society that cause people to be angry and frustrated. Without such structural strain, people would not have any reason to protest, and social movement do not arise. Another condition is generalized beliefs, which are people's reasons for why conditions are so bad and their solutions to improve them. If people decide that the conditions they dislike are their own fault, they will decide not to protest. Similarly, if they decide that protest will not improve these conditions they again will not protest. A third condition is existence of precipitating factors, or sudden events that ignite collective behavior.

Structural-Strain theory proposes six factors that encourage social movement development

(a) structural conduciveness - people come to believe their society has problems

(b) structural strain - people experience deprivation

(c) growth and spread of a solution - a solution to the problems people are experiencing is proposed and spreads

(d) precipitating factors - discontent usually requires a catalyst (often a specific event) to turn it into a social movement

(e) lack of social control - the entity that is to be changed must be at least somewhat open to the change; if the social movement is quickly and powerfully repressed, it may never materialize

(f) mobilization - this is the actual organizing and active component of the movement; people do what needs to be done.

3.4.4 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

The new social movements theories are a recent creation which arose when West was experiencing post-industrial society and there was emergence of post-modern society. These theories arose against classical Marxist theories as well as old social movement theories for analyzing collective action where theybased their arguments mainly around class conflict and material and pointed mainly the economic reasons for the emergence of social movements. New social movement theories look to other motivators of collective action that are rooted in politics, ideology, and culture. Marxism made socio-economic class as the primary definer of collective identity whereas new social movement theories gave primacy to study of factors like ethnicity, gender and sexuality which defined collective identity in post-material conditions.

While the old social movements centered around the state and power and had much to do with political and economic changes, new social movements were towards the larger goals thereby demanding reasonable quality of life as well as human rights. These movements were more closely associated with new middle class and civil society which are informally and loosely organized and provides support through the social networks.

Collective action in new social movement may range from pro-democracy movements in specific region of the continent to larger issues like saving environment and attending urgently to climate change at global levels.

New Social Movements Theory tend to be based on the philosophical works of Continental thinkers like **Jurgen Habermas** and **Alain Touraine**etc.**Habermas** argues that as against the old social movements, the NSMs, are associated with problems of quality of life, equality, individual self-realization, participation and human rights, which are certainly not among the most dealt with issues of the traditional institutional politics. He is also of the opinion that the 'newness' of the new politics lies in its support base, which compared to the 'old' one is mostly composed of the middle class and younger generations and those with higher levels of formal education. Needless to say, that such a different contour of politics of the New Social Movements is much beyond the scope of conventional institutional politics and organizations represented by the political parties. These theorists try to generate theories that can explain the behavior of postmodern societies, where much of the workforce is educated, skilled, white collar, and working in service industries. The fundamental struggle that workers in a postmodern society face have to do with maintaining a balance of life-work issues — this is in direct contrast to workers in the "modern" society of yesteryears who faced problems pertaining to exploitation by the ruling classes.

According to**Melucci**, one of the leading new social movement theorists, these movements arise not from relations to production and distribution of resources, but within the sphere of reproduction and the life world. Consequently, the concern has shifted from the production of economic resources as a means of survival or for reproduction to cultural production of social relations, symbols, and identities. To him, as our social reality today relies a lot on cultural construction, social movements also appear to shift their focus from class, race and other more traditional issues towards the cultural ground. **Touraine** calls new social movements as potential bearers of 'new social interest' that characterize the contemporary society.

New social movements focus on grassroots levels with the aim to represent the interests of marginal or excluded. As these collectivities are often loosely held together they use personal and informational networks to meet their objectives. New social movements frequently utilize the Internet like emails, chat rooms etc. to carry out their

mobilizing activities. Telecommunications strengthen the support base of new social movements.

3.4.5   GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Here it will not be out of place to put Gandhian perspective also in context of social movements because it was Gandhi in the beginning of twentieth century who mobilized masses for attaining freedom and has inspired many movements around the globe for change through peaceful means. Gandhian approach to social movements involves three successive stages. The activists firstly make moderate appeals, then they get involved in passive resistance and finally they launch a large-scale mass movement. Gandhian strategy prescribes pursuance of a goal through thoughtful engagement, mutual cooperation, involvement of people at large, formation of organization, seeking truth through publication and writings and then pursuing satyagraha but all this will be done based on ahimsa (non-violence). Bhoodan movement, Narmada Bachao Andolan, India against corruption, recent farmers movement are few examples how Gandhian way of thinking has influenced movements in India. But this influence stretched beyond this territory and was visible in far off lands like the one applied by Martin Luther king in US, Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Aung sangSuu Kyi in Myanmar. Although Gandhi has not theorized social movements he had organized, led and had influenced a large number of them especially the global peace movements.

3.4.6   CRITICISM OF VARIOUS THEORIES

We have discussed in detail the various theories of social movements in which scholars have tried to explain the causes of their emergence as well as why and how of these social movements but there is no universally applicable or acceptable theory of social movements as it is relative to the context in which it originates. But all of them have some specific weakness inherit in them like deprivation theory fails to explain why in certain cases even the deprivation cannot give rise to social movements. Even the relative deprivation is not always successful in converting an agitation into social movement. Thus, it can be stated that not just deprivation is behind every social movement. But to reduce the social movement to just a mere act of some people who feel isolated as stated in Mass Society theory also cannot be treated as completely correct.

One of the major criticisms of Resource Mobilization theory is that it has an extremely strong "materialist" orientation in that it gives primacy to the presence of appropriate resources (especially financial) in explaining the birth of social movements. There are social movements that have been born even when resources (especially financial ones) were scarce. Critics of this theory argue that there is too much of an emphasis on resources, especially financial resources. Some movements are effective without an influx of money and are more dependent upon the members of the movement for their time and labor. Similarly, Political Process theory put too much emphasis on political factors ignoring the other factors like cultural and socio-economic one. It takes into account the political will than the other factors that can change even the political will, as has happened,in the case of, year long farmers protest in India. Also, the value- added theory or the structural strain theory is vague in explaining how structural strain gets converted into movement or how it ignites the collective behavior.

Regarding New Social movements one of the Criticismis that it tends to downplay the conflicts between various socio-economic classes of society; however, even in a postmodern society, different socio-economic classes do exist and they do experience conflicts with one another. Another criticism is that these movements cannot be classified and is a kind of amalgamation of various movements whilescholars treat them allalike. But clearly, the women's rights movement, the environmental movement, and the anti-globalization movement etc. are quite diverse types of social movements.

3.4.7   SUMMING UP

To sum up, it can be stated that Social Movements have become a prominentconcept for understanding the changes that occur in social system.They have become a process of bringing the desirable social change through collective action. The demand for change may result due to deprivation, enlightenment, a kind of awakening or a number of related factors which ignite the group of individuals to get organized on some agreed upon principles. There are number of movements ranging from farmer, tribal or other community based movements to global level peace movements which demand full disarmament or at least ending the fear of nuclear weapons that aim to bring change and break the existing status quo. New social movements have added a new dimension by taking out social movements from conventional institutional structures and have been asking

for improvement in quality of life. The above mentioned, theories clearly delineate that there is no single factor responsible for collective action but there can be multiplicity of them having one major at the bottom of the problem or grievance. Social movements take their shape according to the context in which they are operating. The members may be small or large in number but their actions have far reaching impact on social, economic or political system of any nation state.

3.4.8   SUGGESTED READINGS

Social Movements: Various Theories

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – IV: STATE, GLOBALIZATION, EUROPEAN UNION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

4.1 STATE THEORY: RECENT DEBATE (STATIST & FOUCAULDIAN PERSPECTIVES)

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

4.1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to know:

- the recent debates on state with emphasis on state-society nexus;

- the 'statist' perspectives, their main assumptions and critique on these perspectives;

- the Foucauldian approaches on state and their limitations;

- a critical appraisal on recent theories about the state.

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The state has been and continues to be one of the classic concerns of political science. Political theory has consequently being somewhat inundated by deliberations on the state. Political theorists, with their great sensitivity to power, concentrate on the state because they recognize that the state is the condensate of power. It has the capacity to shape and control the lives of individuals in a way no other institution can. And therefore, it structures almost every phenomena in society. It is almost impossible to theorize any phenomena – whether it is gender, family, religion, ecology, law, rights, culture or literary text without reference to state as the codified power of the social formulation, the state both contextualizes the phenomena and orders them. Yet, despite the wealth of details on the state, and despite the passionate and intense debates that surrounds it, the nature of the state has proved almost impossible to grasp. The problems that face any theorists seeking to define the state are numerous.

4.1.2 THEORIZING THE STATE

The state is the formal incorporation of the community into an entity which can formulate policy and make decisions, the government, and carry out its decisions by means of compulsory measures, the law. The state differs from all other associations in that membership in it is mandatory. It follows that the rules formulated by the government for the community are binding on all persons, whether they consented to these rules or not. The consequence of disobeying the bylaws of an interest group is expulsion or resignation.

The state plays a paradoxical role in the life of individuals and collectivities. On the one hand it is a coercive institution; on the other it provides certain benefits and protections to its members such as access to citizenship rights, social service, and items of collective consumption which no other institution is able to or willing to do. Though it represents the interest of the dominant classes, it is also the site where the general interest of the community can be formulated. Further, it establishes the legal, political and coercive framework within which society exists; it also establishes a sense of belonging to the wider community. And, if it is an instrument which maintains law and order, it is equally an institution which dispenses Justice.

Due to this multi-dimensional and contradictory roles played by the state, it's become extremely difficult to conceptualize it. Theorists differ on the question of which aspect is primary and definite and which is secondary and contingent. This to a large extend explains the disputes that surrounds the discussion on the state. David Easton for instance suggests that any conceptualizing of the state should be abandoned, as it leads to rapid debates and a conceptual morass. On the other hand, John Hoffman has argued that it is the state which has to be at the centre of any theory of politics. Despite all this confusion, there is almost universal acceptance that some kind of state is needed. Critics of the state launching the most devastating attack on it, admit simultaneously the need for some kind of regulatory power which will be able to maintain a certainty to life itself.

Libertarians such as Hayek, argues against the welfare state as inimical to freedom, but also accepts the need for a minimal state which can provide property and enforcing of contracts. Scholars concerning the oppression of the subordinate class also held the same view. For instance the writing from the feminist perspective, Harrington asserts that despite the suspicion that the anti-liberal feminists and liberal internationalists have of the state, 'the very fact that the state creates, condenses and focuses political power may make it the best friend, not enemy of feminists, because the availability of the real power is essential to real democratic control.' The need for a state is almost universally accepted by the majority of political theorists; the problem arises when we seek to conceptualize the kind of state that not only exists, but more importantly should exist. Conceptualizations of the state are almost always the critiques

of the existing states. Political theorists, deeply conscious of the capacity and the power of the state to inscribe social relations, have been profoundly wary of existing states. Therefore the liberals have insisted that the state should be limited and circumscribed and Marxists argued that the state should be transformed through political action.

At the same time, political theory has been constantly preoccupied with thinking about the desired state, a state which would be capable of realizing conditions conducive to human nature.

The state is the contentious concept in political theory, because any inquiry into the state is value laden. It is worth remembering that the only time the state was sought to be taken out of political science was when political science tried to be value free in its bid to approximate the natural sciences, during the behavioural phase.

There are accordingly two points that need to be made before any conceptualization of the state is attempted. *First,* any conceptualization is 'normative' enterprise. There can be no objective theory of the state. Secondly, since the state play such a contradictory role in the lives of individuals and collectivities, no conceptualization can adequately capture the state in its entirety.

The state is simply a social relation, in as much as it is the codified power of the social formation. This carries the corresponding formulation, that any attempt to think of state without society can be both problematic and inadequate. This point needs elaboration and this elaboration is carried through in a discussions of the two very influential perspectives on the state in recent times. The first perspective is that of the "Statist School" and the second is inspired by the works of the Michael Foucault. The first focus is on the state, the later on is on society and both are insufficient and incomplete as the subsequent section argues.

4.1.3 THE STATIST PERSPECTIVE

The Statists constructed a case for the state centric theory on the basis of sustained attack on Pluralists, Structuralists, Functionalists and Marxists accounts of the state. They sought to demolish a society-centred perspective in favour of a state-centred one. They did so by asserting somewhat fiercely, that the state is autonomous

of society. Therefore it is the capacity and power of the state, rather than its linkages with society which should be the focus of the any study of the state. Of course there is no one statist perspective but many since it is characterized multiple viewpoints. On the one hand, it is the 'softer' version of statism as encapsulated in works of Skocpol, on the other hand, 'harder' version can be seen in the works of Eric Nordlinger. However, certain commonality unites all these versions.

4.1.3.1 STATIST CRITIQUE ON SOCIETY-CENTRIC THEORIES

The Statists make determined argument against society-centric theories of the state. They argue that society-centred approaches collapse the state into society. The state thus loses both its specificity as a social actor and its specificity as an autonomous structure. The autonomy of the state, argue the Statists, must be given primacy in explaining the institution. Skocpal, an prominent theoretician of neo-statist school, makes out a case for the study of the state by itself and for itself, through a detailed critique of Marxism. Though the Marxists focus structural dynamics is important, she argues, it lapses into reductionism and evolutionism, because it does not pay enough attention to historical detail, or to the state as a distinct political presence. The multidimensional casual variables what constitute the state, she holds, cannot be reduced to the unifying logic of capitalism. Skocpol accepts that the neo-Marxist concentration on the state and the formulation of the school on the relative autonomy of the state is a welcome advance. She, however, continues to insist that the neo-Marxists retain 'deeply embedded society centred assumptions, not allowing themselves to doubt that, at base, states are inherently shaped by classes or class struggles and functional to preserve and expand modes of production'.

The focus on class as a structuring feature of the state, she further asserts, rules out any consideration of the state as an autonomous actor. It, effect, reduces the state to the dictates of the dominant classes. A society-centred perspective may have been adequate as an explanation in the nineteenth century, but the twentieth century has seen the inauguration of the state as an actor, rather than as the register of social forces. It is time, Skocpol says, that this fact is recognized and registered by political theory. And it is time that the interests and imperatives of the state are seen as autonomous in their own right, and not as reflections or expressions of dynamics originating in society.

Following the logic of Skocpol's argument, the statists attempt to reconstitute understanding of the state in multiple ways, the analyses on which will be carried in the following section.

4.1.3.2 STATIST THEORY: MAIN ASSUMPTIONS

Since emerging as a distinct school in the mid-1970s, statists have sought to rehabilitate and emphasize the state as central to the study of politics. They attempted to justify an independent focus on the state as opposed to interest groups, business elites, or class forces. Hence, the statist approach often advocated a return to classic theorists such as Machiavelli, Clausewitz, de Tocqueville, Weber, or Hintze. The real focus of state-centred work is detailed case studies of state building, policy-making, and implementation.

Any intellectual grasp of the state depends in crucial manner upon the way states re thought of and defined. Definitions provide not only a starting point in the analysis of the state, they also indicate the approach of the theorist. The thesis of state autonomy rests in critical ways upon these definitions. Two such definitions are offered as illustrations of the statist approach. In 1979, Skocpol reveals a sensitive to the social location of the state,

> The state properly conceived is no mere arena in which socio-economic struggles are fought out. It is rather a set of administrative, policing and military organizations headed, and more or less well coordinated by, and executive authority. Any state first and fundamentally extracts resources from society and deploys those to create and support coercive and administrative organizations. Of course, these basic state organizations are built up and must operate within the context of class divided socio-economic relations as well as within the context of national and international dynamics. Moreover, coercive and administrative organizations are only parts of overall political systems. These systems also may contain institutions through which social interests are represented in state policy-making as well as institutions through which non-state actors are mobilized to participate in policy-implementation are the basis of state power.

In this formulation, Skoepol emphasizes the social context of the state, and also admits that actors strictly external to the state have a presence in, and an influence

on, the policy decisions of the state. However, later on Skoepol emphasizes more of state autonomy, state capacity, and the impact of states on the working of politics, rather than the contexts within which the state is situated.:

> On the one hand, states may be viewed as organizations through which officials collectivities may pursue distinctive goals, realizing them more or less effectively given the available state resources in relation to social settings (state capacity). On the other hand, states may be viewed more macroscopically as configurations of organizations and action that influence the meanings and methods of politics for all groups and classes in society (state autonomy).

The shift from contexts, surroundings and constituencies, to capacities and power of the state officials, is very marked and visible in this formulation. Societal forces and their projects disappear into the background. It is the state that emerges as a strong institution controlling, manipulating and regulating the lives of the people.

Contrary to the Skoepol' "softer" version, in the "harder" version of the statist theory, the state is seen in overtly narrow and restricted terms as a complex of administrative and coercive apparatuses. According to Nordlinger, the main vocalist of 'harder' version of the statist thoey, the state is collapsed into a collection of official preferences:

The definition of the state must refer to individuals rather than to some other kinds of phenomena, such as 'institutional arrangements' or the legal normative order, since we are primarily concerned with the making of public policy, a conception of the state that does not have individuals at its core could lead directly into …[some kind of] fallacies. … Only individuals have preferences and engage in actions that make for their realization. And only by making individuals central to the determination can Hegelinan implications be avoided when referring to the state's preferences.

According to Statists, the state is prescient, omnipotent, omnipresent, even arbitrary. It knows exactly what it has to do, and it has the capacity to implement its project unhampered by any other consideration. Nordilinger, for instance, asserts that the 'policy preferences (of autonomous states) are its own, they are also decidedly distinctive. In their substance and underpinnings, they do not regularly coincide with

those of any larger or smaller societal associations, groups, strata, ethnic segments, or regions'. The state is conceptualized as a closed off entity; bounded, shielded from socity, its reference point is it won officials.

The Statists have emphasized six themes: (1) the geo-political position of different modern states within the international system of nation-states and its implications for the logic of state action; (2) the dynamic of military organization and the impact of warfare in the overall development of the state; (3) the distinctive administrative powers of the modern state – especially those rooted in its capacities to produce and enforce collectively binding decisions within a centrally organized, territorially bounded society – and its strategic reach in relation to all other social sub-systems (including the economy), organizations (including capitalist enterprises), and forces (including classes) within its domain; (4) the state's role as a distinctive factor in shaping institutions, group formation, interest articulation, political capacities, ideas, and demands beyond the state; (5) the distinctive pathologies of government and the political system – such as bureaucratism, political corruption, government overload, or state failure; and (6) the distinctive interests and capacities of 'state managers' (officials, elected politicians, etc.) as opposed to other social forces. Different 'state-centred' theorists have emphasized different factors or combinations thereof. But the main conclusions persist: there are distinctive political pressures and processes that shape the state's form and functions; that give it a real and important autonomy when faced with pressures and forces emerging from the wider society; and that thereby give it a unique and irreplaceable centrality both in national life and the international order. In short, the state is a force in its own right and does not just serve the economy or civil society.

The 'state-centred' theorists advance a very different approach to state autonomy. For Marxist theorists, the latter was primarily understood in terms of its capacity to promote the long-term, collective interests of capital even when faced with opposition. Neo-statists reject such a class- or capital-theoretical account and suggest the state can exercise autonomy in its own right and in pursuit of its own, quite distinctive, interests. Accordingly, they emphasize: (a) state manager" ability to exercise power independently of (and even in the face of resistance from) non-state forces – especially where a pluralistic universe of social forces provides them with

broad room for manoeuvre; and (b) the grounding of this ability in state capacities or 'infrastructural' power, i.e., the state's ability to penetrate, control, supervise, police, and discipline modern societies through its own specialized capacities. Moreover, neo-statists argue that state autonomy is not a fixed structural feature of each and every governmental system. It differs across states, by policy area, and over time. This is partly due to external limits on the scope for autonomous state action and partly to variations in the capacity and readiness of state managers to pursue a strategy independent of non-state actors.

The statists attempt to demolish the assumption that the officials of the state act either on the behest of, or on the behalf of, the dominant classes in society. They insist that the perspectives of the state officials are often, if not always, divergent from those of the groups in society. Confrontation is, therefore, inbuilt in the relationship between the state and society. In any case, given the immense power and the strategic position of the state, if such a confrontation takes place, it is the interests of the holders of state power which will prevail. This alone is enough to establish the state as an actor autonomous from society.

4.1.3.3 MILITARY DIMENSION OF STATIST THEORY

A specific variant of state-centred theorizing is found in war-centred state theory. A growing band of theorists re-instated the military dimension of state theory and complained about its neglect in other schools – something they attributed to Marxists' exaggerated interest in class struggle and to sociologists' false belief in the inherently pacific logic of industrialism. Yet, for war-centred theorists, war is not just of archival interest: it is highly relevant to modern states. They note that war has decisively shaped the present century, states continually prepare for war and have much enhanced military and surveillance capacities, and wars have repercussions throughout state and society.

For such theorists, the state is seen as an apparatus for war-making and repression. It must defend its territorial integrity against other forces and maintain social cohesion inside its own territory by resorting to coercion as and when this proves necessary. Thus the state is seen in the first instance as the bearer of military power within a world of other nation states, rather than as a political community

within which citizenship rights may be realised. Indeed, for some war-centred theorists, not only is the fully-formed state a military-repressive apparatus but the very process of state formation is itself closely tied to war. For, as Charles Tilly notes, wars make states and states make wars. This goes beyond the trite remark that states are often forged in the heat of war (either in victory or defeat); it also involves the idea that war-making can induce political centralisation, encourage the development of a modern taxation system, and produce other such features of a modern state. Moreover, once the state emerges (through war or preparation for war), many key aspects of the state's form and functions are determined primarily by concerns with external defence and internal pacification.

4.1.3.4 CRITIQUE ON STATIST THEORY

Five main lines of criticism have been advanced against recent statist theories. *Firstly,* it is said that the approach is hardly novel and that all its core themes can be found in the so-called 'society-centred' approaches. *Secondly,* it has been said that statism is one-sided because it focuses on state and party politics at the expense of political forces outside and beyond the state. In particular, it seems to substitute 'politicians for social formations (such as class or gender or race), elite for mass politics, political conflict for social struggle'. *Thirdly,* some critics claim to have identified empirical inadequacies in several key statist studies as well as incomplete and misleading accounts of other studies cited to lend some credence to the statist approach. *Fourthly,* charges of political bad faith have been laid. Thus Binder argued that recent statist theory implies that politically autonomous state managers can act as effective agents of economic modernization and social reform and should be encouraged to do so; in support of this charge, he notes that no neo-statist case studies exist revealing the harmful effects of their authoritarian or autocratic rule.

Fifthly, and most seriously, statism is held to rest upon a fundamental theoretical fallacy. It assumes there are clear and unambiguous boundaries between state apparatus and society, state managers and social forces, and state power and societal power. It implies that the state (or the political system) and society are mutually exclusive and self-determining, each can be studied in isolation, and the resulting analyses added together to provide a complete account. This renders absolute what are really

emergent, partial, unstable, and variable distinctions. It rules out hybrid logics such as corporatism or policy networks; divisions among state managers due to ties between state organs and other social spheres; and many other forms of overlap between state and society If this assumption is rejected, however, the distinction between state-centred and so-called society-centred approaches dissolves. And this in turn invalidates, not merely the extreme claim that the state apparatus should be treated as the independent variable in explaining political and social events, but also lesser statist claims such as the heuristic value of bending the stick in the other direction or, alternatively, of combining state-centred and society-centred accounts to produce the complete picture.

Neera Chandhoke emphasises the same when she says that "because the complex interaction between state and society is disregarded, the manner in which the state is constrained by society in its agendas, the way in which society is subverts and reorganizes state-given agenda is almost completely neglected. State-society relations are seen as a one-way traffic zone, with the state possessing the initiative in all the moves".

Neera Chandhoke also criticizes statist theory for its conservatism. Since the statist perspective is excessively concerned with equilibrium, order, and formal functions of the state, the main objective of the state seems to be to control society and bring it into congruence with its own perspectives. This approach is passive, inert and static because it rules out any questions of change and transformation from below. But it is also short-sighted, because it allows for no consideration of the complex interplay of state-society relations. It also does not allow nay understanding of the manner in which states can become irrelevant as the colonial state became irrelevant, or the states in East Europe and the Soviet Union became irrelevant, because society wrested political initiative from the state. Ultimately statism is a rigid and a conservative theory, because the entire notion that social forces can diverge from the state, that they are capable of altering the best laid plans of officials, that society has a certain momentum of its own which transcends states and its institutions, is unknown to the statists. The state is seen as complex of institutions that reproduces itself for itself. It is indeed free-floating, formed out of nowhere and responsible for no one.

According to Chandhoke, the biggest problem with the statist is theory is its association with 'realist' theory. She considers it dangerous because it rules out the

desirability of a public discourse creating and constituting agendas and limiting the state. As some scholars suggests, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the autonomous state violates certain principles of democracy. One core democratic principle involves a relation of responsiveness between ruler and the ruled by and large, the less responsive a state is to private interests, the more suspect it is on grounds of democratic theory. The statist perspective tells us a great deal about the kind of society a state needs, it does not tell us anything about the kind of state a society needs. The conservatism in these formulations is explicit, even if the proponents of this do not see themselves in this way.

Finally, in their eagerness to demolish a society-centred perspective, the statists disregard the entire arena of organized politics which exist outside the frontiers of the state. This sphere of organized and expressed politics, this zone of engagement which we may term civil society, is consequently both devalued and depoliticized. Politics is identified with the sate and emancipated from the processes of affirmation and contestation in civil society.

However, the above criticism does not rule out theoretical analyses of the state, of course; it does mean that state theory cannot take the state for granted. For the very existence of the state is problematic. Thus Mitchell concludes his own critique of neo-statism with a plea to study "the detailed processes of spatial organization, temporal arrangement, functional specification, and supervision and surveillance, which create the appearance of a world fundamentally divided into state and society". This division is conceptually prior to any possible influence of state on society, or society on the state; and it is one that is always produced in and through practices on both sides of the state-society divide. This crucial point provides an appropriate bridge to Foucault's work.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   The conceptualization of state is extremely difficult due to multi-dimensional and contradictory roles played by the state. Comment.

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_____
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2.   Briefly state the statist critique on society-centric theories.

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3.   What are the major assumptions of statist theory?

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4.   Write some of the criticisms on Statist theory.

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4.1.4 FOUCAULDIAN APPROACHES

If the statists concentrate on the state at the expense of society, another strand of social theory powerfully affected by the works of Michael Foucault concentrates its attention on society at the expense of state. The beginning of this shift can be traced to Gramsci and his insistence on civil society. Foucault has extended Gramsci's focus on civil society.

Foucault linked his historical investigations into power, knowledge, and discipline to a sustained theoretical rejection of liberal and Marxist views of sovereignty, law, and the state. More generally his work has major implications for all state theorists because it casts grave doubt on their preoccupation with the state – whether as an independent, intervening, or dependent variable. Indeed Foucault compared his rejection of attempts to build a state theory with the wholly sensible refusal to eat an indigestible meal.

Foucault's rejection of the state-centrist theory has grounded in three key arguments. *Firstly,* Foucault alleged that state theory is essentialist: for it tries to explain

the nature of state power in terms of its own inherent, pre-given properties, that is they are always part of the state and within the state. But in reality, the state and its power are located in wider practices prevalent in the society. *Secondly,* state theory is alleged to retain medieval notions of a centralized, monarchical sovereignty and/or a unified, juridico-political power. In place of such notions Foucault stressed the tremendous diffusion and multiplicity of the institutions and practices involved in the exercise of state power and insisted that many of these were extra-juridical in nature. And, *thirdly,* state theorists were allegedly preoccupied with the forms of sovereign political and legal power at the summits of the state apparatus, the discourses which legitimated power at the centre, and the extent of the sovereign state's reach into society. In contrast, Foucault advocated an ascending, bottom-up approach which proceeds from the diffuse forms of power relations in the many and varied local and regional sites where the identity and conduct of social agents was actually determined. He was concerned with what he described as the micro-physics of power, the actual practices of subjugation, rather than the macro-political strategies that guide attempts at domination. For state power does not stem from control over some substantive, material resource peculiar to the state. It is actually the provisional, emergent result of the complex strategic interplay of diverse social forces within and beyond the state. It is dispersed and involves the active mobilization of individuals and not just their passive targeting, and can be colonized and articulated into quite different discourses, strategies, and institutions. In short, power is not concentrated in the state: it is ubiquitous, immanent in every social relation. Directing attention away from the visible and formalised codes of power, Foucault concentrates on the manner in which individual experience power in all sites of human relations. The state, he concludes, can only operate on the basis of existing relations of domination and oppression in society.

This did not mean that Foucault rejected all concern with the macro-physics of state power. Indeed, among those most closely identified with the linguistic turn and post-structuralism, Foucault is unusual for his interest in the state. This was no longer identified with the sovereign state described in juridical-political discourse, however; for Foucault's approach was far more idiosyncratic and powerful. He regarded the state as the site of statecraft and governmental rationality. Thus he

studied how different political regimes emerged through shifts in 'governmentality'. What interested Foucault was the art of government, a skilled discursive practice in which state capacities were used reflexively to monitor the population and, with all due prudence, to make it conform to specific state projects. At the origins of the Foucauldian state was *raison d'état,* an autonomous political rationality, set apart from religion and morality. This in turn could be linked to different modes of political calculation or state projects, such as those coupled to the 'police state', social government, or the welfare state. It was in and through these governmental rationalities or state projects that more local or regional sites of power were colonized, articulated into ever more general mechanisms and forms of global domination, and then maintained by the entire state system. Foucault also insisted on the need to explore the connections between these forms of micro-power and mechanisms for producing knowledge – whether for surveillance, the formation and accumulation of knowledge about individuals, or their constitution as specific types of subject.

Foucault's work has inspired many other studies of the state and state power. These are generally focused on specific policies or policy apparatuses and/or specific political discourses and strategies. A few studies have tried to develop a general account of the state purportedly based on Foucauldian perspectives. For example, Giddens treats surveillance as one of four key institutional clusterings in modern societies that intersect in the nation-state: the others are industrialism, capitalism, and militarism. As surveillance techniques develop, control can be extended further over time and space, thereby enhancing the state's capacities for internal pacification and external military operations. In this regard the modern state's control can be distinguished from the local community control and armed intervention found in the traditional state. For its main means of control and punishment are policing, codified law, and imprisonment; these are linked in turn to the dominance of exchange relations in production, civilian control of the military, and extended citizenship. An interesting consequence of these changes is that the modern state actually resorts less often to violence to control the populace: surveillance and disciplinary normalization do much of the work of regularizing activities in time and space. These ideas are taken further in a recent study by Dandeker, who offers a typology of states based on surveillance mechanisms and the interests they serve

4.1.4.1 CRITIQUE ON FOUCAULDIAN APPROACH

In essence, Foucault shifted the focus on orthodox views of the state and power relations to concern with the role of political discourses and statecraft in the emergence and transformation of the modern state. Along with his ideas on the ubiquity of power relations, the coupling of power-knowledge, and governmentality, Foucault offers an important theoretical and empirical corrective to the more one-sided analyses of statism. But his work remains vulnerable to the charge that it tends to reduce power to a universal technique and to ignore how class and patriarchal relations shape both the state and the more general exercise of power. It also neglects the continued importance of law, constitutionalized violence, and bureaucracy in the workings of the modern state. Moreover, whatever the merits of drawing attention to the ubiquity of power, his work provided little account of the bases of resistance. And, whilst Foucault himself did later re-examine the state and statecraft, Foucauldian studies still tend to ignore the complex strategic and structural character of the state. They show little interest in the organizational conditions that make it even half-way possible for a state to engage in effective action. At the same time they show little interest in the various limitations on the capacities of even the well-endowed state.

Neera Chandboke states that the Foucauldian intervention in the debate on power has proved to be a theoretical breakthrough, but it is incomplete. In his determination to shift the terms of discourse away from the state to the micro sites of power, Foucault denied to the state the specificity as a master discourse of power. He refused to see it as a structure of domination in its own right. Foucault in his shift away from the state and its in-built coercive and structural power, failed to comprehend the central and teh key role of the state in the process of producing, codifying and constructing power. He refused to accept that the state, as the overarching power structure, provides legitimacy and overt recognition to certain structures of power and delegitimizes others. In his anxiety to shift debate away from the state, Foucault did not see how the state for strategic reasons privileges certain power situations while marginalizing others, how power upon the state in its own right.

The other problem that we can identify with the Foucauldian intervention is a normative one. Foucault's dispersed or diffused power does not allow those who

want to struggle to break the power which is oppressing the daily lives of us. If, as Foucault asserts, there is no meta-discourse of power which can be overturned; if power has neither a beginning nor an end; and if power resides merely in the will to power, then there is no conceivable way in which power structures can be broken. Individuals are caught up in a never ending grip of power, there is, consequentially no escape. There is no escape because there is no social space which is not constituted by, or penetrated by power. Above all, there is no formal site of condensed power which can be captured and transformed. This perspective is politically pessimistic because neither does it give us a vantage point from where power structure can be ruptured, nor does it give us any indication of how states can be transformed.

4.1.5 RECENT THEORIES ON STATE: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

As we studied, in recent theoretical debate on state, while the 'statists' overemphasize the state, Foucauldians attribute primacy to the society. If a perspective on the state by itself is incomplete and therefore inadequate, a perspective on society alone is equally incomplete and inadequate. If the statists collapse the social into the political, theorists like Foucault expand the notion of politics to such an extent that they collapse the political into the social. The statists concentrate on the state at the expense of society, and theories in the Focauldian mode concentrate on social interaction at the expense of the state. An exclusive preoccupation with either state or society implies that both are self-constituting, self-sufficient and self-reproducing. These perspectives ignore the ways in which state and society constitute and limit each other. They ignore the complex, contradictory and constitutive relationship between the state and society. Instead, we need a balanced approach that focuses on the way state and society constitute and limit each other. In other words, boundaries can be established between state and society. These boundaries are porous, mobile and elusive, but they are there.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   What are the grounds on which Foucault rejects state-centric theories?

_____

_____

_____

2.	Foucault was concerned with the micro-physics of power, the actual practices of subjugation. How do you understand this?

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_____

3.	Briefly state the criticism on Foucauldian perspective?

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_____

_____

3.	Write some of the criticisms on Statist theory.

_____

_____

_____

4.1.6 LET US SUM UP

Possibly the most important single theoretical current to have shaped the second revival of interest in the state as such was the movement (especially popular in the USA) to 'bring the state back in' as a critical explanatory variable in social analysis. But this movement did not go unchallenged. For, besides the continuing influence of Gramsci and the variable impact of other neo-Marxist currents, serious competition came from several other approaches. Among these are, first, the work of Foucault and his followers on the disciplinary organization of society, the micro-physics of power, and changing forms of governmentality – an approach that ran counter to statism in tending to remove the state from theoretical view once again. However, neither statist theories nor Foucauldian perspective with exclusive focus single dimension – either state or society – analyse the

4.1.7 SOURCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

* Neera Chandhoke, *State and Civil Society: Explorations in Political Theory* (New Delhi, Thousand Oaks and London: Sage Publications, 1995).

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – IV: STATE, GLOBALIZATION, EUROPEAN UNION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

4.2 GLOBALIZATION & THE NATION-STATE INTERFACE

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

4.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- Know the definition, history and concept of globalization;
- Understand the impact of globalization on contemporary state system;
- Comprehend the debate between globalists and sceptics of globalization vis-a-vis state.

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Historically speaking, the study of political science has largely concerned the study of states, the patterns of their interactions, and the organization of world politics. Over the last several decades worldly developments and theoretical innovations have slowly but surely eroded the gravitational pull of state-centric study of politics. Although scholars of international relations and comparative politics continue to recognize that the states retain considerable power and privileges, they increasingly highlight an international realm where the international structure is defined by material and normative elements, where states share the stage with a multitude of other actors, and where trends in global politics are shaped not only by states but also by this variety of other actors and forces. Simply put, the discipline is moving away from the study of "international relations" and toward the study of the "global society." We use this shift in the name to symbolize a series of transformations in the last twenty years in the discipline regarding what and whom we study, and how and why we study them.

4.2.2 DEFINING AND CONCEPTUALIZING GLOBALIZATION

Globalization ranks as one of the core concepts of social consciousness and analysis in the late twentieth century. With striking rapidity, since the 1 980s the term has become standard vocabulary for journalists, politicians, business-people, advertisers, entertainers and officials, as well as researchers across wide spectrum of academic disciplines. Advances in technology and modern communications are said to have unleashed new contacts and intercourse among peoples, social movements, transnational corporations, and governments. The result is a set of processes which have affected national and international politics in an extraordinary way.

However, like many a buzzword, 'globalization' is highly elusive and deeply contested. The controversies usually centre on questions of general definition, priodization, causation and consequences.

4.2.2.1 DEFINING GLOBALIZATION

Although the noun 'globalization' appeared in a dictionary fir the first time in 1961, the idea has antecedents that stretch back at least several centuries. However, the terms 'globalize' and 'globalism' were introduced in a treatise published in 1944. However, until the last decades of the twentieth century such terminology generally resided at the margins of speech and meaning.

When a new word gains currency, it is often because it captures an important change that is taking place in the world. New vocabulary is needed to describe new conditions. In the case of globalization, the precise character of that new circumstance is much debated. Since each one defined globalization from the perspective one takes on the processes, Anthony Giddens definition somewhat widely accepted. He sees globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa". Martin Albrow provides the most succinct and general definition of globalization as "all those processes by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single world society".

According to John Baylis, globalization as process that involves a great deal more than simply growing connections or interdependence between states. It can be defined as "A historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation n the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents". Such a definition, according to Baylis, enables us to distinguish globalization from more spatially delimited processes such as 'internationalization' and 'regionalization'. Whereas internationalization refers to growing interdependence between states, the very idea of internationalization presumes that they remain discrete national units with clearly demarcated borders. By contrast, globalization refers to a process in which the very distinction between domestic and the external breaks down.

4.2.2.2 GLOBALIZATION: BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH

Although public references to globalization have become increasingly common over the last two decades, the concept itself can be traced back to a much earlier

period. Its origins lie in the work of many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century intellectuals, from Saint-Simon and Karl Marx to students of geopolitics such as MacKinder, who recognized how modernity was integrating the world. But it was not until the 1 960s and early 1970s that the term 'globalization' was actually used. This 'golden age' of rapidly expanding political and economic interdependence – most especially between Western states – generated much reflection on the inadequacies of orthodox approaches to thinking about politics, economics and culture which presumed a strict separation between internal and external affairs, the domestic and international arenas, and the local and the global For in a more interdependent world events abroad readily acquired impacts at home, while developments at home had consequences abroad. In the context of a debate about the growing interconnectedness of human affairs, world systems theory, theories of complex interdependence and the notion of globalization itself emerged as largely rival accounts of the processes through which the fate of states and peoples was becoming more intertwined. Following the collapse of state socialism and the consolidation of capitalism worldwide, academic and public discussion of globalization intensified dramatically. Coinciding with the rapid spread of the information revolution, these developments appeared to confirm the belief that the world was fast becoming a shared social and economic space – at least for its most affluent inhabitants.

4.2.2.3 CONCEPTUALIZING GLOBALIZATION

Globalization has been variously conceived a s action at a distance (whereby the actions of social agents in one locale can come to have significant consequences for 'distant others'); time-space compression (referring to the way in which instantaneous electronic communication erodes the constraints of distance and time on social organization and interaction); accelerating interdependence (understood as the intensification of enmeshment among national economies and societies such that events in one country impact directly on others); a shrinking world (the erosion of borders and geographical barriers to socio-economic activity) ; and, among other concepts, global integration, the reordering of interregional power relations, consciousness of the global condition and the intensification of interregional interconnectedness. What distinguishes these definitions is the differential emphasis

given to the material, spatio-temporal and cognitive aspects of globalization. It is worth dwelling initially on this tripartite cluster of characteristics as the first stage in clarifying the concept of globalization.

Globalization has an undeniably material aspect in so far as it is possible to identify, for instance, flows of trade, capital and people across the globe. These are facilitated by different kinds of infrastructure - physical (such as transport or banking systems), normative (such as trade rules) and symbolic (such as English as a lingua franca) - which establish the preconditions for regularized and relatively enduring forms of global interconnectedness. Rather than mere random encounters, globalization refers to these entrenched and enduring patterns of worldwide interconnectedness. But the concept of globalization denotes much more than a stretching of social relations and activities across regions and frontiers. For it suggests a growing magnitude or intensity of global flows such that states and societies become increasingly enmeshed in worldwide systems and networks of interaction. As a consequence, distant occurrences and developments can come to have serious domestic impacts while local happenings can engender significant global repercussions. In other words, globalization represents a significant shift in the spatial reach of social relations and organization towards the interregional or intercontinental scale. This does not mean that the global necessarily displaces or takes precedence over local, national or regional orders of social life. Rather, the point is that the local becomes embedded within more expansive sets of interregional relations and networks of power. Thus, the constraints of social time and geographical space, vital coordinates of modern social life, no longer appear to impose insuperable barriers to many forms of social interaction or organization, as the existence of the World Wide Web and round-the-clock trading in global financial markets attests. As distance 'shrinks', the relative speed of social interaction increases too, such that crises and events in distant parts of the globe, exemplified by the events of 11 September 2001, come to have an immediate worldwide impact involving diminishing response times for decision-makers. Globalization thereby engenders a cognitive shift expressed both in a growing public awareness of the ways in which distant events can affect local fortunes (and vice versa) as well as in public perceptions of shrinking time and geographical space.

Simply put, globalization denotes the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social interaction. It refers to a shift or transformation in the scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's major regions and continents. However, as the rise of the anti-globalization protests demonstrates, it should not be read as facilitating the emergence of a harmonious world society or as a universal process of global integration in which there is a growing convergence of cultures and civilizations. Not only does the awareness of growing interconnectedness create new animosities and conflicts, it can fuel reactionary politics and deep-seated fears. Since a significant segment of the world's population is either untouched directly by globalization or remains largely excluded from its benefits, it is arguably a deeply divisive and, consequently, vigorously contested process.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   How do you define globalization?

        _____

        _____

        _____

2.   Briefly state the historical evolution of globalization?

        _____

        _____

        _____

3.   What are the material changes that the contemporary globalization brought to the world?

        _____

        _____

        _____

4. Globalization denotes the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social interaction. Explain.

    _____

    _____

    _____

4.2.3 GLOBALIZATION AND THE STATE

For some scholars like Susan Strange, Peter Van Ham and Graeme Gill globalization is transforming the state in many ways. The argument is that the structural changes of globalization are fundamentally changing the nature of the sovereign state. The de-territorialisation of many activities, including economic exchanges like the transfer of money, may be undermining the authority of the state. For example, multinational corporations can avoid paying taxes, move their factories from state to state and give governments demands before they invest. Susan Strange suggested that instead of states controlling market forces, market forces were now controlling states. In addition, as processes like privatization occurred in many Western states, private firms were – and are – taking over important state functions suggesting that states are giving up many of their powers. In a globalized division of labour, the state no longer primarily initiates action in, but rather reacts to, worldwide economic forces.

Such developments mean that many new actors are involved in international relations and that it is not just states that are involved in global politics. Arguably, technological innovations such as the development of the Internet have also undermined aspects of the state because it allows people to spread information and news, offer dissenting voices to a global audience, sell and buy goods, and transfer money instantly with little control by the state. A few states like North Korea, China and Iran are resisting such developments by imposing controls over internet usage and imposing censorship over websites. However, the development of new technologies is indisputably allowing individuals and groups to have greater autonomy that may be contrary to the interests of the state. State transformation may mean that the state increases its surveillance function through the introduction of biometric passports and identity cards, use of lists to identify or target specific groups in society, and to increase its monitoring of people moving from one state into another. If a state transformation

is occurring then this suggests that the state is able to adapt, change and respond to the changing global environment.

Globalization is also challenging the one-dimensionality of orthodox accounts of world politics that conceive it principally in state-centric terms of struggle for power between states. The concept of global politics, which is now talked by many social scientists, focuses our attention upon the global structure and processes of rule-making, problem-solving, the maintenance of security and order in the world system. It acknowledges the continuing centrality of states and power politics, but does not give a privilege either in understanding and explaining contemporary world affairs. For under conditions of political globalization, state are increasingly embedded in thickening and overlapping worldwide webs of: multilateral institutions and multilateral politics from NATO and the World Bank to the G20; transnational associations and networks, from the International Chamber of Commerce to the World Muslim Congress; global policy networks of officials, corporate and non-governmental actors, dealing with global issues; and those formal and informal networks of government officials dealing with shared global problems. Global politics directs our attention to the **emergence of a fragile global polity within which 'interests are articulated and aggregated, decisions are made, values are allocated and policies conducted through international or transnational political processes.**

4.2.3.1 GLOBALIZATION: UNDERMINING OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY

Many scholars seriously advance the proposition that the contemporary globalization process is seriously undermining one of the important attributes of the state, that is sovereignty. John Baylis in his *Globalization of World Politics* lists some of the processes of globalization that are undermining the state sovereignty:

1. The pace of economic transformation is so great that it has created a new world politics. States are no longer closed unites and they cannot control their economies. The world economy is more interdependent than ever, with trade and finances ever expanding.

2. Communications have fundamentally revolutionized the way we deal with the rest of the world. We now live in a world where events in one location

can be immediately observed on the other side of the world. Electronic communications alter our notions of the social groups we work with and live in.

3. There is now, more than ever before, a global culture, so that most urban areas resemble one another. Much of the urban world shares a common culture, much of it emanating from Hollywood.

4. The world is becoming more homogeneous. Differences between peoples re diminishing.

5. Time and space seem to be collapsing. Our old idea of geographically space and of chronological time are undermined by the speed of modern communications and media.

6. There is emerging global polity, with transnational social and political movements and the beginning of transfer of allegiance from the state to sub-state, transnational, and international bodies.

7. A cosmopolitan culture is developing. People are beginning to 'think globally and act locally'.

8. A risk culture is emerging with people realizing both that the main risks that face them are global (pollution and HIV for example) and that states are unable to deal with the problems.

The globalization, according to many scholars, not only involves a diversity of actors and institutions, it is also, on the other hand, marked by a diversity of political concerns. These concerns which used to be national and expressed through various organs of the state are now becoming global. The agenda of global politics is anchored not just in traditional geopolitical concerns but also in proliferation of economic, social, cultural, and ecological questions. Pollution, drugs, human rights, and terrorism are among an increasing number of transnational policy issues that, because of globalization, transcend territorial borders and existing political jurisdictions.

Globalization also undermining the state power by unleashing historical forces, communities and groups. Just as globalization gives impetus to cultural homogenization (e.g., the diffusion of standard consumer goods throughout the world), so too does a global thrust undermine state power and unleash subterranean cultural pluralism. This

contradictory process merges with dialectic of subnationalism and supranationalism. Many polities are disrupted by substate actors and simultaneously seek advantage in global competition through regionalization. Despite the past failings of regional groupings, regional cooperation is widely regarded as a way to achieve mobility in the changing global division of labour. Thus, the state is being reformed from below by the tugs of subnationalism and from above by the pull of economic globalization.

That is the reason why many of the scholars of international relations consider that under globalization many forces are at work to undermine the defining feature of international relations for several centuries—national sovereignty. As Ian Clark explains, "According to conventional wisdom it is sovereignty which is most at risk from globalization….[Thus] if we wish to trace the impact of globalization, then it is within the realm of sovereignty that the search must properly begin". The fear is that states are gradually losing the ability to determine their own fates as the forces of globalization shift the locus of meaningful decision making to other entities. The fundamental question is whether state can still shape the policies and tame the forces that affect the lives of their citizens.

4.2.3.2 GLOBALIZATION, STATE AND DEMOCRACY

It has also been argued that globalization will change the nature of public participation and democracy. The increasing interconnection between domestic and international institutions makes it more difficult for sovereign actors to function without oversight from other organizations and to hide their actions from others. The development of the International Criminal Court could be seen as an example here, where the enforcement of international laws and judicial authority opens the door to hold states and their leaders accountable for such things as human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia or in Sudan. Nongovernmental organizations can play a similarly powerful watchdog role, as such groups as Transparency International (an anticorruption NGO) already do. Globalization will thus make politics less opaque and more open to scrutiny by domestic and international communities.

In addition to this, there are organizations that are largely technological in nature also contributing to the increased democratic participation. This is not new; all earlier waves of human interconnection were themselves dependent on technological

changes. Most recently, globalization has been profoundly influenced by the Internet. In recent times, the Internet has grown far past to become a means through which people exchange goods and information, much of it beyond the control of any one state or regulatory authority. Unlike MNCs, NGOs, or IGOs, the Internet has no single "location" to speak of, and so discussions of authority, sovereignty, and control become problematic.

Moreover, the deepening of international connections between people and the exchange of ideas between them will transfer the dynamics of multiculturalism from the national level to the international one, with different cultures connecting and combining more through connections that are not bound by traditional barriers of time and space. This means not only that a globalized society will draw from many sources but also that the interconnection of such institutions at the global level will create new values, identities, and culture—a "creative destruction" that will enrich all cultures. One result of this outcome could be a global cosmopolitanism—a term that comes from the Greek kosmos, or universe, and polis, or state. Cosmopolitanism is thus a universal, global, or "worldly" political order that draws its identity and values from everywhere. Historically, the cosmopolis was that physical space where such ideas usually came together, notably the city. In a globalized world, however, there is the potential for an international cosmopolitanism that binds people together irrespective of where they are.

Parallel to a global cosmopolitanism is the idea of global democracy. The argument here is that growing international connections at the societal level would generate not only a form of cosmopolitanism but also a civic identity that stretches beyond traditional barriers and borders. This global civil society—organized life not simply beyond the state but above it—can take shape in such formal organizations as NGOs but also in such informal manifestations as social movements or more basic grassroots connections between people drawn by shared interests and values. This global civil society could in turn shape politics by creating new opportunities for concerted public action and new ways of thinking about politics and participation at the domestic and international levels.

Due to these reasons, Kenichi Ohmae, in his books, *The Borderless World* and *The End of Nation State,* argues that economic and technological trends are rendering the nation-state increasingly irrelevant and impotent. This effect can be seen most vividly in the global economy: "On the political map the boundaries between countries are as clear as ever. But on the competitive map, a map showing the real flows of financial and industrial activity, those boundaries have largely disappeared". If we remove the political borders from a map and look only at the pattern of economic activity, we would no longer be able to redraw the world's political boundaries.

This disconnect between economic and political realities, however, cannot last forever. Ohmae thinks a readjustment is already well under way: "the modern nation-state itself—the artefact of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—has begun to crumble". And Anthony Giddens has joined the Nation-State's funeral chorus: "Nations have lost the sovereignty they once had, and politicians have lost their capacity to influence events…. The era of the nation-state is over".

4.2.4 CRITIQUE ON GLOBALIZATION VIEW

However, many scholars disagree with the view that globalization is forcing the state into background. They disagree with the notion that the sovereign state is in decline. The sovereign power and authority of national government is being transformed but by no means eroded. Locked into systems of global and regional governance, states now assert their sovereignty less in the form of a legal claim to supreme power than as a bargaining tool, in the context of transnational systems of rule-making, with other agencies and social forces. Sovereignty is bartered, shared, and divided among the agencies of public power at different levels, from the local to the global. The Westphalian conception of sovereignty as an indivisible, territorially exclusive form of public power is being displaced by a new sovereignty regime, in which sovereignty is understood as the shared exercise of public power and authority.

More severe critics of globalization question the disappearance of state thesis. Though no one questions the impact of globalization on states and communities, the issues is whether patterns of international interactions are changing in ways and to a degree so that it make sense to even begin talking about a borderless world or the end

of nation-state. For globalization skeptics, such a talk is wildly premature at best and rests on a persistent pattern of exaggeration and selective use of evidence.

No one can deny that advances in transportation and communication have helped overcome the obstacles of distance. Sceptic s caution, however, that this should not be confused with an "end" of geography. They argue that most accounts of globalization focus on companies and plants that relocate production from one country to another while ignoring those that stay in their respective countries. Still most of the industries and finances are located in Western Europe, the United States and Japan. For instance, Robert Wade notes that "today the stock of U.S. capital invested abroad represents less than 7 per cent of the U.S. GNP. Similarly, Robert Gilpin states that "Trade, investment and financial flows were actually greater in the late 1 800s, at least relative to the size of national economies and the international economy, than they are today".

The Realist school of international relations reject the view of globalization as an irreversible process that threatens states. On the contrary, they see globalization as a process promoted and enabled by the policies of states. Globalization will come to a screeching halt if the major states reverse the policies that sustain it.

Many Marxists and Critical thinkers object the globalization thesis. For them, the globalization is merely a buzz-word to denote the latest phase of capitalism.

Indeed, many criticise the exaggerated view of globalization undermining the state and its sovereignty. According to them, the struggle for national identity and nationhood has been so extensive that it can be eroded by transnational forces and, in particular, by the development of a so-called global mass culture. In fact, advocates of the primacy of national identity emphasize its enduring qualities and the deep appeal of national cultures compared to the ephemeral and ersatz qualities of the products of the transnational media corporations. Since national cultures have been centrally concerned with consolidating the relationships between political identity, self-determination and the powers of the state, they are, and will remain, formidably important sources of ethical and political direction. Moreover, the new

electronic networks of communication and information technology which now straddle the world help intensify and rekindle traditional forms and sources of national life, reinforcing their influence and impact. These networks, it has been aptly noted, make possible a denser, more intense interaction between members of communities who share common cultural characteristics, notably language; and this provides a renewed impetus to the re-emergence of ethnic communities and their nationalisms.

Moreover, how limited the actual control most states possess over their territories, they generally fiercely protect their sovereignty - their entitlement to rule - and their autonomy - their capacity to choose appropriate forms of political, economic and social development. The distinctive 'bargains' governments create with their citizens remain fundamental to their legitimacy. The choices, benefits and welfare policies of states vary dramatically according to their location in the hierarchy of states, but, in the age of nation-states, the independence bestowed by sovereignty, in principle, still matters greatly to all states. Modern nation-states are political communities which create the conditions for establishing national communities of fate; and few seem willing to give this up. Although national political choices are constrained, they still count and remain the focus of public deliberation and debate. According to the sceptics of globalization, national political traditions are still vibrant, distinctive political bargains can still be struck between governments and electorates, and states continue, given the political will, to rule. The business of national politics is as important as, if not more important than, it was during the period in which modern states were first formed.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

NOTE: Use the space given below for your answers. Use separate sheet if space is not sufficient.

1.   How do you define globalization?

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2. Susan Strange suggested that instead of states controlling market forces, market forces were now controlling states. Comment.

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3. Do you agree with the proposition that globalization undermining the state sovereignty?

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4. How globalization transforming democratic participation across the globe. Explain.

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5. On what grounds critiques are saying that it is exaggeration to view globalization as undermining state sovereignty?

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4.2.5 LET US SUM UP

Globalization can be viewed as a process by which the web of global connections becomes increasingly "thick," creating an extensive and intensive web of relationships between many people across vast distances. In the twenty-first century, people are not distantly connected by overland routes plied by traders, diplomats, and missionaries; they are directly participating in a vast and complex international network through travel, communication, business, and education. Globalization is a system in which human beings are no longer part of isolated

communities that are themselves linked through narrow channels of diplomatic relations or trade. Entire societies are now directly connected to global affairs. Thus, globalization represents a change in human organization and interconnection, but these are a function of technological changes that have made it possible.

At the heart of the globalist thesis is the conviction that globalization is transforming the nature and form of political power today. Globalists argue that the right of most states to rule within circumscribed territories - their sovereignty - is on the edge of transformation, as is the practical nature of this entitlement - the actual capacity of states to rule. According to these governments and societies across the globe are having to adjust to a world in which there is no longer a clear distinction between international and domestic, external and internal affairs. Some sections of globalists argue that contemporary globalization is reconstituting the power, functions and authority of national government. In this world, national governments are relegated to little more than transmission belts for global economic change, or, at best, intermediate institutions and mechanisms sandwiched between increasingly powerful local, regional and global mechanisms of power and authority. Other globalists take a less radical view. They talk less in terms of 'the end of the state', and more in terms of a new spectrum of political developments and adjustment strategies in which the state finds itself relocated in multiple regional and global political networks.

However, the sceptics and critiques of globalization argue that the modern nation-state is the principal form of political rule across the globe, and is likely to remain so. Changes in international law, regional associations and global institutions in the last century did not alter the fundamental form and shape of this state system. For the division of the globe into nation-states, with distinctive sets of geopolitical interests, was built into institutions of regional and global governance; for instance, the veto powers granted to leading states (the US, Russia, Britain, France and China) in the Security Council of the United Nations. Furthermore, the new challenges of growing internationalism do not diminish the state-centric world. Sceptics discount the presumption that internationalization prefigures the emergence of a new, less state-centric world order. Far from considering national governments as becoming

immobilized by international imperatives, they point to their growing centrality in the active promotion and regulation of crossborder activity.

4.2.6 REFERENCES AND SUGGESTED READINGS

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- John Baylis and Steve Smith, *The Globalization of World Politics,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – IV: STATE, GLOBALIZATION, EUROPEAN UNION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

4.3 EUROPEAN UNION AS A NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM: BEYOND NATION STATE

- V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

4.3.0 Objectives

4.3.1 Introduction

4.3.2 Evolution of EU as a Political System

4.3.3 Conceptualizing the EU as a Political System

4.3.4 Institutional Framework of EU as a Political System

4.3.4.1 Objectives of European Political System

4.3.4.2 European Parliament

4.3.4.3 European Council

4.3.4.4 Council of Ministers

4.3.4.5 European Commission

4.3.4.6 Court of Justice of European Union

4.3.5 The European Union as a Single Market

4.3.5.1 Monetary Union of European Union

4.3.6 Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy

4.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- Know the evolution of European Union as a political System;

- Conceptualize European Union as a political system'

- Comprehend EU's institutional framework including parliament, council of ministers, European Commission, Court of Justice of European Union, etc.

- Understand the functioning of Europe as a single market with a single currency;

- Comprehend European Union's foreign, security and defence policies.

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Europe has seen centuries of war and human suffering. It has learned historic lessons the hard way. It experienced the two destructive world wars in the 20th century. However, ideas of peace, reconciliation, democracy and human rights found fertile ground and Europe and its citizens began the historic transformation from a continent of war to a continent of peace. In the 21st century these states have united themselves as political entity giving the rise to a new political system known as European Union (EU). In this new political system, certain executive, legislative, and judicial powers are collectively pooled at the European level. Decisions and choices of national governments are heavily constrained by the rules and decisions of the EU. In the last half-century, Europe has liberalized trade, coordinated macroeconomic policies, and created a centralized set of governing institutions with significant authority in most areas of public policy. This context automatically creates a political system which is unique in comparison to all others. EU has characters which bear similarity to the political systems of federal states as well as intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). Nevertheless according to David McKay, it remains one of a kind, sui generis, as a political system. The European Union is now a major player on the world stage. With a population of some 500 million people representing over 25 percent of the world's gross domestic product (GDP), providing half of all development aid and contributing

to a fifth of world-wide imports and exports, the Union is an active political player, with regional and global security interests and responsibilities to match. It is a role that Europeans and non-Europeans alike want the EU to play. Thus, this chapter explains the main characteristics and functionalities of the European Union as a new political system.

4.3.2 EVOLUTION OF EU AS A POLITICAL SYSTEM

The EU, as a modern political phenomenon, has evolved out of the social, historical and economic context of the 20th century. It is a result of a process of voluntary economic and political integration among states in Europe. The EU was created by the Maastricht Treaty on 1st November, 1993 as a political and economic union among European countries which makes its own policies concerning the members' economies, societies, laws and to some extent security. However, it is a product of gradual integration since 1945. Even prior to this, in 1923 a Pan European Union Society formed and its formation was supported Konrad Adenauer and Georges Pompidou, leaders of Germany and France. Charles de Gaulle had called for a union in 1942. After the end of Second World War which left Europe as divided and damaged, in 1946, European Union of Federalists formed to campaign for a United States of Europe. In September 1946, Winston Churchill called for a United States of Europe based around France and Germany to increase chance of peace. In January 1948, three countries of Europe – Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands – formed the Benelux Customs Union.

In 1948, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) was created to organize the Marshall Plan. In May 1949, the Council of Europe formed to discuss closer co-operation among the European countries. In 1950 Robert Schuman, foreign minister of France proposed that the coal and steel industries of France and West Germany be coordinated under a single supranational authority. France and West Germany were soon joined by four other countries Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Italy as a result of which the European Coal and Steel Community Treaty signed among these six countries forming the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952. The European Economic Community (EEC) and Euratom were established by the Treaty of Rome in 1958. The EEC, working on a large scale to promote the convergence of national economies into a single European economy,

soon emerged as the most significant of the three treaty organizations. The Brussels Treaty (1965) provided for the merger of the organizations into what came to be known as the European Community (EC) and later the EU. Under Charles de Gaulle, France vetoed (1963) Britain's initial application for membership in the Common Market, five years after vetoing a British proposal that the Common Market be expanded into a transatlantic free-trade area. In the interim, Britain had engineered the formation (1959) of the European Free Trade Association. In 1973 the EC expanded, as Great Britain, Ireland, and Denmark joined. Greece joined in 1981, and Spain and Portugal in 1986. With German reunification in 1990, the former East Germany also was absorbed into the Community.

The Single European Act (1987) amended the EC's treaties to strengthen the organization's ability to create a single internal market. The Treaty of European Union was signed in Maastricht, the Netherlands in 1992. This treaty provided for a central banking system, a common currency – the Euro – to replace the national currencies, a legal definition of the EU and a framework for expanding the EU's political role, particularly in the area of foreign and security policy. The member countries completed their move toward a single market in 1993 and agreed to participate in a larger common market, the European Economic Area, with most of the European Fee Trade Association (EFTA) nations. In 1995, Austria, Finland, and Sweden, all former EFTA members joined the EU. A crisis within the EU was precipitated in 1996 when sales of British beef were banned because of "mad cow disease". Britain retaliated by vowing to paralyze EU business until the ban was lifted, but that crisis eased when a British plan for eradicating the disease was approved. The ban was lifted in 1999, but French refusal to permit the sale of British beef resulted in new strains within the EU. In 1998, as a prelude to their 1999 adoption of the Euro, 11 EU nations established the European Central Bank. The Euro was introduced into circulation in 2002 by 12 EU countries. As a result of charges of corruption and mismanagement in its executive body, EU formed the European Commission (EC) in 1999. Further, the EU agreed to absorb the functions of the Western European Union, a comparatively dormant European defense alliance, thus moving toward making the EU a military power with defensive and peacekeeping capabilities. In 2003 the EU and ten non-EU European nations – Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia,

Cyprus and Malta – signed treaties that resulted in the largest expansion of the EU. In October, 2004, EU countries signed a constitution with a provision requiring a supermajority of countries to pass legislation. The EU nations signed the Lisbon Treaty in 2007. The Treaty reorganized the European Council, established an elected President of the European Council and a single EU foreign policy official, and reformed the EU's system of voting, among other changes. In July, 2013, Croatia joined the EU. At present, EU has 28 member countries.

In brief, it can be argued that EU emerged as a political system through a gradual historical process as a result of the demands of its member countries including the solution of economic problems, maintenance of peace, cooperation and security.

4.3.3 CONCEPTUALIZING THE EU AS A POLITICAL SYSTEM

In Europe, the gradual process of economic and political integration has produced a complex allocation of executive, legislative, and judicial policy-making powers at multiple levels of government, including the European level. Simon Hix argues that the EU is the first genuine 'supranational polity' to exist in human history. However, all political systems are to some extent unique. The US has a unique model of the separation of executive and legislative power, France has a unique semi-presidential model of government, and Germany has a unique model of interlocking federalism, and so on. What is more important from the point of view of comparative political analysis is that all political systems face a common set of issues, such as what powers are allocated to the central institutions relative to the lower institutions, and how decision-making should work in the central institutions. This was one of the insights of comparative political scientists in the 1 950s, who tried to develop a common framework for defining and analyzing the complex array of political systems that existed throughout the world. Simon Hix explains the four essential characteristics of a political system as given below:

- There is a clearly defined set of institutions for collective decision-making and set of rules governing relations between and within these institutions.

- Citizens seek to achieve their political desires through the political system, either directly or through intermediary organizations like interest groups and political parties.

- Collective decisions in the political system have an impact on the distribution of economic resources and the allocation of social and political values across the whole system.

- There is a continuous interaction between these political outputs, new demands on the system, new decisions, and so on.

In this context, Hix observes that the EU possesses all the four characteristics of a political system because of the following reasons:-

- The level of institutional development and complexity in the EU is far greater than in any other international or regional integration organization. Infact, the EU possesses the most formalized and complex set of decision-making rules of any political system in the world.

- A large number of public and private groups, from multinational corporations and global environmental groups to individual citizens are trying to influence the EU policy process continuously.

- The policy outcomes of EU are highly significant and are felt throughout the EU. The direct redistributive capacity of the EU is indeed small, since the EU budget is only about one percent of the total GDP of the EU. However, the single market, European social and environmental regulations, the single currency, justice and interior affairs policies and the myriad of other policy outputs of the EU system have an enormous indirect impact on the allocation of resources and social relationships in European society.

- The EU political system is a permanent feature of political life in Europe. The quarterly meetings of the heads of government of the member states in the European Council may be the only feature that many citizens and media outlets notice. Nevertheless, EU politics is a continuous process, within and between the EU institutions in Brussels, between national governments and Brussels, within national public administrations, between private interests and governmental officials in Brussels and at the national level, and between private groups involved in EU affairs at the national and European levels.

4.3.4 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF THE EU AS A POLITICAL SYSTEM

The EU as a political system has a broader institutional set to perform its functions. The Constitution of EU explains the basic institutional structure of the EU. The constitution of EU has set the objectives of its political system to achieve in the context of domestic and foreign policy. To achieve these objective, it has established five institutions i.e. European Parliament, European Council, Council of Ministers, European Commission and Court of Justice of European Union. These institutions as per their jurisdiction are indulged in the rule making application and adjudication functions of the European political system.

4.3.4.1 OBJECTIVES OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Constitutional frame work of the EU in its article-1 to 3 explains the objectives of this entity. The main objectives of the Union are to promote peace, the Union's values and the well-being of its peoples. These general objectives are supplemented by a list of more detailed described as below:-

- an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers;

- an internal market where competition is free and undistorted;

- sustainable development, based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress, and a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment;

- the promotion of scientific and technological advance;

- the combating of social exclusion and discrimination, and the promotion of social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and protection of the rights of the child;

- the promotion of economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States.

Apart from this, the EU respects cultural and linguistic diversity and ensures that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced. Paragraph 4 of article 1-3 is devoted to promotion of EU's values and interests in the rest of the world. This paragraph discusses the objectives of the EU in the context of the common foreign and security policy.

4.3.4.2 EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The European Parliament is a directly elected parliamentary institution of the EU. It performs the legislative functions of the EU along with the Council of the European Union and European Commission. The Parliament is composed of 750 seats. It represents the second largest democratic electorate in the world after the Indian Parliament. It has the largest trans-national democratic electorate in the world. The minimum number of seats per Member State is six. This has been done to make sure that, even in the least populous Member States; all the major shades of political opinion can have a chance of being represented in the European Parliament. Constitution of EU Treaty sets out the general rules concerning the Parliament. The Constitution jointly vests the Parliament and the Council of Ministers with the legislative and budgetary functions. Thus, the Parliament is put on an equal footing with the Council of Ministers. Besides, the Parliament has functions of political control and consultation such as the control of the Commission or execution of the budget. The Parliament has the power to elect the President of the Commission by a majority of its members acting on a proposal from the European Council. Since the Parliament equal legislative powers with the Council of Ministers, the European laws and framework laws are adopted by the Parliament and the Council of Ministers.

4.3.4.3 EUROPEAN COUNCIL

The European Council has played a key role in European integration. The European Council was first mentioned in the Single Act but not established as an institution. The Treaty on European Union (EU Treaty) defined the European Council's role. Besides this, the EU Treaty gave the European Council specific roles in relation to the common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and economic and monetary union (EMU). The European Council consists of the Heads of State

or Government of the Member States, together with its President and the President of the Commission. The Union Minister for Foreign Affairs takes part in its work. The European Council is given a stable President who holds office for two and-a-half years, which is a new institutional arrangement. The EC identifies the strategic interests and objectives of the Union. However, the practical implementation of policies is the responsibility of the other institutions such as Commission, European Parliament and Council of Ministers. At present, the European Council plays a more practical role in the common foreign and security policy. It also plays a key role as regards nominations. It proposes the President of the Commission to the European Parliament. It also appoints the Union Minister for Foreign Affairs in agreement with the President of the Commission. Decisions of the European Council are taken by consensus, except where the EU Constitution provides otherwise.

4.3.4.4 COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The Council of Ministers is also known as "the Council". It is consists of representatives of Member States at ministerial level. The Council, jointly with the European Parliament, exercises legislative and budgetary functions. It also has policy-making and coordinating functions. Except where the Constitution provides otherwise, decisions of the Council are taken by "qualified majority".

4.3.4.5 EUROPEAN COMMISSION

The European Commission is one of the main institutions of the European Union which represents and upholds the interests of the EU as a whole. It drafts proposals for new European laws. It manages the day-to-day business of implementing EU policies and spending EU funds. The 28 Commissioners, one from each EU country, provide the Commission's political leadership during their five year term. Each Commissioner is assigned responsibility for specific policy areas by the President. The President is nominated by the European Council. The Council also appoints the other Commissioners in agreement with the nominated President. The appointment of all Commissioners including the President is subject to the approval of the European Parliament. Commissioners remain accountable to Parliament, which has sole power to dismiss the Commission. The day-to-day running of the Commission is taken care

of by the Commission's staff – administrators, lawyers, economists, translators, interpreters, secretarial staff, etc. organized in departments known as Directorates-General (DGs). Commission oversees and implements EU policies by proposing new laws to Parliament and the Council; managing the EU's budget and allocating funding; enforcing EU law together with the Court of Justice and; representing the EU internationally by negotiating agreements between the EU and other countries.

4.3.4.6 COURT OF JUSTICE OF EUROPEAN UNION

The Court of Justice of European Union (CJEU) is the institution of the European Union (EU) that encompasses the whole judiciary. It is located in Luxembourg. It consists of two major courts and a specialized court which includes:

- The Court of Justice, also known as "European Court of Justice" is the highest court in the EU legal system;

- The General Court was created in 1988;

- The Civil Service Tribunal, a specialized court created in 2004.

Originally established in 1952 as the Court of Justice of the European Coal and Steel Communities to ensure observance of the law "in the interpretation and application" of the EU treaties, CJEU currently holds jurisdiction to review the legality of institutional actions by the European Union; ensure that Member States comply with their obligations under EU law; and interpret European Union law at the request of the national courts and tribunals. The ECJ, together with national courts, provides a powerful check on the EU's executive and legislative institutions. The ECJ played a significant role in the development of the legal basis of the EU political system, in particular by developing the doctrines of the direct-effect and supremacy of EU law. The ECJ is independent from the governments in the Council, and national courts often support the ECJ against their own governments. For example, on several occasions the ECJ has struck down legislation adopted by the Council and Parliament on the grounds that the treaties did not give the EU the right to adopt legislation in a particular area. Nevertheless, like all supreme courts, the ECJ is not completely isolated from external pressures, since it knows that if it

strays too far from the meaning of the treaties, the governments can act collectively to rein in its powers. The ECJ is also aware that national courts, particularly the German Constitutional Court, are protective of their right to interpret whether EU law is in breach of fundamental human rights as set out in national constitutions. The EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights is an attempt to provide a set of basic rights for the ECJ to apply, although until the EU Constitution is implemented the Charter is not binding.

4.3.5   THE EUROPEAN UNION AS SINGLE MARKET

The EU has established a single market across the territory of all its members. Out of 28 member countries, 19 member states have also joined a monetary union known as the Eurozone, which uses the Euro as a single currency. Thus, EU is considered as the most successful common market in the world. Of the top 500 largest corporations measured by revenue, 161 have their headquarters in the EU. This has been achieved by the removal of barriers to trade such as tariffs as well as other economic initiatives such as regulation concerning competition To a certain extent, the progress towards making a Single European Market over the last fifty years has been similar to the initial economic unification of federal states such as Germany in the 19th Century; standards are established and tolls and tariffs are reduced or removed completely. This creation of standards is similar to Europe today: with the European Union regulating all products produced within each member state to a certain level so as to fully implement the Single Market initiative. The Single European Market initiative, specifically the Cohesion policy, reflects a federal system further in that it provides financial assistance to the EU's less economically developed states. This distribution of resources reflects a centralized system that is typical of federal political systems. Introduction of a single currency across the majority of countries in the Eurozone highlights further the extent to which economic unity is present in the EU. Hence, this level of economic integration in the absence of the same level of the aforementioned political integration highlights the extent to which the EU is a unique political system.

4.3.5.1 MONETARY UNION OF EUROPEAN UNION

The creation of a European single currency became an official objective of the European Economic Community in 1969. In 1992, after having negotiated the structure and procedures of a currency union, the member states signed the Maastricht Treaty

and were legally bound to fulfill the agreed-on rules including the convergence criteria if they wanted to join the monetary union. The states wanting to participate had first to join the European Exchange Rate Mechanism. In 1999 the currency union started, first as an accounting currency with eleven member states joining. In 2002, the currency was fully put into place, when euro notes and coins were issued and national currencies began to phase out in the Eurozone, which by then consisted of 12 member states. The Eurozone has since grown to 19 countries, the most recent being Lithuania which joined on 1 January 2015. Denmark, the United Kingdom, and Sweden have not joined the Eurozone.

Since its launch the Euro has become the second reserve currency in the world with a quarter of foreign exchanges reserves being in Euro.

The Euro and the monetary policies of those who have adopted it in agreement with the EU are under the control of the European Central Bank (ECB). The ECB is the central bank for the Eurozone, and thus controls monetary policy in that area with an agenda to maintain price stability. It is at the centre of the European System of Central Banks, which comprehends all EU national central banks and is controlled by its General Council, consisting of the President of the ECB, who is appointed by the European Council, the Vice-President of the ECB, and the governors of the national central banks of all 28 EU member states. The European System of Financial Supervision is an institutional architecture of the EU's framework of financial supervision composed by three authorities: the European Banking Authority, the European Insurance and Occupational Pensions Authority and the European Securities and Markets Authority. To complement this framework, there is also a European Systemic Risk Board under the responsibility of the ECB. The aim of this financial control system is to ensure the economic stability of the EU.

To prevent the joining states from getting into financial crisis after entering the monetary union, they were obliged in the Maastricht treaty to fulfill important financial obligations and procedures, especially to show budgetary discipline and a high degree of sustainable economic convergence, as well as to avoid excessive government deficits and limit the government debt to a sustainable level. Some states joined the euro but violated these rules and contracts to an extent that they slid into a debt crisis and had

to be financially supported with emergency rescue funds. These states were Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Cyprus and Spain. Even though the Maastricht treaty forbids Eurozone states to assume the debts of other states , various emergency rescue funds had been created by the members to support the debt crisis states to meet their financial obligations and buy time for reforms that those states can gain back their competitiveness.

4.3.6 COMMON FOREIGN, SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY

Besides economic and political unity, the EU is unified to a degree in foreign and security policy through the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). However, despite these measures, the EU has exploited more in the economic sphere than in the political and security spheres. This is demonstrated by the fact that the EU, whilst capable of responding coherently to less sensitive issues such as support of new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, is typically unable to deliver a coherent response to issues that directly affect EU foreign policy and security, such as the crises in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990's. This demonstrates the EU's similarity to an IGO such as the United Nations (UN). However, unlike the member states of the UN, EU members are obliged to follow directives that relate directly to security policy. For example, member states are obliged to ensure that all communications providers maintain records of all emails and calls over the past two years as part of the effort to combat terrorism. Thus, despite the fact that the EU is typified by a lack of concerted measures to respond to international events and crises, it is still distinguished from IGOs by its capacity to introduce measures similar to those made by a federal government. This demonstrates further that the EU is a unique political system.

The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), as document titled, "Promoting Peace and Prosperity: The European Union in the World" explains, was introduced under the Amsterdam Treaty, as the operational arm of the Common Foreign and Security Policy in the field of crisis management, covering all questions relating to the EU's security and with the potential for later creating a common defence structure, should the European Council so decide. Under the ESDP, the Union now has permanent political and military structures and civilian and military

capabilities, as well as a set of crisis management concepts and procedures. The Cologne European Council in June 1999 placed crisis-management tasks at the heart of the process of strengthening the CFSP. These tasks include humanitarian and rescue tasks, peace keeping tasks and tasks of combat-force in crisis management, including peace-making. The Cologne European Council also decided that the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises without prejudice to actions by NATO. The Union has concluded arrangements for the consultation and participation of third countries in crisis management. It has also defined with NATO the framework for relations between the two organizations, including arrangements allowing the Union to have recourse to NATO's assets and capabilities. The EU has the means to address the crises confronting it on its doorstep, as well as in other parts of the world. The European Union Military Committee (EUMC) is the highest military body within the Council. It is composed of the Chiefs of Defence Staff of the Member States or their representatives and it provides the PSC with advice and recommendations on all aspects of military crisis management. The European Union Military Staff (EUMS), the EU's only permanent integrated military structure. The EUMS is composed of military and civilian experts seconded to the Council Secretariat by the Member States. It includes a civilian-military cell and an EU Operations Centre. The Council Secretariat also includes a Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) in charge of planning and running civilian missions under the ESDP. Since 2003 when the first missions were launched, the Union has conducted 17 military and civilian crisis-management operations. It currently has eleven ESDP operations under way. They span three continents and range from military operations to security sector reform, institution-building and police and rule of law missions. Some are autonomous missions and some assist other international organizations such as the UN or the African Union. From Kabul to Kinshasa, from Chad to Sarajevo, from Ramallah to Kosovo, the EU has proved as the key factor for peace and stability.

4.3.7 LET US SUM UP

To sum up, the European Union is a sui generis political system. It is a product of gradual process and continues to developing until it develops into either a federal

state or an intergovernmental organisation. However, it is a unique political system. The EU has executive power in that the bodies that make up its decision making process, the European Commission, the Council of Ministers, and the European Parliament, legislate laws and measures that significantly influence all member states. These measures cover economic and environmental matters, as well as those of foreign policy, defence and security policy. The EU's collective decisions have a wide and significant impact on the member states and their citizens. This has created a large number of interest groups making demands of the system. In a political system, its internal and external demands are channeled through political institutions. Furthermore, this is often done by means of intermediary organizations such as interest groups or political parties. Thus, the EU represents the interests of its citizens and interests in the same way that a federal state would. The EU is characterized by a very diverse culture, imbued with a diverse set of languages and cultural beliefs. As far as cultural cohesion is concerned, the EU does share many characteristics with a federal political system that represents a nation and the culture thereof. This highlights the uniqueness of the EU's political system. The EU was named recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012.

4.3.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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M.A. Political Science, Semester II, Course No. 204, Comparative Politics
UNIT – IV: STATE, GLOBALIZATION, EUROPEAN UNION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

4.4. Regime Types: Totalitarian, Authoritarian and Populism

- Hima Bindu

SUMMARY

4.4.0. OBJECTIVES

After going through the lecture, you will be able to know-

- To understand different forms of political regimes.

- To understand the nature of different political regimes.

- To study causes and consequences of the formation of these political regimes.

4.4.1. INTRODUCTION

Political regimes are the diverse forms of governance that exist in various nations. Within a given political system, they provide a framework for the exercise of political power, the distribution of authority, and the operation of institutions. Political regimes are the structures and systems through which political authority in a society is organised, exercised, and distributed. They play an essential role in shaping a nation's governance, institutions, and dynamics. The purpose of this topic is to provide an overview of political regimes by examining their characteristics, classifications, and repercussions on societies and the comparative methods.

(i).   Characteristics of the Political regimes

a. *Power Distribution*: Power distribution varies between regimes. Certain regimes distribute and delegate power more broadly among institutions, elected officials, and citizens while others some do not delegate the powers among institutions.

b. *Legitimacy*: Regimes derive their legitimacy from various sources, including the consent of the governed, historical traditions, religious authority, or a combination of these factors. Legitimacy is essential for the acceptability and stability of a regime.

c. *Decision-Making Procedures*: Regimes utilise a variety of decision-making mechanisms, spanning from democratic procedures such as voting and deliberation to autocratic decision-making by a single leader or small group.

d. *Rule of Law*: The degree to which a regime upholds the rule of law and safeguards individual rights and liberties varies. Other regimes may restrict civil liberties and human rights for the sake of stability or other considerations.

(ii).   Recognised categories of political regimes

a. *Democracy*: Democracy is a form of government in which the people exercise authority directly or through elected representatives. It emphasises free and fair elections, the preservation of civil liberties, the rule of law, and government accountability to the people.

b. *Authoritarian regimes*: Authoritarian regimes are distinguished by the concentration of power in the hands of a single leader, a small group, or the governing party. They frequently repress political opposition, restrict civil liberties, and rely on centralised control mechanisms to maintain power.

c. *Totalitarianism*: Totalitarian regimes exert complete control over all aspects of public and private life in an attempt to shape and control every aspect of society. To suppress dissent and maintain power, they entail an all-encompassing ideology, extensive state surveillance, and repression.

d. *Monarchy*: Monarchies are political regimes in which an inherited monarch possesses absolute power. From ceremonial roles to absolute control, monarchs can possess varying degrees of authority. Several countries have constitutional monarchies in which the monarch's responsibilities are limited by the constitution.

e. Theocratic regimes are characterised by the rule of religious authorities and the use of religious law as the premise of government. Religious leaders or institutions wield considerable sway over policy formation and social norms.

f. Oligarchies are regimes in which power is held by a small, privileged elite, typically based on factors such as wealth, social status, or familial ties. There are oligarchic regimes in both democratic and authoritarian contexts.

g. Anarchy is a condition of society in which there is no formal government or ruling authority. It is distinguished by the lack of institutional control and hierarchical structures. Individual liberty and non-hierarchical relationships are emphasised in anarchist philosophy, which promotes self-government and direct democracy.

(iii).   Implications and Dynamics of Political Regimes

Political regimes have profound effects on the functioning and growth of societies.

a. *Governance and Policy*: Regimes define decision-making processes, policy priorities, and the extent to which the government intervenes in societal affairs. They determine the allocation of resources, the enactment of laws, and the provision of public products and services.

b. *The Political Stability*: The regime's stability influences the nation's stability. Political stability is influenced by the efficiency of institutions, the legitimacy of leadership, and the capacity to manage conflicts and maintain social order.

c. *Civil Liberties and Human Rights*: Regimes can respect civil liberties and human rights to varying degrees. Authoritarian and totalitarian regimes may restrict or suppress individual liberties and human rights protections, whereas democratic regimes prioritise them.

d. *Socioeconomic Development*: Political regimes can influence socioeconomic development by influencing investment, entrepreneurship, access to education, and social welfare policies. In general, administrations that are stable and inclusive foster conditions for sustainable development.

e. *International Relations*: A country's position and interactions within the international community are influenced by its political regime. Foreign policies, alliances, and approaches to global governance may vary between regimes.

Political administrations are essential to comprehending the nature of governance and the exercise of power within societies, as they provide the framework for political systems. The classification and characteristics of regimes shed light on their effects on political dynamics, governance practises, and the preservation of individual rights. Political administrations must be studied and analysed in order to comprehend the complexities and variations of global political systems.

4.4.2. TOTALITARIAN REGIMES

Totalitarianism is a form of government characterised by a highly centralised and autocratic regime that seeks absolute control over all aspects of society, leaving little space for individual liberties or dissent. This regime type emerged prominently in the 20th century, with Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany and Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union serving as examples. Totalitarian regimes are frequently distinguished by the following characteristics:

a. Centralized Power: Totalitarian regimes centralise power in the hands of a single dictator or governing party. The leader or party has total control over the government, economy, and numerous social institutions. A tiny group of elites make decisions with little or no input from the general population.

b. Suppression of Opposition: Totalitarian regimes employ extensive measures to repress political opposition and dissension. To manipulate public opinion and regulate the dissemination of information, they typically employ a variety of methods, such as censorship, propaganda, and state-controlled media. Political dissidents and opposition groups are frequently suppressed by coercion, imprisonment, or even physical annihilation.

c. State Control over Society: Totalitarian regimes seek to control all aspects of society, such as education, culture, and religion. In order to ensure conformity and loyalty to the regime, they impose stringent regulations and frequently establish an elaborate system of surveillance to monitor the activities of citizens. Citizens' rights and liberties, including freedom of expression, assembly, and privacy, are severely restricted.

d. Totalitarian Ideology: Totalitarian regimes frequently develop an official ideology or belief system to legitimise their rule and rally support. This ideology emphasises nationalistic, bigoted, or revolutionary ideals while placing the state or the leader at the centre. To ensure loyalty and obedience, the regime endeavours to indoctrinate citizens with this ideology from an early age.

e. Planned Economy: Totalitarian regimes frequently implement a centrally planned economy in which the state controls the means of production and distribution. Either private property rights are severely restricted or eliminated entirely. State-

directed economic activities service the regime's goals, such as military expansion or ideological objectives, rather than the needs and desires of the population.

f.   Cult of Personality: Totalitarian leaders frequently cultivate a cult of personality around themselves, fostering an image of themselves as charismatic and infallible figures. They employ propaganda and symbolism to inspire adoration and loyalty in the populace. The leader is portrayed as the embodiment of the nation or as the ultimate source of knowledge and direction.

c.   Human Rights Violations: Totalitarian regimes are often associated with egregious human rights violations. It is not uncommon to find mass surveillance, arbitrary arrests, torture, forced labour, and mass executions. Because the regime disregards individual liberties and the rule of law, such violations can occur without consequence.

It is essential to recognise totalitarianism's negative effects. The excessive concentration of power and suppression of individual rights result in the deterioration of democratic values, the stifling of innovation and creativity, and the suffering of citizens living under such regimes. By comprehending the characteristics and mechanisms of totalitarianism, societies can safeguard democratic institutions, defend human rights, and promote pluralism and individual liberties.

4.4.2 (a) Causes and Origins of Totalitarianism

As a political regime, totalitarianism can result from a combination of various factors. Despite the fact that the specific causes may vary in various historical contexts, the emergence and consolidation of totalitarian regimes are frequently influenced by the following:

a.   Crisis and Instability: Totalitarian regimes frequently emerge during times of significant crisis, such as economic recession, social discontent, political turmoil, or national humiliation. These crises increase the population's sense of vulnerability and insecurity, making them more susceptible to authoritarian solutions that guarantee stability and order.

b.   Weak Democratic Institutions: The deterioration or absence of strong democratic institutions, such as a free press, an independent judiciary, and a robust civil society, can lead to a power vacuum or a lack of checks and balances. This void permits

authoritarian leaders or parties to exploit the situation and consolidate power without substantial opposition.

c. Ideological Extremism: Totalitarian regimes are frequently fueled by an extremist ideology or a dogmatic belief system that endeavours to reshape society in accordance with a specific vision. This ideology may have nationalist, communist, fascist, or religious fundamentalist origins, among others. The intransigence of these ideologies can result in the suppression of dissent and imposition of a rigorous worldview on the entire population.

d. Charismatic Leadership: Totalitarian leaders frequently possess charismatic characteristics that enable them to mobilise mass support and inspire loyalty. Their ability to identify with the population's fears, aspirations, and grievances enables them to consolidate power and suppress dissent. They are adept at cultivating personality cults and projecting themselves as saviours or messiahs.

e. Propaganda and Manipulation: Totalitarian regimes heavily rely on propaganda, mass media control, and censorship to manipulate public opinion and shape collective consciousness. They disseminate a distorted narrative that reinforces their ideology, marginalises and punishes dissent, and suppresses alternative viewpoints. This information manipulation is essential for maintaining control and preventing opposition from obtaining traction.

f. State Surveillance and Repression: Totalitarian regimes employ extensive surveillance mechanisms, secret police, and security apparatuses to monitor and control the populace. Citizens are subject to constant surveillance, and dissenters face harassment, imprisonment, or even physical violence. Fear and intimidation are employed to deter opposition and preserve compliance.

g. External Factors: External factors, such as geopolitical dynamics, can contribute to the development of totalitarian administrations. In certain instances, the frailty or absence of external support for democratic forces, coupled with geopolitical rivalries or power voids, may present opportunities for authoritarian actors to seize power and consolidate control.

It is essential to recognise that the causes of totalitarianism are multifaceted and interconnected, and that no single factor can adequately explain its emergence. Sociopolitical contexts, historical events, and the interaction of multiple factors all contribute to the emergence and maintenance of totalitarian regimes.

4.4.3. AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Authoritarianism is a form of government characterised by the concentration of power in the hands of a single leader or small group, but without the same degree of absolute control as totalitarian regimes. While authoritarian regimes and totalitarianism share some similarities, they have distinguishing characteristics. The threat of authoritarianism to democracy, human rights, and political pluralism. While authoritarian regimes may prioritise stability and economic development, they frequently do so at the expense of individual liberties and citizen participation in political decision-making. Recognising the characteristics and consequences of authoritarianism is essential for promoting democratic values, protecting human rights, and nurturing societies that place a premium on accountability, transparency, and inclusivity.

Authoritarianism is a political system characterised by the concentration of power in the hands of a single authority or a small group of individuals, frequently with little or no accountability to the general populace. In an authoritarian regime, political decisions and policies are made predominantly by the ruling authority, without meaningful citizen input or participation. This system contrasts with democracy, where authority is typically divided among multiple branches of government and citizens participate in decision-making through elections and other democratic processes.

Here are some of the most prominent characteristics of authoritarianism:

a. Concentration of Power: Authoritarian regimes are characterised by the concentration of power in the hands of a single person, such as a dictator, or a small group, such as a military junta or oligarchy. The decision-making process is highly centralised, with few checks and balances and little or no accountability to the general populace.

b. Limited Political Freedoms: In contrast to totalitarian regimes, authoritarian governments may grant individuals and groups a degree of social, economic, or

cultural independence. In general, however, political freedoms are restricted, and political opposition is either limited or prohibited. If elections are conducted, they are frequently manipulated or controlled to maintain the ruling regime's hold on power.

c. Suppression of Dissent: Authoritarian regimes rely on coercion, censorship, and surveillance in order to suppress dissent and maintain control. Frequently, opposition groups, independent media, and regime critics are suppressed, harassed, or persecuted. Civil society organisations and human rights activists who challenge the regime's authority may be subject to repression.

d. Limited Pluralism: Authoritarian regimes have a tendency to limit political pluralism and the existence of contending power centres. Opposition parties, independent labour unions, and other civil society organisations are either prohibited or strictly regulated. Potential sources of opposition or alternative power structures are targeted for elimination or marginalisation by the regime.

e. State-Controlled Media: Authoritarian governments frequently exert control over media outlets, utilising them for propaganda and public opinion manipulation. State-owned or -aligned media dominate the information landscape, disseminating narratives that support the regime's interests and silencing dissenting perspectives.

f. Patronage Networks: Authoritarian regimes frequently rely on patronage systems, in which loyalty to the ruling elite is rewarded with economic benefits, positions of authority, or preferential treatment. This system aids in securing support from key individuals or groups and establishes allegiance networks that strengthen the regime's stability.

g. Emphasis on Stability Authoritarian regimes place stability and order as their highest priority. They frequently defend their authority by asserting that they provide security and defend against disorder or external threats. In the name of sustaining law and order, this emphasis on stability may result in a suppression of individual rights and liberties.

h. The economic policies pursued by authoritarian regimes can range from state-controlled economies to market-oriented approaches. However, economic

decision-making is frequently influenced by the regime's interests and priorities, such as favouring associates, consolidating wealth, and maintaining the regime's power base.

4.4.3. (i) Origins of Authoritarianism:

a. *Socioeconomic Factors*: Economic instability, inequality, and destitution can foster authoritarian conditions. Authoritarian leaders may pledge stability and security to societies experiencing economic difficulties or rapid socioeconomic changes.

b. *Political Instability and Crisis*: In times of political instability, such as revolutions, coups, or civil wars, authoritarian leaders may exploit the chaos to capture power while promising order and stability. Crises can erode the public's faith in democratic institutions, resulting in a greater acceptance of autocratic rule.

c. *Cultural and Historical Factors*: The approval of authoritarian rule can be influenced by cultural norms, traditions, and historical experiences. Cultural values that place a premium on obedience, hierarchy, and strong leadership may foster the growth of authoritarian regimes.

d. *Leadership and Personal Ambition*: Individual leaders with ambitions for power may exploit existing political structures to establish autocratic authority. To consolidate power and subdue opposition, they may employ charisma, coercion, or manipulation.

4.4.3 (ii) Consequences of Authoritarianism

Authoritarian administrations have a number of significant repercussions:

a. Political Repression and Violations of Human Rights: Authoritarian governments frequently engage in human rights violations, such as the suppression of political dissent, torture, and arbitrary arrests. Freedoms of expression, association, and assembly are severely restricted for citizens.

b. Economic Impacts: While some authoritarian regimes may achieve short-term economic stability and growth, the absence of open markets, equitable competition, and transparent governance can hinder sustained economic development. Corruption, favouritism, and poor management can hinder economic development.

c. Social Fragmentation: The absence of political pluralism and the suppression of civil society can result in social divisions and tensions. Minority groups, marginalised populations, and dissenting voices are frequently subjected to discrimination and exclusion, which exacerbates social inequality.

d. International Relations and Global Security: Authoritarian regimes can have an effect on regional and international stability. They may pursue aggressive foreign policies, support non-state actors, or engage in other provocative behaviour.

4.4.4. POPULISM

In recent years, populism as a political ideology and strategy has received considerable attention. It is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that manifests differently in various countries and regions. The purpose of this essay is to provide an overview of populism by investigating its origins, characteristics, and impact on societies and politics.

Populism emerged in response to particular social, economic, and political circumstances. It can be traced back to the late 19th century, when agrarian societies confronting the challenges of industrialization and urbanisation gave rise to it. Populist movements frequently targeted elites, expressing discontent with concentrated power and advocating for the common people's rights and interests. The People's Party in the United States and the People's Party in late nineteenth-century Russia are notable historical examples.

4.4.4 (i) Characteristics of Populism

Despite the fact that populism takes various forms in different contexts, populist movements and leaders share the following characteristics:

a. *Anti-Establishment Rhetoric*: Populists typically position themselves as outsiders and express vehement opposition to the existing political establishment, depicting it as corrupt, self-serving, and disconnected from the concerns of average citizens.

b. *Appeal to the Common People*:Populist leaders frequently assert that they represent the "will of the people" or the "silent majority." They promise to address the needs and aspirations of the working class and marginalised groups by emphasising their grievances and concerns.

c. *Simplistic Solutions*:Simplistic Solutions Populists have a tendency to propose simple, direct solutions to complex issues. They frequently employ nationalist or nativist narratives, attributing the nation's challenges to external factors such as globalisation, immigration, or international institutions.

d. *Charismatic Leadership*: Populist movements frequently revolve around charismatic leaders who are perceived as powerful and decisive figures. They appeal to the emotions and concerns of their supporters and present themselves as champions of the people through the use of emotional rhetoric.

e. *Polarisation and Us-versus-Them Mentality*: populist rhetoric frequently divides society into distinct groups, such as "corrupt elites" and "pure people" or "real citizens" and "outsiders." This can result in increased polarisation and a sense of hostility between various social groups.

4.4.4.(ii) Reasons for Emergence of Populism

Due to the phenomenon's variation across countries and contexts, the causes and effects of populism can be diverse and multifaceted. However, the following are some common causes and effects of populism:

a. Economic Inequality: Growing economic inequality between the affluent and the rest of the population can fuel populism. Populist movements may emerge when a significant portion of the population feels left behind or marginalised by economic policies, promising to resolve their grievances and redistribute wealth.

b. Populism frequently arises when there is pervasive disillusionment and loss of faith in traditional political elites, parties, and institutions. Perceptions of corruption, elitism, or disconnection from the concerns of average citizens can erode public trust, allowing populist leaders to present themselves as dissidents who will challenge the establishment.

c. Populist movements can be fueled by cultural anxieties and identity-based concerns, such as nationalism, immigration, and cultural preservation. Rapid demographic changes, globalisation, or perceived threats to national identity can stoke populist sentiments as leaders use these concerns to rally support.

d. Political Dissatisfaction and Isolation: Political alienation and disengagement can contribute to the rise of populism. People may turn to populist leaders who promise to give them a voice and challenge the status quo when they believe their voices are not being heard, their interests are not being represented, or the political system is unresponsive.

4.4.4 (iii) Consequences of Populism

a. Political Polarisation: Populism can exacerbate political divisions and polarise societies. Populist rhetoric frequently creates a "us versus them" narrative, pitting the "common people" against an elite or marginalised group. This polarisation can exacerbate social tensions and impede constructive conversation and compromise.

b. In some instances, populism has the potential to erode democratic norms and institutions. Populist leaders may undermine checks and balances, assault the independence of the judiciary and media, or consolidate power. This erosion can threaten democratic principles and practises and undermine democratic governance.

c. Policy Shifts and Uncertainty: Populist governments may implement policy shifts, which frequently reflect their campaign preferences and pledges. These policy modifications may have substantial effects on economic, social, and international relations. The unpredictability and radical shifts in the direction of policy may engender uncertainty and have an effect on stability and long-term planning.

d. Populist movements often express scepticism or opposition towards globalisation, international agreements, and international institutions. They may advocate for protectionist measures, border controls, or the rejection of particular international obligations. This may result in a reshaping of global dynamics, strained international relations, and challenges to extant global governance structures.

e. Socioeconomic Consequences: Populist policies can have diverse socioeconomic consequences. Despite their initial popularity due to promises of redistribution or preservation of certain industries, their long-term effects can be complicated. Populist economic policies may impede economic growth, affect international trade relations, or fail to address underlying structural issues.

It is essential to note that the causes and effects of populism can vary significantly depending on the specific context, historical factors, and populist leaders' strategies. Therefore, populism analysis requires thorough consideration of each case's particular circumstances.

1. Effects of the rise of populations.

   The rise of populism has had substantial effects on politics, policy, and society:

   a. Political Fragmentation: Populist movements frequently challenge the dominance of mainstream political parties by disrupting established party systems. This can result in political landscape fragmentation and the emergence of new political forces.

   b. Populism can threaten democratic norms and institutions. Populist leaders may concentrate power, diminish checks and balances, and undermine the independence of the judiciary and the media, thereby eroding a country's democratic foundation.

   c. Economic Policies: Populist governments may pursue unorthodox economic policies, such as protectionism or redistribution measures, which frequently target particular groups or industries. Although these policies may be initially popular, they can have long-term effects on economic growth and stability.

   d. Social Divisions: Populist rhetoric frequently exploits social divisions, perpetuating prejudices and exacerbating tensions between various social groups. This can have a negative impact on social cohesion and inclusiveness.

   e. Global Implications: The ascent of populism in one nation can have global repercussions. Populist movements and leaders frequently challenge international accords, alliances, and institutions, resulting in shifts in global cooperation and dynamics.

4.4.5 SUM UP

To comprehend the dynamics of various political systems, it is crucial to comprehend the differences between totalitarianism, authoritarianism, and populism. Totalitarianism and authoritarianism prioritise centralised control and limit political freedoms, whereas populism is dependent on charismatic leaders and frequently challenges established

institutions. Recognising the advantages and disadvantages of each regime type enables societies to evaluate and promote governance systems that defend individual rights, promote democratic values, and guarantee political stability. By analysing these regimes, we can work towards the establishment of governing structures that protect the principles of liberty, human rights, and participatory democracy.

4.4.6. SUGGESTED READINGS

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