Chairperson : **Prof. Madhurima Verma**

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M.A. SEMESTER – II, POLITICAL SCIENCE
PAPER : II (COURSE-VI)
CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Dear Student,

We are placing in your hands the first and second unit (comprising of ten lessons) of the course of study on Comparative Politics. The opening pages of this small booklet would provide to you and idea of the syllabus of this course and its detailed split-up into various lesson-units. Compared to other courses, the number of units in this course is fewer. This should not, by any means, give you an idea that the course is small, such, however, is not the case. Various concepts, themes and units of comparison, included in it, are quite comprehensive in themselves. Their study would make you traverse many known, unknown and long vistas.

At the ouset, we might like to invite your attention to the fact that there is very little difference between modern political analysis and comparative politics. Though you will discover the truth of this remark in the very first lesson, suffice it to say here that political analysis is related, by and large, to the study of one political system, whereas comparative politics (as the title itself suggests) is a comparative study of many political systems. While dealing with this course, you will, therefore, find that various themes and concepts are, to a considerable extent, the same that you have studied last year in the course on Modern Political Analysis. You must, therefore, care to study the relevant lessons of that course as and when you take the lessons of this course. This will help you build the necessary background and facilitate your comprehension of this subject.

With best wishes.

Yours truly

Dr. Kamla

Course-in-Charge

Syllabus

Course VI : COMPARATIVE POLITICS-I : UNDERSTANDING ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PAPER-SETTERS AND CANDIDATES :

(i) The theory question paper will be of 80 marks and 20 marks will be for internal assessment.

(ii) For private candidates, who have not been assessed earlier for internal assessment, the marks secured by them in theory paper will proportionately be increased to maximum marks of the paper in lieu of internal assessment.

The paper setter must put note (ii) in the question paper.

The syllabus has been divided into four units.

There shall be **9** questions in all. The first question is **compulsory** and shall be short answer type containing 15 short questions spread over the whole syllabus to be answered in about 25 to 30 words each.

The candidates are required to attempt any 10 short answer type questions carrying 20 marks i.e. 2 marks for each. Rest of the paper shall contain **4** units. Each unit shall have **two** questions, and the candidates shall be given internal choice of attempting one question from each Unit - 4 in all. Each question will carry 15 marks.

Objectives : The objective of the course is to familiarize students with recent debates and theories concerning advanced industrial societies, and this will be undertaken in a comparative framework.

Unit-I

Comparative Politics: Meaning , Significance, Evolution, Nature and Content.

Comparative Method: Problems of comparative political analysis.

Unit-II

Modernity in Western Societies : meaning, evolution of modernity since the Christian era, nature and forms-political, social, economic and cultural.

Recent Debates: Modernity and class, Modernity and gender.

Unit-III

State and Civil Society: Theories and recent debates.

Constitutionalism: Theory and Practice in Contemporary States.

Unit-IV

Understanding Culture and Social change: Political Culture and Political Socialisation.

Political Participation and Representation : Political parties, Pressure groups and new social movements.

Essential Readings :

Students are advised to see the relevant entries in the following reference books:

Seymour Martin Lipset (ed. in chief). The Encyclopedia of Democracy, Volumes I, II and III, Routledge, London, 1955; Vernon Bogdanor (ed.), The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Institutions, Blackwell, Oxford, 1987; Joel Krieger (ed. in chief), The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World, OUP, Oxford, 1993; Tom Bottomore (ed.), A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.

Specific Readings :

1. Almond, G., 'The Return to the State', *American Political Science Review*, 82, No. 3, September, 1998.

2. Caramani, Daniele, *Comparative Politics*, OUP, New Delhi.

3. Carnoy, Martin, *The State and Political Theory*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2016 (1984)

4. Chandhoke, Neera, "*Limits of Comparative Political Analysis*," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, January 27, 1996.

5. Chilcote, Ronald, *Comparative Politics: The Search for a Paradigm Reconsidered*, Westview, Boulder (Second Edition), 1994.

6. Hague, Rod, Martin Harrop and Shaun Breslin, *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*, Macmillan, London, 1993

7. Jessop, B., *State Theory : Putting Capitalist States in their Place*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1990.

8. Johary, J.C., *Comparative Politics*, Sterling Publisher, New Delhi, 2011.

9. Synder, R. (2001). 'Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method'. *Studies in Comparative International Development*. 36(1): 93-110

10. Tillin, Louis (2013). 'National and Subnational Comparative Politics: Why, What and How', *Studies in Indian Politics*, 1(2): 235-240.

Suggested Readings

1. Almond, G.A., and S. Verba (eds.), *The Civic Culture Revisited*, Little Brown, Boston, 1980.

2. Almond, Gabriel G. Bingham Powell, Kaare Strom and Russel T. Dalton, *Comparative Politics Today*, Pearson Education, Delhi, 2005.

3. Anthias, Floyas and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries, Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle*, Routledge, London, 1992.

4. Ball, A., and F. Millward, *Pressure Politics in Industrial Societies*, Macmillan, London, 1986.

5. Bellamy, Richard and Dario Castiglone (ed.), *Constitutionalism in Transformations : European and Theoretical Perspectives, Political Studies,* Vol. XLIV, Special Issue, 1996.

6. Block, F., 'Beyond Relative Autonomy' in Ralph Miliband and John Saville (eds.), *The Socialist Register*, Merlin, London, 1980.

7. Blondel, J., *The Discipline of Politics*, Butterworth, London, 1981.

8. Bogdanor, V., (ed.), *Constitutions in Democratic Politics*, Gower, Aldershot, 1988.

9.   Bombwall, K.R., *World Constitutions*, Modern Publishers, Ambala, 1980.

10.   Calvert, Peter, *Revolution and Counter Revolution*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1990.

11.   Cammack, P., 'Statism, New Institutionalism and Marxism' in Ralph Miliband and Leo Panitch (eds.), *The Socialist Register*, Merlin, London, 1990.

12.   Cantori, Louis J., and Andrew H. Ziegler (eds.), *Comparative Politics in the Post-Behavioural Era*, Lynne Rienner Publisher, Boulder, 1988.

13.   Cigler, C, and B. Loomis (eds.), *Interest Group Politics*, Congressional Quarterly Press, Washington DC, 1985.

14.   Dalton, Russel, J., "Comparative Politics of the Industrial Democracies : From the Golden Age to Island Hopping" in William Crotty (ed.), *Comparative Politics Policy and International Relations*, Northwestern University Press, Evanstone, 1991.

15.   Dalton, Russell and Manfred Kurchler (eds.), *Challenging the Political Order*, New York, 1990.

16.   Dogan, Mattei and Ali Kazancigilli (eds.), *Comparing Nations, Concepts, Strategies, Substance*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994.

17.   Dogan, Mattei and Dominique Pelassy, *How to Compare Nations, Strategies in Comparative Politics*, Chatham House, 1984 (Indian reprint) Vision Books, New Delhi, 1988.

18.   Dunleavy, P., and B. O. Leary, *Theories of the State*, Macmillan, London, 1987.

19.   Easton, David, 'The Political System Beyond the State', *Political Theory*, No. 3, 1981.

20.   Eckstein, Harry and David E., Apter (ed.), *Comparative Politics, A Reader*, The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-Macmillan, London, 1993.

21.   Elster, Jon, 'Ways of Constitution-making' in Axel Hadenius (ed.), *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997.

22.   Evans Peter B., P.D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol (ed.), *Bring the State Back in*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985.

23.   Gellner, E., 'Civil Society in Historical Context', *International Social Science Journal*, No. 729,1991.

24.   Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1983.

25.   Gibbins, J., (ed.), *Contemporary Political Culture : Politics in a Post-Modern Age, Sage*, London, 1989.

26.   Glazer, N., and D. Moynihan (eds.), *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, Harward University Press,Cambridge, 1975.

27.   Graham, B.D., *Representation and Party Politics: A Comparative Perspective*, OUP, Oxford, 1990.

28.   Hall, Stuart and Bram Gieben, *Formations of Modernity*, Polity, Cambridge, 1992.

29.   Hawkesworth, Mary and Maurice, Kogan (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, Routledge, London, 1992.

30. Held, D., *Political Theory and the Modern State*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1989, 1990.

31. Hobsbawm, Eric, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, Cambridge, 1991.

32. Hoffman, J., *State Power and Democracy*, Wheatsheaf, Sussex, 1988.

33. Hutchinson, J., and A.D. Smith (eds.), *Nationalism*, OUP, Oxford, 1994.

34. Lane, J.E., *Constitutions in Political Theory*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1996.

35. Lane, Jan-Erik and Svante Ersson, *Comparative Politics : An Introduction and New Approach,* Polity, Cambridge, 1994, (Ch. 1, Comparative Approaches, Ch. 6, The Logic to Model Building in Comparative Government).

36. LaPalombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner (ed.), *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966.

37. Larrain, Jorge, *Theories of Development*, Polity, Cambridge, 1989. 1.12 Mohanty, Manoranjan, "Moving the Centre in the Comparative Study of Politics, An Approach to Creative Theory", Unpublished Paper (Photostat copy in Political Science Departmental Library, Panjab University).

38. Michael G. Ruskin, Robert L. Cord, James A. Medeiros and Walter S. Jones (eds.), *Political Science: An Introduction*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 2005.

39. Miliband, Ralph, *The State in Capitalist Societies*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1968.

40. Moore Jr., Barrington, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy : Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Penguin, 1967.

41. Mueller-Rommel, F. (ed.), *New Politics in Western Europe*, Boulder, 1989.

42. Nordlinger, E., 'The Return to the State, Critique', *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 82, 3 September, 1988.

43. Preuss, Ulrich, K., 'Constitutionalism - Meaning, Endangerment, Sustainability' in Satish Saberwal and Heiko Sievers (ed.), *Rules, Laws, Constitutions*, Sage, New Delhi, 1998.

44. Sartori, G., *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976.

45. Sartori, Giovanni, 'Compare Why and How, Comparing, Miscomparing and the Comparative Method' in Mattei Dogan and AN Kazancigil (ed.) *Comparing Nations*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994, Pp. 14-34.Wiarda, H. J., *New Directions in Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1991.

46. Skocpol, Theda, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France*, Russia and China, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979.

47. Smith, A.D., *The Ethnic Origins of Nation*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1986.

48. Taylor, Charles, 'Modes of Civil Society', *Public Culture*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Fall 1990.

49. Wilson, G., *Interest Groups*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1990.

SAMPLE QUESTION PAPER

M.A. Political Science, 2nd Sem. Paper-II

Comparative Politics-I

Course VI : UNDERSTANDING ADVANCED INDUATRIAL SOCIETIES

(in all medium)

Time Allowed: Three hours   Max Marks: 80

NOTE: Attempt five questions in all including Q.No.l, which is compulsory and selecting one question from each Unit.

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I.   Attempt any ten parts of the following in 25-30 words each: (2x10=20)

   a)   Write two characteristics of comparative politics.

   b)   Write two important elements of structural functionalism.

   c)   Mention two problems confronting comparative politics.

   d)   Define Modernity.

   e)   Write the impact of French revolution on the idea of modernity.

   f)   How industrial revolution brought changes in Western society?

   g)   Write Emile Durkheim's view on the economic aspect of social structure.

   h)   Define civil society.

   i)   What are the benefits of Association life, in Western societies?

   j)   Write two characteristics of biparty system of England.

   k)   How cognition orientation affects political culture of advanced nation.

   l)   How does political culture affects the issue of political stability and change?

   m)   How are political parties classified?

   n)   Write two devices used by Pressure Groups of advances nations.

   o)   What is the role of constitutionalism in European countries?

UNIT-I

II.   Critically examine the debate on the nature of comparative politics.   (15)

III.   Discuss meaning, features and problems of comparative methods.   (15)

UNIT-II

IV.   Give a detailed essay on forms of modernity in Modern Advanced nations.   (15)

V.   Discuss the impact of industrialization on gender relations Western societies. (15)

UNIT-III

VI.   Critically examine the recent debate on civil society in context of advanced nations.

(15)

VII.   Discuss the various problems and prospects of constitutionalism.   (15)

UNIT-IV

VIII.   Critically examine the main agents of political socialization and change for sustainability of democracy and change in advanced industrial societies.   (15)

IX.   Discuss the role of multi party system in politics of France, Italy and Switzerland.

(15)

COMPARATIVE POLITICS : AN INTRODUCTION

Structure

1.0   Objectives

1.1   Introduction

1.2   Comparative politics and related terms

1.3   Historical Perspective

1.4   Features of Traditional Comparative Politics

1.5   Post-war developments

1.6   Characteristics of Comparative Politics in the post-war period

1.7   Summary

1.8   Further Readings

1.9   Model Questions

1.0   OBJECTIVES

This lesson gives you a basic introduction of Comparative Politics. After reading this lesson you should be able to :

-   Understand the meaning and nature of Comparative Polities;

-   Make a distinction between traditional and contemporary perspective of Comparative Politics.

1.1   INTRODUCTION

To both compare and contrast things with one another is one of the old pursuits of mankind. Day in and day out we compare men with men, or men with women, with respect to their habits and modes of dress, living, talking. We also compare animals on the basis of their species, colour of their skin, types of their hooves and claws and so on and so forth. Our interest is not confined only to animate things but we also stretch our exercise even to inanimate things, such as situations, weathers, flora and fauna. We have been indulging in this mental pursuit since times immemorial because we find comparative analysis both interesting and useful. It not only helps us to develop a better appreciation of situations and things but also facilitates our task of decision-making.

This is equally true of politics. Now the question arises; Why do we and other social scientists adopt this method? This is largely for the reason that the primary concern of our study (namely the human beings and their dynamic actions) rules out the feasibility of our going in for the method of experimentation which is so highly

popular, among the natural scientists. Dealing with either the inanimate matter or with such living organisms do not possess reason, the natural scientists find it convenient to test their subject matter under controlled conditions and thereby draw, inferences which invariably prove to be universally true. But the social scientist is incapable of doing so. He cannot isolate a certain set of human beings from, their given environments and thought-lengths and observe their behaviour under controlled conditions. If at all one succeeds in one's efforts, then the conclusion that he would draw will not be universally valid. Keeping in view these difficulties the social scientists resort to the method of comparative analysis thereby widening the horizon of their knowledge.

As regards political science, we have developed in this discipline, a separate sub-field called comparative politics. This sub-field has been so important in the overall study of politics that it has helped us not only to develop a closer insight into the phenomenon of politics at the national, sub-national, and supra-national levels, but has also led us refine our older tools of study and devise new ones. It has also indirectly influenced the development of political theory. Thus there "would not be any exaggeration if we remark that comparative politics has always been central to the study of politics in general.

1.2 COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND RELATED TERMS

Before we proceed further we may refer your attention to four identical terms; comparative government, comparative politics, comparative analysis and comparative method. Until recently the first two were interchangeably used to denote one and the same thing. More specifically the term *Comparative Government* was employed to denote the study of the states and government's organs and thereof (legislature, executive, civil service, Judiciary and even political parties and pressure groups). Of late the terms, *Comparative Politics* has come to be dissociated from comparative government. It is now used for the comparative study of both the structures and processes of various political systems of the world. As regards the term comparative analysis it is an important part of the scientific study of any field whatsoever. Since political science is interested in a comparative study of various political systems, comparative analysis constitutes an important segment of is subject matter. Finally comes the *Comparative Method*. It is in-fact a technique of study and is therefore sometimes synonymously used for comparative analysis.

We may also make a mention to the warning that Eckstein and Apter gave to the students of political science that in case they took a very broad view of comparative politics, then the distinction between comparative politics and political science would become very much blurred. But the problem is, as G.K. Roberts points out that a narrower view can also not be taken. That is the reason why you would discover that the courses of study of modern political analysis and comparative politics overlap at many places.

In this lesson, we would like to acquaint you with the developments in the field of comparative politics since the dawn of this century and how comparative politics is an improvement over (and as such how it differs from) the older concept of comparative government and, finally, what, how and why of comparative politics.

1.3 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Comparative politics has passed through a number of interesting phases of its development. Starting with lofty traditions, so finely cultivated by Aristotle, this sub-discipline has consistently maintained its true spirit and thrust of comparison, until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the rising tide of institutionalism and legalism made it loose comparative character. It reduced itself to a meaningless exercise of institutional description and historical analysis. Then from the second quarter of this century onward, it once again began to gradually acquire its old comparative lustre. Today, it has not only recovered its lost ground but has added many new dimensions to itself. We may describe here below these developments, one by one.

Lofty Traditions : Like any other social science, the sub discipline of comparative politics also traces its origin to the ancient Greek thought. It was Aristotle, the father of political science, who, for the first time, had thought of developing certain classificatory norms about governments. With that end in view, he studied as many as 158 constitutions and then empirically worked out those principles with the help of which the political systems of various states could be compared with one another. The classification given by him holds good even till this day. Following him, a number of political scientists made efforts in this direction. The most noteworthy was the French philosopher Montesquieu, who in his celebrated book, the *Spirit of Laws* (1748) developed the famous theory of the separation of powers which too was the outcome of his vast knowledge of the working of a number of political systems. The *Federalist Papers* is another noted work in this field. These studies and the theories flowing out from them, were not confined to the constitutional framework of the countries concerned. These had, instead, taken due cognizance of the socio-cultural and geo-political environments which conditioned the functioning of the political system. These were quite comprehensive in character. It was in keeping with these traditions that Karl Marx had developed his model of comparative analysis which had taken into consideration so diverse situational factors as economic conditions and historical perspective of society. In this way, we find that comparative politics is an old and quite popular theme of study.

Period of Decay : When in the second half of the 19th century formally-established institutions and laws began to be increasingly looked upon as the bedrock of the political life of a society, comparative politics acquired an altogether new orientation. Where it formerly took a comprehensive view of a number of situational factors which directly or indirectly impinged upon the political life of a society, it now shut itself to analysis of institutional framework alone. Its explanatory thrust of the 'how' and 'why' of things also came to be replaced by a mere description of the formal institutions and constitutions and that too, of a few chosen societies.

The underlying reason for the shrunken purview of comparative politics was that it was around that period that the hitherto amorphous discipline of philosophy came to be split up into a number of specialised studies/disciplines. To elaborate, from times immemorial the whole knowledge that man had piled up over the centuries was classified into either science or philosophy. Whatever related to the non-human world

was described as science, whereas what pertained to the social life of man was philosophy. By the middle of the last century a feeling had grown that various aspects of social life should be studied in depth. It was out of that realization that philosophy came to be broken into sociology, economics, history, political science, etc. Each one of these disciplines would confine itself to its own sphere of specialization. Consequently political science came to concentrate itself on the study of state and the government and, conversely, it abdicated itself from the study of those factors (social, economic and cultural) which affected the functioning of various other political institutions. Obviously, comparative politics would now confine itself to the description of the institutions of various states. More so, for the reason that since the institutions of one state and those of the other hardly had anything in common, the spirit of comparison was automatically denuded.

The other contributory factor which robbed this sub-discipline of the comparative thrust was that by this time democracy had acquired a universal recognition at the hands of both the political philosophers and the practitioners of politics. A large number of the Euro-American people had embraced the democratic creed and such democratic types of government had been established in most of these countries. Wherever democracy had not yet acquired a foothold, serious efforts were under way to establish that form of government. A hope had thus begun to be entertained all over the world that the future of mankind lay with democracy. To quote Macridis, "An even more important factor was the belief at one time shared by many political scientists that democracy was the 'normal' and durable form of government and that it was destined to spread throughout the world. When everyone came to be convinced that the world was soon going to adopt a democratic form of government all over, the political scientists' interest in comparative government wore out. For, they realised that when all countries were to have one uniform type of government, then what was left for them to compare. This thinking was on the same analogy that when all members of a group belong to one age group, one level of knowledge, or wear the same dress then what is to be compared among them and how to do so? The comparative government/politics thus gradually receded to the background. Some of the political scientists, however, continued to maintain their interest.

With the emergence of Communism in Russia and Fascism in Germany and Italy, the older hope that democracy was soon going to be the only form of government all over the world, shattered. Apart from administering a shock to the values of democracy and also posing serious problems to the international order, the emergence of these two undemocratic governmental orders convinced everyone that the world would always have a diversity of governmental and constitutional systems, hence there would be available to the students of comparative government a wide and fertile field for study. Once again, now, the present euphoria in the USSR is understandable. People are drunk with the success they have achieved 80 far in overthrowing the undemocratic rule and domination of a dogmatic, conservative and oppressive party. But, what have they created or what are they going to create in its place ? If they claim to be democratic, can they deny the right to communists to have a reformed political party, without of course the financial, KGB and army support which they had before?

Can they afford to break up wholesale the old structure of government and successfully adopt a 100 percent capitalist free market economy ?

These are questions that only the Soviet leaders and people can decide, and not experts from outside. The Western "Models" are not necessarily the best and the Russians will have to adopt and adapt some of them according to their own special needs and peculiar conditions prevailing in the different republics. As a result, political studies, more particularly, comparative govt, politics once again became a lively and vigorous area of interest.

Already the wider discipline of political science had begun to feel the impact of new developments which had been taking place under the banner of behaviouralism. It had thus become evident that the sub-discipline of comparative government must also come under the sway of the behavioural revolution. This actually happened in the sixties when the interest of the students of comparative analysis shifted over from that of government to politics and as a result, there emerged on the debris of comparative government, the new sub-discipline of comparative politics.

Let us have a pause here and try to review the features of the study of comparative government as was conducted before the sixties. These may be explained as under :-

1.4 FEATURES OF TRADITIONAL COMPARATIVE POLITICS

(a) **Essentially a Study of a Government:** The older studies of comparative analysis were basically focused on the framework of the government, that framework which was shaped by the law and constitution of the country, such as executive (crowns, presidencies, cabinets, prime ministers), legislatures, bureaucracies, judiciary, rule of law, separation of powers, federalism etc. Never an effort was made to go beyond this institutional facade, much less to study the actual interplay of power politics. The study of comparative government was thus highly legalistic and descriptive in character.

Another allied feature of the older study was that we would look at the institutions in their historical, perspective. Whenever, for instance, we were to study the cabinet, say of Great Britain, we would open our account with CABAL of James I and meticulously follow its developments up to the present. Our basic assumption was that the study of government without its proper contextual perspective would be incomplete. History and law thus closely conditioned the study of comparative government.

(b) **Essential Parochial :** The second feature of the older study was that it was too narrow in its coverage. The students of the comparative government would, until recently, focus their entire attention on a few select countries of the Euro-American region. Most popular among them were also those of Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, U.S.A. and Canada. Sometimes, they would also include in their list the countries of the Commonwealth of Nations, Australia and Newzealand those whose governmental structures resembled the British model. Then they also included the U.S.S.R. Their angle of vision was, thus too much restricted. Not to speak of the countries of Asia, Africa or Latin America, they would also not think of the

countries of Eastern Europe. Thus their approach was too parochial in character. It needed to be substantially widened so as to stretch its purview to the world as a whole so that a clear picture of all the countries — developed as well as developing - could emerge. As regards the reasons of the limited nature of the study, Macridis says, "Accessibility of the countries studied, relative ease of overcoming language barriers, and the availability of official documents and other source materials, as well as cultural affinities, account for this fact. It may also not be forgotten that most of these countries were imperialist by nature. They would not therefore like their colonies to be studied.

(c) **Hardly Comparative in Nature :** All older studies of comparative government hardly furnished any worthwhile or truly comparative account of either the structural frame, or the functional pattern of the governments that were then studied. For, most of the students adopted country-by-country study approach. As you are quite familiar that what we did (and in fact we still follow that method at the under-graduate level) was that we would pick up one country and study its government in its totality and then switch over to the next Country. More often than not, we would begin with the British Constitution-the mother constitution. After having studied it, we would take up the American constitution, to be followed by the Swiss constitution, and so on. We would seldom make an effort to correlate our knowledge of one constitution with that of another. All books followed this approach, noteworthy among which may be mentioned. W.B. Munro: *The Government of Europe*, Ogg and Zinc: *Modern Governments*. Another approach that was particularly highlighted (for example by Herman Finer : *Theory and Practice in Modern Governments* and Carl Fredrich : *Constitutional Government and Democracy*) was the institutional approach. Accordingly, they would pick up one institution (say legislature) and study its structural frame and legal functioning in all countries under its coverage. They would juxtapose the facts and would not try to correlate them with one another with a view to developing a theoretical perspective in a truly comparative way. Commenting upon this feature, Almond and Powell remark, "Even Fredrich's arid Finer's work were confined to European political systems, and comparative analysis was often little more than the juxt a position of specific institutional patterns rather than a way of introducing controls in the investigation of relations and causal consequences among political and social phenomenon." R.C. Macridis also very aptly remarks, "Comparative study has thus far been comparative in name only. It has been part of what may loosely be called the study of foreign governments in which the government structures and the formal organisation of state institutions were treated in a descriptive, historical or legalistic manner.

(d) **Essentially Configurative and Descriptive :** The older study of comparative government tried to present a descriptive account of various institutions in configurative manner. In other words, the students in those days were given a detailed mapping of the various institutions that composed the governmental structure in various countries. What was their composition, powers and functions ? Each one of them was described at length. But little efforts were ever made to correlate these facts with one another with a view to developing theoretical perspectives.

We would, for instance study federalism or political party systems of a number of countries and in so great a detail that we begin to understand every little fact about them. But has any one ever taken pains to develop a theory of federalism or political parties which may be able to serve as a guide to the future students and practitioners of politics. Brown describes this approach as *'Layer cake'* approach. He explains it as : "Perhaps the basic weakness is that descriptive knowledge of foreign countries is not cumulative. Interesting information is acquired about selected nations, but no effort is made to relate these systems to each other. The student, in tackling one country after another, adds to his store of knowledge but not necessarily to his understanding of general problems. The result is to put one layer of knowledge on top of another, and so on until observer runs out of countries, time or interest. This might be referred to irreverently as the 'Layer cake' approach.

Since the whole study centred round certain, facts; it had a short-lived relevance. The moment an existing constitution or pattern of government is changed in a country, people would lose interest in it. The knowledge of the older students also becomes stale and meaningless. The study of comparative government was thus static. It was more so for the reason that it concentrated more on structures and very little on their dynamic functioning. To quote Macridis again, "In general, the traditional approach has ignored the dynamic factors that account for growth and change. It has concentrated on what we have called political anatomy. After the evolutionary premises of some of the original works in the 19th century were abandoned, students, of political institutions apparently lost all interest in the formation of other theories in the light of which change could be comparatively studied."

1.5 POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

The second world war, as we know, marked a very significant milestone in the development of the discipline of political science. In the first place, the behavioural revolution completely overtook it and, secondly, there emerged into existence numerous new societies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These developments had serious implications for the study of comparative analysis. The former made its students realise that their analysis, confined to the bare structures of law, was too superficial in character. The must go beyond this institutional facade and try to uncover those factors and forces which in reality conditioned the interplay of the political forces and propelled the wheels of the constitutional and institutional structures into their action. The behavioural movement thus impressed upon them the necessity as well as the desirability considerably widen their sphere of interest be including, besides the legal frame work of the constitution, such informal structures as political parties, pressure groups, public opinion, etc. etc. and also those components of the environments of the political system as impinged upon its functioning. Above all, they must also focus their attention on the actual day to day political behaviour of those men and women who manipulated the phenomenon of politics. The net result was that the students of comparative analysis were compelled to divert their attention from the study of the working of governments (as reflected by the functioning of their legal components) to the study of actual politics of the society (as determined and shaped by the actual actors of the political drama). In other words,

the post second world war period saw the emergence of the true scientific character of comparative politics. Almond describes the development as 'the search for realism.' Elaborating it he says,"............ by the search for realism we refer to the escape for formalism, and from the dominant concern with law, ideology and governmental institutions, into an examination of all the structures and processes involved in political and policy making........... The attainment of depth and realism........... enables us to locate the dynamic forces of politics wherever they may exist."

As regards the second development, namely the birth of new nations in the three hitherto 'dark' continents, it made the students of comparative politics realise that they must also include in their purview the new nations. Unless they do so, their knowledge of comparative politics would not only be incomplete but highly deceptive in nature. For, the new nations presented a marked contrast with the developed societies of the Western Europe, or Northern America. While the developed societies had a highly chiselled institutional governmental apparatus and one which by and large could explain the reality of power politics of these societies, the new nations were yet to achieve that degree of institutional sophistication. Most of them still lived in the tribal state. The phenomenon of politics was, thus, not only interesting but was also highly dependent on forces other than the legal institutions. It was therefore, highly imperative that in case comparative politics was to acquire its true worldwide comparative perspective it must include the study of the new societies and must also tune it in the behavioural fashion. The credit for pulling out these traditional societies from academic obscurity goes to such brilliant minds as David Apter, Lucian Pye, W.W. Rustow, Samuel Huntington, Robert Dahl, etc.

These developments made their impact fully felt in the fifties and sixties when the sub-discipline of comparative politics acquired its present form. The thrust of the new study of comparative politics was towards ; (a) the actual power politics of the society; (b) analysis of the forces and factors (much beyond the narrow confines of the legal, institutional apparatus of the government) that shape the phenomenon of power politics; (c) to undertake a world wide comparative study of the power phenomenon and not simply to analyse it in individual states and juxtapose the facts, correlating them with one another and then work out some theories capable of explaining the facts.

The new approach to comparative politics has been beautifully summed up by Sidney Verba in the following words :

"The revolution in comparative politics started with a number of brave principles; 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 processes and political functions; and look beyond the countries of Western Europe to the new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

The earliest attempts to provide a new direction to the study of comparative politics were made by men like Heckscher, Macrides and Bear and Ulam. By their renowned works, they tried to infuse a consciousness about strategies and methods of comparison. Lead given by them was followed among others, by the famous trio (David

Easton, Gabriel Almond and Karl Deutsche) who blazed a trail in this field too. They provided clear-cut frameworks both for analysis and comparison. We will highlight their contribution in the following section.

Self Assessment Questions

1. Define comparative politics.

    _____

    _____

    _____

2. Any two types of comparative methods.

    _____

    _____

    _____

1.6 CHARACTERISTICS

Comparative politics as developed in the post-war period has these broad characteristics.

(A) Analytical and Empirical Investigation : In the present times comparative politics is not only the theoretical study of government and political system but is an analytical and empirical investigation. This has definitely enlarged the field of our enquiry and has brought more sophistication reality and comprehensiveness in the study of comparative politics. For example a pure ideal type of democracy (Government of the people, by the people and for the people) had no longer utility for specialists comparative government. The definition of democracy now includes the congeries of actual governmental forms and socio-political conditions. Present day student of comparative politics investigates what percentage of voters exercised their right to vote in elections and what factors influenced their voting behaviour. Thus he is able to draw right conclusions. Why the same type of governmental structures perform differently in different countries can be examined with analytical techniques and empirical investigation.

(B) Study of Infra-Structure : As you know the study of comparative politics now is not confined to the formal structures of the government. We have to study the behaviour of the people and the environment under which these structures operate. That is why we use the term political system instead of government. Under such circumstances the study of political parties, pressure groups becomes as important as the study of legislature and executives. Not only this the student of comparative politics also examines the role of such factors as language, religion, race, caste etc. This is what we call the study of infrastructure.

(C) Emphasis on the Study of Developing Societies : The most momentous single factor for the current transformation of the study of comparative polities, however was the rising importance of the developing areas. With large number of

former colonies gaining independence and nation-hood, and their increasing importance in world politics, they simply could no longer be ignored. Many prominent social scientists visited the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and their research reports and theorizing had a revolutionary impact on the study of comparative politics.

(D)   Focus on Inter-Disciplinary Approach : The focus on inter-disciplinary study has really enriched the field of comparative politics. The students of comparative politics do not hesitate to borrow from the disciplines of sociology, psychology, economics and anthropology etc. The system analysis as developed in political science by scholars like David Easton, Gabriel Almond owes its origin to the discipline of biology. You cannot explain the phenomenon of political development without looking for the conditions of social mobilisation. Infact the study of new topics like political development, political socialisation, political acculturation, political modernisation is not possible without applying the sociological and psychological analysis. According to William C. Mitchall, it is certainly an account of the adoption of inter disciplinary approach, by the writers on comparative politics that the subject of political science is said to have undergone a revolution.

(E)   Value Free Political Theory : Traditional scholars of political science are attached to special values. On the basis they examine a political system. However comparative politics has no normative aspect. According to Dr. J. C. Johari, "The concern ideal form, it is with what they are. There is hardly any place for the rules of history or rules of sociology, psychology and economics." James Bryce has said in this regard: "The time seems to have arrived when the actualities of government in its various forms should be investigated." The writers of comparative politics seem to have acted fully on the advice of James Bryce because today they put more emphasis on investigation of the reality and its comparative study. Comparative Politics is the study of political reality, that is why moral values have no place in it.

Let us pause here and try to answer this question. What is comparative politics and how does it differ from political analysis ? Lewis and Potter very aptly remark in this connection that there is no snap answer to this question. They, however, add that it generally refers to those methods, strategies and theoretical perspectives with the help of which one seeks generalisations that provide explanations relating to particular problems or questions about politics. As we have already pointed out that comparative politics unlike its previous counterpart (comparative governments) seeks to study the actual interplay of political forces and political processes the world over. Since politics is too complicated and pervasive a phenomenon where numerous factors, forces and actors, interact with one another, its detailed study needs certain strategies and methods which may be able to (a) to collect all relevant facts and information about all those societies (developed, developing and under-developed) that exist in this world, (b) to properly explain that data in some meaningful way, and (c) to build some theories which may help us to understand the diversities in various systems and also make us predict and overcome the future problems.

Conceived thus, comparative politics in no longer a configurative or descriptive study of various political structures and functions in a few or large number of

systems. It has instead, acquired a theoretical perspective. In other words, we are no longer concerned as to what are the various structures of a system and how do they compare with those of another. Comparative politics has become a body of theoretical knowledge relating to various aspects of political structures and political processes, not only of the developed countries and their governments, but of the developing and underdeveloped societies. It enables us to know in a comparative way how various systems whatever may be the level of their development) function and what problems they are likely to face in the future and how will those be solved.

You might like to point out in the light of the above explanation of comparative politics that there is hardly any difference between comparative politics and political analysis. Infact, a very thin line separates one from the other. Both of them are theoretical in nature and aim at analysing the political processes. But comparative politics has a far wider perspective in the sense that it seeks to cover the societies all over the world (or to borrow a phrase from Geoffery K. Roberts-Universe of Systems) and tries to draw a comparative picture whereas political analysis generally seeks to confine its interest only to one political system. Its probe may however, be deeper in nature. Moreover, it employs comparison as the basic method of study. In this context, Geoffery K. Roberts remarks, "The study of relationship of theories and concepts to the universe of political systems, past and present, and.......... necessarily employing comparison as a means of explanation, is thus the logical field of comparative politics."

In the light of this fact that a very thin line separates comparative politics from political analysis, it may be observed that the study of the former, facilitates the understanding of political science as a whole. You would recollect that last year in M.A. Part I, we pointed out that the discipline of political science has passed through a number of phases, in its development, the latest in the series is behaviouralism. In the very beginning it was the study of the totality of the political phenomenon. Then comes the phase of political philosophy; to be followed by that of institutionalism and, finally, ending in behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism. This is precisely what we also discover in comparative politics. As mentioned earlier, traditional study of comparative politics was institution based. Now it has gradually shifted over to the behavioural aspects. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to remark that the study of comparative politics supplements and strengthens our knowledge of political science.

We are further convinced of this view when we look at the courses of study in comparative politics that our university, as also, others prescribe. The major components of the course are such : important structures, of the political parties, interest groups, political elites, bureaucracy, public opinion; such political processes as the legislative process, the electoral process; the twin, process of modernization and political development, socialization, and recruitment process, So on and so forth. The students are expected to study them in their theoretical perspective, drawing their references from the large body of empirical knowledge of various societies of the world.

1.7 SUMMARY

The study of Comparative Politics is very old. We can trace its origin to the writings of Aristotle where he compared 158 constitutions of the world and developed

his classification of states. It suffered a setback in the 19th century but regain its old glory after the second world war.

The Traditional study of Comparative Politics was largely parochial. It was confined to the study of western constitutions only. It studied only the framework of Govt. It was descriptive in nature.

The rise of behavioural approach and liberation of the Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are the two factors responsible for giving new direction to Comparative Politics. Now it is more analytical and empirical. Its focus is on the study of developing societies and infrastructure of the political system. Moreover it is a inter-disciplinary approach.

1.8 FURTHER READINGS

1. Robert K. Geoffrey, *What is Comparative Politics*, London, Macmillan, 1972.

2. Almond, Gabriel and Powell Binghanm, *Comparative, Politics, A Development Approach*, Little Brown Series, 1966.

3. Lewis, Paul, G. and Potter. C. David, *The Practice of Comparative Politics*, A Reader London, Longman 1973.

4. Brown, B.E., *New Directions in Comparative Politics*, Bombay, Asia, 1962.

1.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss comparative politics, its scope and nature.

2. Define comparative politics. Also discuss its various characteristics.

COMPARATIVE METHOD

Structure

2.0   OBJECTIVES

This lesson deals with comparative method. After going through this lesson you should be able to :

- explain the characteristics of comparative method;

- understand the new strategies of comparison;

- comprehend the difficulties in applying this method.

2.1   INTRODUCTION

In the last lesson you have studied the development and growth of comparative politics. In this lesson we shall confine ourselves to the dissuasion of comparative method. In most sciences, the comparative method is used to indicate similarities, and differences between similar phenomenon. It enables scientist to identify the, causal factors in the origin and development of these phenomenon to explain the causal connection between them. Comparative method is also used in political science. Even

Plato and Aristotle made use of it and through the centuries it has been used to give a mow comprehensive explanation of political phenomenon.

As you know by the close of the sixties, a fresh look began to be given to the strategies and methods of comparative politics. A realization grew that the tools and techniques be further refined so that a firmer theoretical base be provided to it. It was also felt that it had become difficult to properly distinguish it from the overall study of politics. Efforts thus, need to be made to work out a suitable boundary between the two. Pinpointing this problem, Gerffery Roberts says, "This mood may be summarized as being an attempt, first to demonstrate that the profession, as a whole, is grievously impaired by methodological unawareness; second, to improve such awareness by an investigation of the logic of comparative inquiry, and third, to find some satisfactory basic structure (or structures) for comparative politics which will provide a distinctive frame for the area and differentiate it from political science as a whole," The new-comparison development (as it came to be described) was projected by G. Sartori in his paper, "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics" presented to the Round Table, organised by the International Political Science Association in Turin in 1969 in volume of essays edited by Holt and Turner, entitled the "Methodology of Comparative Research, and in a book by Przeworski and Teune. *The logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*. The major thrust of this school was to reform comparative inquiry by radical reversion to fundamentals."

2.2   CHARACTERISTICS

Earlier when the study of comparative analysis was confined to the institutional framework of the government, the strategy that the students applied was simple. They would pick up various institutions, one by one, and study them in the context of their legal norms and historical background. But when the actual phenomenon of politics of various societies is to be studied in its comparative perspective, the students must first determine the perimeters of their study, decide how to conduct the study and only then would it be possible for them to go ahead. As applied to the field of comparative politics, comparative method has following characteristics.

2.2.1 Concepualization

The first problem that a student of comparative analysis (not only of politics but of any other phenomenon) confronts is "What to compare?" Unless he is absolutely clear in his mind about the nature of his quest, he would continue grouping in dark. He must, therefore, build a few concepts and define them as clearly as he can possibly do. This is the step called conceptualization or the formation of central concepts. A number of political scientists have built tax anomies of a few central concepts with a view to undertaking exercises of comparative politics on global scale. We may refer to a few of them.

(a) Almond and Powell : Political structure and culture, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political parties, governmental functions and structures; the communication function; the capabilities of the political systems : types of political systems; and political development.

(b) Beer and Ulam : Political culture; power, interests and policy.

(c) Blondel : Structures, behaviour and the law.

(d) Curtis : Society and the state : Classification of systems, rules of regimes, representation and voting; interests and parties; party systems, assemblies and rule making; political executives and administrative systems.

(e) Macridis : Decision making power, ideology and political institution.

However, in political science the problem with regard to conceptualization is that most of the concepts lack precision and exactness in their meaning. Quite a few of them carry more than one meaning and are, therefore, used with impunity to explain various situations and contexts. Political science-including comparative politics lacks clearly defined and exact concepts and a language in which to express such concepts without ambiguity and imprecision." The debasement of political terminology adds to the problem of the students of comparative politics. G. Sartori, therefore, suggests that comparative politics, must refine its terminology.

2.2.2 Unit and level of Comparison

Next to conceptualization comes the unit of comparison and concomitantly, the level at which comparison is to be undertaken. Until recently, this question did not pose any problem because the state was universally regarded as the only and the most suitable unit of comparison. But ever since the focus of analysis has shifted from the narrow confines of legal formalism to the totality of the political phenomenon, the issue has become quite ticklish. Though certain political scientists still plead the cause of the state. Political system has come to acquire universal recognition as the most valid unit for both political analysis and comparison. The superiority of the political system over all other units is that it provides to the students of comparative politics such a comprehensive frame work that, it not only helps them analyse the various structures, composing the political system, but also takes into preview various other forces and factors (from within the system itself and from its environmental surroundings) that manipulate various political processes of the system. Further, the system concept particularly its structural functional derivative (as developed in 1959 and later on modified in 1966 by Gabriel Almond) furnished certain relevant theoretical perspectives which facilitated the analysis of the power politics of various societies-both developed and developing - in a comparative manner. Almond, for instance, tells us that every system, whether developed or underdeveloped, performs certain functions in order to keep it going. To perform those functions, every system has developed certain relevant structures. What those structures are and how those functions are performed in various systems is a problem to be comparatively studied.

As regards the level of comparison, it may either be 'macro' or 'micro'. For the macro-level comparison, again, the political system is the best unit, as explained above. The micro-level comparison, will, however, involve either certain structures or certain processes of the political systems. We may, for instance, compare the rule making process of a few political systems, some of which are developed and some are under-developed. We would obviously look for those structures which perform this function in various systems and also how they perform it. A good micro-level comparative study will then be forthcoming.

The macro and micro-level comparison pose one problem, namely how to suitably link the two. In case adequate care is not taken at the time of conceptualisation, the problem may be baffling. Conversely, rigorously developed central concepts may considerably facilitate the task of building linkages between the macro level comparisons.

2.2.3 Classification : Classification occupies a very important place in the field of comparative politics as it facilitates the making of broad general judgements about the characteristics of a very complex phenomenon. The task of theory building and testing conclusions becomes easier when a student of comparative politics draws tables and charts to categorise different phenomenon. Classification is an attempt to make jumbled data worth using in the study. Through classification the similarities and dissimilarities between various classes of data becomes clear. After classification, it is possible to know which type of data is more important and which is not so. Moreover without classification, it is not possible to arrange the data in proper form on the basis of which generalisation may be done. For example, if you want to know what differentiates one system of government from another, you can develop as S.E. Finer says, the following categories (a) How far the mass of public are involved in or excluded from the governing process. This is the participation exclusion dimension, (b) How far the mass of the public obey their rules out of commitment or how far out of fear-what may be called the coercion persuasion dimension and (c) how far the arrangements are designed to cause the rules to reflect the actual and current values of the mass of the public or how far they may discard these for the sake of continuity and future values what may be called the order-representativeness dimension.

2.2.4 Hypothesis Formulation and Testing : Hypothesis formulation and then testing is another very important dimension of comparative method. For the scientific analysis of any phenomenon, the requirement of verifiability and applicability must be satisfied, Hypothesis formulation is a step in this direction. The hypothesis is a tentative justification the validity of which remains to be tested. In its most elementary stage the hypothesis may be a hunch, guess, imaginative ideas, which becomes the basis for action or investigation.

In comparative politics political system is the basic unit of study. A student of comparative politics is necessarily concerned with the question as to how political system operates ? A large number of questions come to his mind. What determines the degree to which political system will be responsive to, the demands of the people? What determines the degree of support which the system receives and extracts from the public whether in the form of voting, tax paying or personal service in times of crisis ? What determines the degree of institutional stability within the system ? What determines the level of internal violence which the system must withstand ? What determines the capacity of the system to produce effective leadership to meet the needs of all kinds. The answer to all these questions will help him develop a theory and tested generalisations.

We can say that while following comparative method, one must properly define the conceptual unit, collect the relevant data property, classify it and develop theories, which should be empirically verifiable and testable.

2.3 METHODS

Finally comes the methods of comparison. Along with the efforts to develop new strategies to study comparative politics, political scientists were also busy in refining their method of study. Already the historical method has, by and large, been rejected and everyone was now looking at the natural sciences and was expecting of them to help us build our own methodology. Though comparison itself is a method, the need for more refined, handy and dependable methods was felt all the more because of the changed focus of the study of comparative politics. Now when the students were to analyse in depth various political processes they must employ such methods as may help them collect empirical data and draw valid inferences there from. The methods that they thus devised could, by and large, be put into four broad categories: observation, simple survey, content analysis and simulation. Let us briefly explain each one of them.

2.3.1 Observation : The students of comparative politics often undertake all exercise of observing the functioning of an institution or the manipulation of a process. To do so, they would, for instance, go and sit down in a meeting or accompany a procession and silently watch its proceedings without themselves taking part in it. This type of observations helps them develop an insight into the functioning of an institution.

The importance of observation method is clearly evident in the statement of Goodie & Hatt, "Science begins with observation and must ultimately return to observation for its final validation." The scientist must, then train himself to observe carefully. There are many observational techniques and each has its own uses and problems. In social research, a distinction is drawn between participant and non-participant observation. In participant observation, the investigator can so disguise himself as to be accepted as a member of a group. The researcher need not carry out exactly the same activities as others in order to be a participant observer. But he has to be present while the members of the group perform their activities. That is he may find a role in the group which will not disturb the usual pattern of behaviour. If the members are unaware of the scientist's purpose, their behaviour is least likely to be affected. Thus he may be able to record the natural, behaviour. But this method has certain disadvantages also. When he comes to occupy any position in the group, then many other avenues of information are closed to him. Further the role that he comes to occupy may be so important that he actually changes the group behaviour. He may participate emotionally then he would loose objectivity which is his single greatest assets.

Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define Observation.

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2. What is Hypothesis?

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Non-participant observation answers some of these objections. The researcher can move from one role to another in the field. Non-participant observation is usually quasi-participant observation. Here what a researcher need is a good plan for entering the group. It is the experience of most field researchers that after the initial period of introduction and explanation, the member of the group accept the presence of field worker as legitimate. For non-participant observer that is the problem of understanding fully the significance of certain activities or forms of behaviour. As such observation becomes a weak method for obtaining data relevant to comparative political inquiry. It is limited to fairly small units of inquiry - the committee, the local party organisation, the legislature in session etc. So the tendency has been to use other methods of obtaining data like the sample survey.

2.3.2 Sample Survey : Here the researcher collects the information about the total number of persons actually involved in or affected by certain process/situation. The total number is described as the universe. Out of this universe, a certain sample of the persons is scientifically selected. The effectiveness of sample survey depends on the representativeness of the sample. There are different techniques to make the sample design like random sampling, stratified sampling and purposive sampling. Once the universe is properly defined and sample drawn then the selected persons are interviewed with the help of a questionnaire. Their answers are then studied, quantified, tabulated, processed (sometimes with the help of a computer) and then inferences are drawn. This method has become the standard tool for acquisition of data because of its advantage. Firstly, it is flexible. It can be used for interviewing by post, telephone or face to face. Because of its commercial application, this technique of sample survey has developed a high degree of proficiency. At the same time, it has certain disadvantages also. The cost, the time, the experience, the skill and the technology required for the preparation and execution of sample surveys are enormous, so such so that only few institutions in any one country can hope to use large scale sample survey methods for comparative analysis. The individuals or the small teams do conduct, surveys but these are of limited scope.

2.3.3 Content Analysis : The third method is the collection of relevant information from the books, journals, newspapers, committee reports, statute books and other published literature. Content analysis is a methodologically, sophisticated version of the common sense technique of finding out how an author of a book has treated a particular subject. As we all know a look at the index of the book, and the number of references and space devoted to a particular subject give a fair indication of the importance attached to a particular subject by the author. This common sense technique was gradually improved upon. It is largely due to the efforts of Lasswell and associates that this technique has registered a tremendous improvement. Now it is used quite frequently by scholars to the analysis of books, magazines, newspapers,

films etc. Consists of utilising a system of categorisation on which basis the communication of documentary content is analysed quantitatively and this in turn is graded to test hypothesis the investigator sets before himself. For example the content analysis may be used to test hypothesis about the treatment of minority groups in magazines articles or in films etc. or to inquire into propaganda techniques. We take a systematic sample of newspaper editions and count the relative number of editorials expressing favourable, unfavourable and neutral attitude towards a certain international issues. This method also suffers from a number of limitations. Inspite of that if content analysis is used in a scientific manner, it can bring a good deal of validity and reliability in the field of social research.

2.3.4 Simulation : In this method students subject certain processes to controlled conditions of study (Under different conditions of time, space, social and ecological environment) and then try to know their actual working. This method helps them know the behaviour of institutions and processes in their dynamic form.

These are some of the new methods which the students of comparative politics widely, use in order to know and compare the phenomenon of politics in various societies.

2.4 CRITICAL ESTIMATE

Undoubtedly, comparative method is the proper method of understanding and analysis of comparative politics. However, this method of study has following problems that defy the requirements of scientific analysis.

1. Scholars of comparative politics have used many new terms and various scholars do not agree regarding their meaning. So the lack of common terminology with common meanings is a big hindrance in the way of following comparative method. In other words the problems in concept construction often make the task of accurate comparisons difficult. For example the term development is defined differently by western and Marxists scholars.

2. Proper knowledge about facts is essential for scientific method, whereas today we are facing the problems of fact-finding. Scholars encounter number of difficulties in collecting information and data about political system and other institutions. This is particularly so in the case of developing societies. Even in case of communist states people are unable to get correct information, because there the means of propaganda are under government control and therefore, distorted facts are presented. So many difficulties arise due to lack of proper information.

3. For understanding any political system we have to look in to number of variables i.e. economic conditions, social conditions, climate, geography etc. without getting adequate political phenomenon properly. At the same time it is very difficult to cover all these things. This is the reason that when we study two political systems, we are not able to draw right conclusions. It is not only difficult but impossible to bring every fact in the scope of our study.

4. Individual is the main subject of comparative politics. The roles that individuals play in the politics of their country cannot be subjected to uniform rules as evolved by a student of comparative politics. However, it is very difficult to make generalisations about human behaviour which changes according to time and circumstances.

5. The inter-disciplinary approach adopted in this discipline has considerably widened the scope of comparative politics. One is often faced with the difficulty of knowing as to what the subject of comparative politics includes and what it excludes. Whereas it is very essential to define the boundaries of the area of the study to follow comparative method.

6. Much of the comparative politics is concerned with the issues of stability and maintenance of political system perhaps on account of this basic assumption that power is always conservative. It is a fact that all political systems undergo change and with it politics can never remain in a change-less situation. The point of difficulty arises when we find lending theorists virtually ignoring the aspect of change.

These formidable difficulties lead to a very simple and straight forward conclusion that the study of comparative politics cannot be given a scientific character without having a set of rigorous concept construction. We cannot ignore this fact that it lacks tools for comparative inquiry with the help of which statement of universal political truths may be made. Thus G. Sartori while commenting on the concept misinformation in comparative politics, remarks that no comparative science of politics is plausible on a global scale unless we can draw an extensive information which is sufficiently precise to be meaningfully compared.

However, such a list of problems does not tend to suggest that the study of this subject is impossible but it explains why the development of a general theory has proved an arduous task. Inspite of all these difficulties modern theorists have invented certain theories with the help of which political systems can be compared not only on the basis of their structures but also on the lines of their infrastructure to the extent it is possible.

2.5 SUMMARY

Traditional method of comparison was descriptive and parochial whereas method is analytical and empirical. The characteristics of this method are :

(a) Conceptualisation : The student of Comparative Politics has to be very careful in building concepts and properly defining them. Then he has to decide, (b) the unit and level of comparison. It can be micro or macro, (c) Classification means putting the data in various categories, (d) and hypothesis is an assumption which gives direction to the study.

For collecting data, students can use the methods of observation, sample survey, content analysis and simulation. Out of these sample surveys are the most commonly used method.

2.6   FURTHER READINGS

1. Deshpande, Satish. *Contemporary India, A Sociological View.* Viking Penguin Books India, 2003.

2. O.P. Guaba. *An Introduction to Comparative Politics,* Mayoor, 2007.

2.7   MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What are the characteristics of comparative method ?

2. Discuss the problems in applying this method to the study of Political systems.

VARIOUS APPROACHES

Structure

3.0   OBJECTIVES

This lesson introduces you to various approaches to the study of comparative Politics. After studying this lesson you should be in a position to:

- describe the traditional appproaches;

- understand the behavioural approaches;

- distinguish between traditional and new approaches.

3.1   INTRODUCTION

After having acquainted you with the meaning & nature of comparative politics and comparative method, let us now undertake the study of various, approaches which have been applied to its study. First of all, we will pick up those approaches which were though very popular in the past are no longer used with so much of enthusiasm now, Thereafter, we will switch over to the modern approaches. Looking back at the development of political science, we find that there has been a plurality of approaches. Its students have applied not one but number of approaches to study its subject matter. Another feature which is note-worthy in this respect is that these approaches cannot be chronologically listed, in the sense that these were not used in some sequential order. One notices a number of approaches being applied by various writers at one and the same time, and even by one and the same writer. In fact there has been a good deal of over lapping in the approaches themselves.

To come to the approaches, their classification is a pretty difficult task in view of the multiplicity of the classificatory norms. These may be classified in the first instance, on the basis of fact-value proposition, into the normative, empirical and the analytical approaches. The second classification can be made in accordance with the objects of study and accordingly there is a three-fold division: the philosophical and ideological approaches; the institutional and structural approaches, and the behavioural approaches. Then there may be the inductive and the deductive approaches, the normative or prescriptive and positivistic approaches. All these approaches, can broadly be classified into four different approaches, namely, philosophical, institutional, historical and behavioural. Before we go ahead with the detailed description of these approaches, we must point out to you that the behavioural approach is the latest and the most modern approach. All others are the older approaches, hence described as traditional approaches.

3.2   TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

3.2.1 Philosophical Approach

One of the oldest approaches and perhaps the only one which commanded the maximum of popularity with the students of political science, has been the philosophical approach, Actuated by the desire to find out a suitable answer to such philosophical questions, as, why man did not live upto the ideal postulated in natural law, or what is a good life, what constitutes an ideal state, how much authority should state exercise over the individual and how much freedom be conceded to the latter etc. etc. A large number of the ancient and even the modern day political theorists, approached the whole issue of politics from a philosophical angle. Obviously, they would dig deep into the realm of logic and reason, metaphysics and pure philosophy, and would intensively study such abstract issues as, the idea of the good, natural law, state of nature and would dabble in such issues as justice, absolute standards of right and wrong, equality, political obligation, etc. etc. and would finally work out a few guiding norms or would construct a utopia. Everyone starting from Plato and coming down to such modern philosophers as Sartre or Hennah Arendt fall in this category.

The first feature of this approach thus lies in its subject matter. Unlike the behavioural or empirical approach, which basically deals with the actual interplay of political forces, the philosophical approach is concerned with abstract questions of a philosophical nature. Some of the themes which had been popular with the ancient writers were, religion, metaphysics, reason, idea of the good, natural law, justice, good life, liberty, equality etc. etc. This approach makes the philosopher fly in the higher reaches of imagination and seek truth and knowledge.

In the second place, this approach is normative in character in the sense that all those who practised it, would hot only try to study the logic of certain things and phenomena but would also indulge in an exercise of building up certain norms, of a prescriptive nature. They would make suggestions about how the shape of things ought to be. Plato, for instance, suggests the communism of wives and property, and also prepares comprehensive plan of education. Innumerable examples of this type of prescriptive norms and utopias can be cited. Most of these writers weaved these norms into a fine vast network of theories with the help of which they sought to recast the

whole fabric of society, thereby giving to their philosophical ideas the shape of an ideology. In this context we can name such noteworthy philosophers as Plato (for his ideal state), Hobbes (for his absolute monarchy), Locke (for his theory of constitutionalism), Marx (for his Philosophy of communism), and so on and so forth. That is why this approach is also sometimes described as the ideological approach.

In the third place, this approach is based on the deductive method. Coming across this term for the first time, you would obviously like to know its meaning and implications. There are two important methods, deductive and inductive, by means of which social sciences can be studied. The former leads from generalisation to data and the latter from data to generalisation. To elaborate, in the deductive method, we make certain assumptions in our mind about certain things and then we try to apply them to concrete situations. On the other hand, in the inductive method, we first of all study the situations objectively and then try to draw certain inferences which later oh become our norms of guidance for the future. To illustrate, Plato assumed that there are elements in the personality of an individual: reason, physical strength and appetite. They are never found in absolute proportion in everyone. Some have greater reason, others greater amount of physical strength and still others greater amount of appetite. He accordingly divided the population of a state into three categories : philosophers, auxiliaries, and husbandsmen. He then suggested different types of education, upbringing, and roles for each type of citizen. He thus applied deductive logic in his approach. On the other hand Aristotle did not jump at certain generalisations, but preferred to study the constitutions of as many as 158 states and then drew certain inferences and thereupon tried to construct his 'ideal state'. Everyone of those theorists who practised the philosophical approach, adopted, the deductive logic. For, they believed that (to quote Moris R. Cohen), "great scientific achievements are never made by those who start with an open mind, without any knowledge or anticipation of nature. In order to find something we must look for it. And the process of formulating new hypothesis or new experiments to test old hypothesis, while it requires original insight, is necessarily dependent on logical deduction from previous knowledge. Deduction is thus a necessary part or instrument of research."

The philosophical approach, as hinted above, was very popular in earlier times. But with the dawn of the era of behaviouralism, it has been considerably pushed to the background. Very few writers appear to be adopting this approach now. Most of the modern theorists are enamoured of the idea of studying the actual interplay of political forces and are thus concerned with the empirical survey of the behaviour of the actual actors of the political drama. But even then there are persons who still think in terms of probing deeper into the outer crusts of the day to day transient behaviour of the political actors and study the vital questions of political life. Incidently we may refer here that one of the charges that some of the behaviouralists (whom David Easton describes as post-behaviouralists) level against behaviouralism is that the students and researchers under its hypnotic influence forgot to study the deeper questions of a lasting nature and as a result the world has come to stand on the edge of a global catastrophe. People have thus not forgotten the value and importance of vital questions that have tormented the world for such a long time and which have shaped

the acheme of things in the past and which still condition the life of the modern man. If we look into the literature of the twentieth century, we come across men like Hobhouse, Laski and Barker, who like the Greeks, also built up their own conceptions about such perennial topics as rights, duties, liberty, equality, justice and more than anything else, political obligation. They conceived of theory in the traditional Grecian sense of contemplation, prescription normative injunctions, etc.

The philosophical approach is popular even today. We might not have produced great works of the magnitude of Plato's Republic or Aristotle's Politics, but we still study in the philosophical way the impact of the thinking of the traditional philosophers on our lives. We also produce ideologies and debate on the traditional questions of political importance. Democracy, communism, totalitarianism, authoritarianism, justice, political obligation, revolution are some of the very popular themes with us.

Not only do we consider and debate some of the traditional issues of political importance; but we also indulge in the game of prescriptiveness. The global game of power politics is nothing but the imposition of certain ideologies on others. In the same manner, deductive approach still conditions our approach to the study of politics. Even while analysing the behaviour of certain individuals or institutions, or conducting the macro analysis of a certain aspect of the political phenomenon, we proceed with certain hypothesis, which in other words, is nothing but a few pre-determined assumptions which we want either to be proved or disapproved. In a way, our modern inductive approach is based on deductive logic. Thus, the philosophical approach has not only been a dominant mode of enquiry in the past but also continues, to guide the path of a number of researchers even today.

3.2.2 Historical Approach

The old saying, "history is past politics and politics is present history," ideally sums up the meaning of this approach. Towards the last quarter of the 19th century there emerged a group of political scientists who believed that a proper understanding of the government and other political institutions was not possible unless one cared to study the historical background of these institutions. In their opinion, history provides to political scientists an ample record of man's past experience, particularly its political aspect by studying which he can develop a better and closer insight into the working of various institutions and forces that condition the political phenomenon. History in fact is the matrix which provides shape and form to politics. One cannot appreciate politics unless one cares to review its past. History is, therefore, an important and indispensable adjunct of political science.

The impact of the historical or evolutionary school of thought was so great that the closing years of the last century witnessed innumerable political scientists-giving themselves to the active of history. Richard Jensen says that men like John Burgers, Dunning, Herbert Adams, Woodrow Wilson, Albert Bushnell, etc. were often more conversant with history than with government. The John Hopkins University of USA which had become the home of most of the political historians, had undertaken an extensive programme of training political science students in the knowledge of history. Elsewhere, political science departments had come to be tagged with those of history.

In our own country too, most of the universities had composite departments of history and political science. Further, no piece of research in politics was considered worth its paper unless it had been worked in its proper historical perspective. The courses and syllabi of political science in most of the universities had been heavily overloaded with the study of the history of political Institutions. Until recently, we too taught constitutional history of India and Great Britain to our M.A. students. It was this type of thinking which inspired men like Dunning, Sabine, Gettel and others to write histories of political thought and philosophy.

The task of the students of history is to lay bare certain facts and situations as they actually existed at that particular point of time, so that the student of political science who is seized of a certain particular political problem or institution, may himself draw inferences whatever he wants and thereby serve his purpose. But David Easton warns us that the historical approach often degenerates into a historicist approach or historicism. He means to say that often students mingle their own values with history and they try to correlate values with the milieu in which these values appear, and then they explain the historical process through which those values have appeared and finally they work out the meaning and consistency of those values and ideas. Thus, they colour their findings of history with their own thinking and often distort their importance. He charges Dunning and Sabine of indulging into historicism.

The historical approach, though at one time, commanded a good deal of popularity, soon lost ground. The political scientists of the post-world war first period felt so highly impressed by the role that psychology, sociology and social psychology played in shaping of the political phenomenon that they disliked the very idea of drawing their source material from history. In this way, the role of history and its study by political scientists considerably shrank. However, towards the beginning of the last decade historical approach once again gained some of its lost popularity. Younger scholars began to turn their attention increasingly to the record of the past with a view to providing to their studies a broader base. Incidently their dependence upon history also in a way promoted the concept of interdisciplinary approach.

Self Assessment Questions

1. Define Behaviouralism.

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2. Discuss System approach.

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3.2.3 Institutional Approach

Another very important approach which until recently had dominated the study of politics is the institutional approach. It is also described as the descriptive or formal legalistic approach. Though its roots extend back to Aristotle's description and classification of constitutions of Greek city states,, its recent origin can be traced to utilitarians who used to say that if one wants to reform society, let one reform its institutions first; the society would then take care of itself. This approach lays emphasis on the study of institutions (to quote Wasby) ranging from constitutions and other basic documents on which government is supposed to rest, through the structure of legislatures, courts and executive branches to the rules by which political parties are run, registration and election laws, and the intricacies of different forms of municipal government. The main focus of its quest is thus only those institutions as have been formally and legally established by the society. It does not go beyond their study and considers men who manipulate these institutions to action as constant units having absolutely no say in the running of these institutions. To quote David Easton, the institutionalists treat, individuals as 'wooden automation'. They regard individuals as faithful executors of decisions, having absolutely no will of their own or any role to play.

The institutional approach was a reaction to the long political tradition of the absolute rule of individuals in states. Gradually people came to assert that it should be the law and not men who should guide the destinies of the people. It was in the wake of that struggle that the supremacy of the institutions and laws came to be recognised, and the importance of the individuals was undermined. This type of development made political scientists concentrate, their attention on the study of the political institutions, legal norms and constitutions.

The constitutional position, for example, of the British monarch, cabinet, parliament, etc. was analysed at length. The English legal practices of the common law or rule of law were examined. The powers and structures of courts were studied. Election laws and systems of representation were subjected to close Scrutiny. The inter-relationship among different branches or organs of the government were described. This was repeated endlessly in the case of all the countries of western Europe and North America. If a country happened be a federation, like USA or Canada, the distribution of power between the centre and the units was discussed. The procedures of amendment of the constitutions were debated. Quite often, such studies were presented as work on comparative government. In this connection, such eminent works can be cited as Herman Finer's *The Theory and Practice of the Modern Government, Munro's European Government, Dicey's Law of the Constitution, Burgess's Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law, etc. etc.*

Of all the traditional approaches to the study of political science, the formal legal, institutional approach has been considered to be the most barren and unrewarding. It ignored the role that individuals play in the manipulation of the political process. It might have been good tactical move on the part of political scientists to have attached the highest importance to the institutions when men were ruling the world in a most ruthless manner. But to permanently ignore the role that

individuals play in the shaping of political forces would be nothing short of robbing the study of politics of its true character. To explain the institutions and their legal working does not in any way contribute, to theory building especially when there is little contemplative element in their study. That is the reason why both behaviouralists and philosophic writers reject this approach as the most barren one.

3.3 NEW APPROACHES

3.3.1 Behavioural Approach

The most prominent development of the post-World War II period was the rise of the behavioural approach in polities. You would recollect that in the early twenties, Charles E. Merriam had tried to give a behavioural bias to research in Political Science. He could not make much headway. By the time War drew to an end, science had already made commendable progress and the social scientists had also become wiser of both the situation and of the methods of scientific study. The stage had, thus, been set for behaviouralism to grow and flourish.

Before we highlight its achievements, we must explain to you the meaning and implications of behaviouralism. The term 'behaviouralism' does not signify a separate branch or field of study that might have recently been introduced in Political Science. It is just one way, as David B. Truman points out," of studying most of the customary matter of political science."[1] In other words, it is a new approach, to the study of the political phenomenon which does not in any way contradict or reject the older approaches but only supplements and supports them so that a closer and deeper understanding of the political process may be achieved. You know that for centuries, scholars and researchers of Political Science had been focusing their attention on the formal constitutional structures, thinking that the whole political phenomenon is exclusively shaped by the functioning of these structures, as determined by the forces of law and history. They did not take into consideration either the sociological environments in which these institutions are implanted and grow, or the type of persons, who, manipulate them into action, They would consider the people who sit at the helm of political affairs as (to quote David Easton[2]) "wooden automation" who do not seem to vary in their predispositions. It is the behaviouralists who by experience, have learnt that one of the very potent influences that shapes functioning of the political institutions; is the behaviour of the individuals who make these institutions actually work. Their basic premise is that each individual has his own distinct psychology which, in its turn is conditioned by his feelings emotions and other orientations. No two individuals therefore, behave alike. As regards the institutions, their functioning too differs from place to place and within the same country, from time to time, the reason being that men and women who operate them go on changing

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1. David B. Truman, 'Implications of Political Behavioural Research' a paper presented to an inter-university Seminar on Political Behaviour, organised by the American Political Science Association and Published in American Political Science Review Vol. 46 (1952) p. 1004.

2. David Easton, The Political System an inquiry into the state of political science, Calcutta Scientific Book Agency, 1971.

every now and then. The behaviouralists, thus, try to elevate the individuals (to quote David Easton again) to the center of attention.

Behaviouralism does not indicate a mere shift in the focus of research alone. More than that, it implies an induction into political research of a completely new, comprehensive range of scientific methods. It was but obvious that necessary research tools should have also been devised side by side so that the desired objective of studying the actual political phenomenon may be conveniently achieved. The new research armoury includes such tools as survey research, the interviewing, quantification of the data and its statistical processing and interpretation, case studies, roll-call behaviour analysis, etc. These have been drawn and developed from natural sciences, such as physics, logic, mathematics, statistics and biology. A researcher who makes use of this scientific methodology frequently makes excursions into the realms of mathematics, statistics, psychology and logic and employs such new aids as parameters, scales, graphs, questionnaires, hypotheses, designs and also takes the assistance of such mechanical devices as computers, calculators and other scientific gadgets.

Though tracing its origin to the early twenties, behaviouralism gathered momentum only in the late forties and in less than a decade it developed itself into a vigorous movement. This movement owes a considerable amount of debt to a large number of American scholars who by their independent efforts helped it to grow fast. In this connection, the contribution made by men like V.O. Key, Herbert A Simon, Gabriel A. Almond, David B Truman, Heinz Eulau, David Easton, Richard Coleman, G.B. Powell and of many others are especially noteworthy. In addition to the efforts of these individual scholars, the role played by the two committees of the American Social Sciences Research Council, namely the Committee on Political Behaviour and the Committee on Comparative Research, and a number of panels that the American Political Science Association constituted from time to time in the fifties and the sixties, has also been highly commendable. Above all, the financial assistance provided by the Carnage, Rockfeller and Ford Foundations to behavioural researches has also been responsible to a very large extent in giving a fillip to this movement. But for the hand of help offered by them, most of the researchers might not have been able to undertake this costly exercise of behaviour research.

In this way, the movement of behaviouralism owes its success to brilliant scholars, to their learned associations, and to a couple of educational foundations.

3.3.2 Systems Approach : Hitherto, political scientists concentrated their attention on formal structure of the constitutions and studied them in an individual, detached and disintegrated fashion. No longer would they adopt that approach. Instead, they would now take a much more comprehensive view of political structures. Besides the old familiar formal structure (Constitutions, government etc.), they would include in them all other informal, structures which directly or even indirectly affect the political process. Further, they would take a total integral view of the collective functioning of these diverse structures. Thus, the focus of study shifted from individual structures/institutions to the processes. It is in that context that the political scientists developed the system approach.

Before we explain to you the systems approach, we would like to tell you the specific causes which led to the emergence of this approach. In the first place, we may refer to the problem posed by the rise of the new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in the field of comparative politics. Hitherto, the scholars were familiar only with the sophisticated institutions of political democrarcies. of North America and Western Europe. Being the product of law and constitutions, these institutions, by and large, were uniformely structured all over and their functioning too did not show much of variance. It was therefore, easy to compare the institutions of one country with those of the other. But the position operating in the new countries was much too different. In view of the striking contrast in their levels of political development, most of these countries did not possess the western type of sophisticated institutions. On the contrary, the political life there was regulated by a variety of political structures which were a combination of tradition and in some cases that of modernisation as well. It was but obvious that in such an unfamiliar state of affairs, the old traditional approach of comparison would not be of much help to the political analysts to draw meaningful conclusions. They must need to develop a new approach, hence the system approach.

The second factor responsible for the growth of the new approach of the systems analysis, was the rise of behaviouralism. To repeat, the political analysts would not confine their analysis to mere structures or institutions. Instead, they would study the actual functioning of the system which would be possible only if the behaviour of the actors of the political, drama is taken into consideration along with all its ramifications. It is only then that the total picture of the functioning of the system would emerge and provide meaningful conclusions. These were the two factors that led to the growth of the systems approach. Let us now acquaint ourselves with the systems approach.

For a student who has been given a grounding of the constitutions, the term 'system' would definitely sound unfamiliar. The system is a concept which, in plain words, has been devised to make the study of the political phenomenon as comprehensive as possible.

You know the legal descriptive approach, which confined its treatment to the formal constitutional structures, was too much restricted in scope. It not only left out of its purview the behaviour of those who operated those structures but also the entire range of complex environment in which those structures grow and function. The systems analysis was devised primarily with a view to overcoming these shortcomings of the traditional approach.

In fact systems concept is a brain child of the sociologists. It is from them that political scientists adopted it in their own study and research. The political sociologists (those political scientists who try to correlate the political process with the sociological environment) are of the opinion that the whole political activity of a society takes place in such an order or systematic manner that the various individuals who play their role in it, are related with one another in a variety of interacting patterns,. The whole of this activity is interwoven in a system so well that slight stress or strain

on anyone of its connecting links, sooner or later, affects the functioning of the whole system.

We may illustrate this concept by referring to the solar system. You know that all the planetary bodies-earth, mars, Jupiter, Neptune and others-are related to one another in a system and, as such, all of them revolve round the sun. They remain in their respective positions simply because they are part and parcel of the larger whole- the planetary system. If anyone of them at any time slightly deviates from its given position in the system, the whole world would go topsy turvy. In the same manner, the various components of the political system function from their respective positions, interacting upon one another.

Apart from its characteristic of the interdependence of parts, a system has a well-defined boundary as well. Being a part of the larger whole, called the social system, a political system is distinct from other parallel systems. There are limits where it begins and where it ends, though it becomes difficult to clearly discern them.

Internally, a system is composed of a number of interacting structures, which, in their turn, are further composed of roles. Again these two terms are new to you. Within a system an individual performs a number of functions. That particular function that an individual performs in relation to a certain set of individuals is called his role. In this way, a person performs a number of roles. One may be a respectative a legislator and minister all at one and the same time. A role is thus an institutionalised form of behaviour or activity.

The various roles are related to one another in a variety of interacting patterns of forms. Each pattern which, in other words, is a combination of few roles is called a structure. To illustrate, the roles of the judges, jury, prosecutor, defence counsels, witnesses, all combine together to constitute one bigger whole called the court. The court wherein these above mentioned different roles and perhaps a few others interact with one another would, thus be described as a structure. As roles combine together in the same manner, few structures put together form a sub system and a few sub-systems, a system. For instance a few courts such as those of sub-judge, district judge, high court and the supreme court combine together to form the judicial sub-system, which in turn, is a part of the political system of which the legislature, the law enforcement mechanism, the political parties, the pressure groups, the electrol sub-system and the bureaucracy are a few other components. To sum up, a system is a combination of inter-acting patterns of relationship which has, more or less, a distinct boundry. The whole of it functions like one integrated process in the sense that one activity would automatically follow the other and that the subsequent activity would not take place unless the preceding activity is fully gone through.

In the realm of Political Science, it was David Easton who, for the first time, made an attempt to introduce the systems concept. He worked out a new systems model of political analysis. Following him, men like W.R. Michell tried to improve upon his model. Despite their efforts, Easton's model remained one of the principal guides to political analysis. Another equally renowned model is that of Gabriel A. Almond. He too followed the basic scheme of Easton, but his model ultimately turned out to be pretty different from that of Easton. It is better known as the Structural-Functional model.

3.4   POST-BEHAVIOURALISM

Toward the close of the sixties, Political Science once again met a challenge. Some behaviouralists gradually discovered that their new approach of empirically studying the political phenomenon would not help them to either foresee or avert the social crisis. This realisation made them develop a sense of dissatisfaction with Behaviouralism.

We may point out to you that under the impact of behaviouralism, Political Theory had come to concentrate itself on the study and research of the existing situation. A political researcher would no longer tax his energies in futile idealism, speculating about the future state of affairs. Instead, he would study the present day problems with as much sense of objectivity as he could possibly command to himself and in doing so, he would depend upon the new research tools which had mostly been adapted from the natural sciences. As a result, there gradually came to emerge, what may be said, a value-free political theory.

In other words, it implied that a researcher would dig out the facts and highlight all the relevant aspects of a said political situation. But he would refrain from passing a judgement even if he, in his heart of hearts, is convinced of its malfunctioning.

The Post Behaviouralists do not approve of this attitude of 'an idle spectator' of things on the part of political scientists. They point out that in a period of stress and strain it is the duty of the political scientists not only to help alleviate the situations but to render their occurrence difficult by his forethought, perspective-imagination and positive idealism. He should stretch his imagination and hereby provide a positive direction to, the world. But unfortunately Behaviouralism had pushed the discipline into a deplorable state of academic detachment. "But as we look back", observes David Easton, "behaviouralism has not succeeded in its effort. Social crises of unforeseen proportions are upon us and we the political scientists have neither been able to avoid them nor provide a solution for over-coming them". Too much of emphasis on 'scientism' and facts had produced trivial pieces of research, which do not have a long-term importance and are thus of little value to the philosophy. Scientific methodology has squeezed the vitality from political science. It needs to become imaginative, creative and open to the world.

Thus, holding the political scientists largely responsible for the present-day ills of the society, the Post Behaviouralists call upon them to make their discipline a problem-solving one. The political scientists should not content themselves by merely finding put the facts of a particular situation, but should try to solve it. Their role is not that of a mechanic or a technician so as to freely tinker with society. "To Know", remarks David Easton, "is to bear the responsibility for acting and to act is to engage in re-shaping society. The intellectual, as scientist bears the special obligation to put his knowledge to work." The only course the Post-Behaviouralist suggest to the political scientists, is to resume their old, forgotten role of a political philosopher. They should give up their value free approach to politics and also not waste their precious time in refining their methodological tools. So long as they do not develop future oriented constructive values the world cannot get rid of the present malaise. They should stop their segmental approach to things (i.e. their method of taking up just one

single, detached aspect of a situation, say, political socialisation, or voting behaviour, and intensively study it). This approach has produced little pieces of literature which may be of great significance in so far as the small current period is concerned, but as soon as that particular phase of time or situation is over, these pieces would pale into insignificance. The future researchers may not refer to them at all. The future political scientists must, therefore, discard this trivial approach and should feel concerned about such basic and vital issues as justice, freedom, equality, democracy, and the like. Their constructive thinking would alone help the society in both overcoming the present crisis and avoiding the future crisis also.

Post-Behaviourlism, understood as such, is a movement as well as an intellectual tendency. It does not introduce any new approach in political research. It simply calls upon the researchers to change their focus and, accordingly, their methodology also. Since more and more people have accepted their suggestion, it has acquired the character of both a tendency and a movement.

Towards the end, we may sum up by saying that the suggestion of Post-Behaviouralists that the researchers should tackle the basic political question and construct positive values and thereby show a direction to the people is universally welcome, even by the Behaviouralists. But in so far as their pleas for discarding the scientific approach and scientific methodology is concerned, the researchers hesitate to accept it and argue that Political Science can be made a problem solving discipline only if it scientifically analyses them in an objective manner. Thus, the latest trend in political research is towards blending the good aspect of both Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralism.

3.5 SUMMARY

Various approaches to the study of Comparative Politics can broadly be classified into traditional and new approaches. Among the traditional approaches, Philosphical approach is the oldest one. This approach looks into certain abstract issues of philosophical nature. It is normative in character and is based on deductive method. Historical approach which became popular in the 19th century, emphasised on the study of historical background of Political institutions. It explained the situation as they existed at a particular point of time which helped the students draw certain inferences. Another traditional approach popular in the 19th century and early 20th century is the Institutional approach. Its focus is on the study of certain formal legally established institutional.

All these traditional approaches ignored the role that individuals play in the manipulation of political process. New approaches tried to overcome this weakness. In the Behavioural approach individual is the centre of attention. It is the behaviour of the individual which determines the nature of political process. To study the Political system of any country the environment in which these institutions operate is also equality important. All this required the introduction of new scientific methods to study the political phenomenon.

In Political Science Systems approach was developed by David Easton. It lays emphasise on the study of integral processes instead of individual structures/institutional.

Post Behaviouralists imparted new look to Political Science partly by reintroducing in it a concern for philosiphical issues and partly by retaining behaviouralists zest for empirical study of social problems.

3.6 FURTHER READINGS

1. O.P. Guaba, *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

2. Rod Hague, Martin, Harrop. *Comparative Government and Politics – An Introduction*, New York, Palgrave, 2001.

3.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the factors responsible for the rise of systems approach in Political Science.

2. Discuss the main features of the Philosophical approach.

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

Structure

4.0   Objectives

4.1   Introduction

4.2   Almond's Model

    4.2.1 Basic Premises

4.3   Functional Aspect of Political System

    4.3.1 Conversion Functions

    4.3.2 Capability Functions

    4.3.3 Pattern Maintenance and Adaptation Functions

4.4   Summary

4.5   Further Readings

4.6   Model Questions

4.0   OBJECTIVES

The lesson shall help you to :

- notice how Almond is influenced by David Easton's, model;

- learn basic premises of Almond's model;

- understand how comparative study of Political systems can be made on the basis of Structural Functional Approach.

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Functionalism, as this approach is sometimes described, is very old, perhaps dating back to the day when inquiry into the political phenomenon began. However, in its present form, it is a recent development. In its present form, it largely stems from the writings of anthropologists, like Malinowski and Redcliffe Brown, and sociologists like Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton and Levy. Since 1950, it is also being increasingly used in political science. One of the pioneers in this direction has been Gabriel Almond. He felt the necessity of introducing the functional approach in politics, more specifically in the field of comparative politics, in view of the fact that the older functional approach had become somewhat out-moded due to the sweeping changes taken place in recent years.

To talk in its proper historic perspective, functionalism has been quite, in old approach and even Aristotle referred to it while enacting his classical model of the forms of government. In the 18th century, Montesquieu gave it a proper shape by formulating his theory of the separation of powers. His analysis of the structures of

the governments comprising the legislative, executive and judicial branches, was nothing but an application of the theory of functionalism. The Federalist papers also refer to it and suggest an improvement over, this theory by incorporating in it the doctrine of the checks and balances. In modern terminology, the latter highlight the principle of multi-functionality of structures. This tripartite division of the government held ground for a long time but with the emergence of a host of new factors, such as adult franchise, the development of mass political parties, the rise of organised pressure groups, the revolutionary changes in the mass communication media and such other developments have brought, into play a number of new functions, such as interest articulation, interest aggregation and communication, etc. These new functions would obviously not be covered by the traditional governmental structures. They needed new-formal and non-government structures. The result was that the traditional tripartite structural arrangement no longer served the changed purpose. Gabriel Almond became conscious of the limitations of the traditional structural division and then thought in terms of employing the new systemic approach to the problem of functionalism. This is how political scientists began to make use of the structural functional approach in the macro-analysis of the political phenomenon. Let us now study Almond's model.

4.2   ALMOND'S MODEL

Gabriel Almond gave his first exposition of structural-functional approach in his book. *The Politics of Developing Areas*, that he edited alongwith James S. Colemen in 1959. Later on, he presented another model in 1966, when he wrote his second book *Comparative Politics a Developmental Approach*, in collaboration with G. Bingham Powell. The second model was an improvement over the first model in more than one respects. In this script we do not wish to burden you with what he said earlier and how he improved upon it later. We shall simply acquaint you with his approach in a very general way, drawing our material and references from both the models.

4.2.1 Basic Premises : At the outset, Almonds speaks of four basic premises upon which he builds his theory of structural-functionalism. We explain them as under :

1. Universality of Structures : As the title of this approach indicates, one of its basic ingredients is the structures. You would, recollect that in the preceding lesson we explained somewhat at length as to what is meant by the term structure. To recapitulate, every individual performs in the daily life a number of roles, such as those of the father, son, husband, wife, mother, daughter, employer, employee, party man, a voter, so on and so forth. Most of these roles are of a similar nature, hence they interact with one another. As for instance the roles of the judges, juries, counsels, witnesses, etc. closely interact with one another. When few interacting roles combine together and form a certain pattern, then a structure comes into existence, similarly, when a few structures combine together, then a sub-system or system emerges. To illustrate, when the courts of sub-judges, district judges, high courts and supreme court (various structures) combine then they form the judicial sub-system which, in its turn, is a part of a political system.

Almond is of the opinion that every system possesses certain structures, whatever may be the degree of its political development. In other words, every under-

developed political system, whether it be the case of a crude tribal system of Africa or considerably developed system like that of India, must possess all these structures, which some of the developed systems like those of USA or UK, may possess. Every political system for instance, must support such structures as these of rule making, rule application, rule adjudication, etc. It is another thing that in a developed system like that of USA, these structures may exist in the form of legally and constitutionally organised legislature, executive, civil services, courts, etc., whereas in the under developed system, these structures may be (difficult to differentiate and locate, hotch potch sort of arrangement) and might be gathered in the hands of one or a few leaders of the society, tribal heads, a village chief, or in any such form. Thus structures are universally available in the political systems, irrespective of their nature of political development.

2. Universality of Functions : Before we examine Almond's premise, regarding the universality of functions, we must be clear, as to what is meant by the term function. In general terms, function implies the effect of certain activity. Robert K. Merton defines function as observed consequences; Merian J. Levy understands by this term as a condition or state of affairs that results from the operation of structure through time. Robert T. Holt who equates it with effects, is not, however prepared to include in the term functions every activity that a system performs. To him only those activities of the system are functions as have system relevance. In other words, those activities as are vitally essential for the continued existence of the system. Those activities as have little or no relevance to the system's continued existence, are described by Holt not as functions but only activities.

Almond says that every political system must also perform certain functions in order to keep itself intact and going. In terms of Parsons and Holt, every system must perform four basic functions, namely, pattern maintenance, goal attainment, adaptation and integration. Almond gives his own classification of system's functions. In his earlier model, he speaks of seven functions of the political system, four on the input side and three on the output, side. These are political socialisation and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and interest communication; and on the output side, rule making, rule application, rule adjudication. In his later model, he effects a drastic modification. He speaks of three major categories of functions namely, capability functions, conversion functions and pattern maintenance functions. He further classifies them into sub-categories. There are five types of capabilities, extractive capability, regulative capability distributive capability, symbolic capability, and responsive capability. As regard conversion functions there-are six such functions, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule making, rule application, rule adjudication and communication. Finally, there are pattern maintenance and adoption function and he includes only one functions in this category, i.e. political socialisation and recruitment. We shall explain to you all these functions in the following paragraphs. Suffice it to say here that in his later model, he not only introduces an altogether new category of functions, but also shifts communication function from the input side to the conversion level.

Almond further says that what holds good with regard to structures is also true of the functions, i.e. in a developed system these functions may be performed by sophisticated and legally constituted structures, whereas, in an under-developed system these may be performed by diffuse and intermittent structures. Functions must exist and must be performed whatever may be the degree of development of the political system.

3. Multifunctionality of Structures : Almond further maintains that, by and large, all structures perform more than one function. Here he refers to the widely held opinion that it is only in under-developed system that structures are diffuse and perform more than one functions. But, as he points out, it is also an established pattern in developed countries. The Congress of US, for instance, not only performs the rule making function which is its primary concern, but also occasionally applies and adjudicates laws. Such instances can be multiplied to any extent.

4. The Culturally Mixed Character of Political Systems : Almond introduced in his analysis the concept of political culture, which occupies a very important place in his theory of structure-functionalism. We would explain this concept in detail before we go ahead with the theory itself.

Almond is of the opinion that structures alone do not make a political system complete. Besides structures, there is the individual, and more specifically, his underlying psychological make up, that constitutes another very significant component of the political system. The attitudes, values, beliefs and skills of the members of the system that determine their basic orientations towards the political system and provide a psychological dimension to the political system, are vitally significant in so far as the overall functioning or the system itself is concerned.

At the level of an individual political culture may have three types of orientations. Firstly, *cognitive orientations :* when an individual is only aware of the political objects and beliefs, we say he is cognitive of the situation. Then comes the second stage, namely, that of *affective orientations :* when he not only knows the political world around him, but also feels its impact upon him and his life. Finally, there are evaluative orientations, when he is fully aware not only of the objects and beliefs, and of their impact upon him, but is also capable enough to comment upon them and pass judgement on their functioning. It may be added that an individual may find himself placed at all the three stages at one and the same time, with regard to various things. It is neither necessary nor true that everyone knows everything. He may be aware of certain things at the level of simply knowing them, and at the same time, he may be mature enough to evaluate the impact of certain other things which he knows very well.

The nature of orientations of the individual towards the political system is of crucial significance in so far as the development problems of the newly freed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are concerned. In most of the countries, people have little or no awareness of the political objects and political processes. We describe these people as *Parochials*. Then there are people who are aware of the political objects and processes, but do not actually participate is those processes we describe them as subjects. Then there are people "who are oriented to the input structures and

processes, and the making of decisions". Following this classification of the levels of individual orientations, we describe political cultures as parochial, subject and participant cultures.

On the basis of political development, political cultures may be of two types, parochial and secular. The features of a parochial or traditional culture are : (1) diffuse and not differentiated structure i.e. different functions are not performed by different or specialised structures, but by unspecified, mixed hotch potch type of structures, which in modern terminology are described as diffuse, (2) the cognitive orientations of the people are very poor, not to speak of their value orientations, (3) interests are not properly articulated. Often their articulation leads to violence and disorder, (4) political parties and pressure groups are not property organised and stable in form; (5) people's orientations to political objects and processes are parochial in character i.e. they owe loyalty to narrow groups based on family, caste, creed, etc.; (6) recruitment process is based on heredity, wealth and such other ascriptive qualities, and not on performance based standards (7) bureaucracy and such other political institutions are not properly organised. On the other hand, *secularised culture* exhibits the features of a high degree of role differentiation, properly organised agencies of interest articulation and communication, development of pragmatic orientations toward political system wherein members of the system function in an open market place in a bargaining manner, consider their representatives to the various political bodies as agents or instrumentalities, view policies as hypotheses, have, a high regard for the performance of others and recruitment process is also governed by that consideration. Elaborating the concept of secularised culture, Wiseman observes, "This secularised political culture involves the individuation or, and a measure of autonomy among the various roles; arm's length bargaining; and the atmosphere of the market. There are groups of electors with votes to sell for policies. The holders of office in the formal legal structures tend to be viewed as agents, or instrumentalities, or brokers. Policies are viewed as hypotheses, while the consequences of legislation and policies are rapidly communicated with their system. There is the atmosphere of a game..........."

Self Assessment Questions

1.   What interest aggregation?

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2.   Define feedback.

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Almond further remarks that no culture in the world is wholly traditional or wholly secularised. All political systems exhibit the characteristics of a mixed culture. To illustrate, in India we have developed secularised orientations in so, far as the recruitment process is concerned. We wish and plead and have even accepted and implemented the system of merit based recruitment to civil services. But we daily observe how people make frantic efforts to get their sons, daughters, relatives and friends accommodated in various jobs through the back door, by exploiting such sentiments as based on familiar caste, ethnic ties. This is also the case in a developed political system as that of USA. The only difference is that of degree and not of kind. Thus every political system exhibits the features of both traditional and modern cultures.

After having examined the basic premises of Almond's theory, let us now proceed ahead to study in detail his structural-functional analysis.

4.3   FUNCTIONAL ASPECTS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

In one of the preceding paragraphs we told you that Almond in his later model does not give one blanket sort of classification of functions. He tries to view the functioning of the system from three different levels namely, capabilities, conversion and pattern maintenance and adaptation levels. We would now study all these functions, one by one. We will, however, change the order, taking the conversion and capability functions first and pattern maintenance functions later.

4.3.1 Conversion Functions

You would recollect that in the preceding lesson, we explained that every system supports two types of structures input and output. The input structures are those that induct into the system information, disturbances, stress etc. that the environment generates from time to time: whereas the output structures are those structures as transmit system's decisions to the environment. David Easton refers to only two types of input structures, namely demands and supports. He does not elaborate his concept of the output structures and simply says that they constitute the decision, and decrees that the political system issues from time to time with a view to allocating values for the society. Almond makes a great improvement over Easton's model and considerably elaborates the concept of input and output structures. As pointed out earlier, he speaks of two input and three output structures, namely, interest articulation, interest aggregation, and rule making, rule application, rule adjudication, and communication. We explain them, as under :

A. Interest Articulation : In order to protect their respective interests, the members of every political system make demands on it. The manner these demands are given a proper shape and presented to the decision makers of the system, is described as the process of interest articulation. Unless this is done, the demands remain a simple Bable of tongues. Every political system, whatever may be the degree of its political development, must possess structures or mechanism for this function of interest articulation. Generally, there are four types of structures which perform this function. These are :

(1) Institutional Interest Groups: These groups are those which are formally constituted and are made up of professionally employed officials or employees, and who, while charged with some other function, also help articulate interests. Legislature, political executive, bureaucracies, armies churches, etc. may be cited as examples of the institutional interest groups.

(2) Non-Associational Groups : Then there are informal types of interest groups, which have never been formally organised such as caste biradaris, kinship and lineage groups, religious, regional and class groups. It is these groups which have been designated by Almond as non-associational interest groups. They also articulate interest. We have often observed that in villages interests are articulated by the caste biradaris and in large cities by regional associations.

(3) Anomic Interest Groups: Interests are also articulated by such spontaneous outbursts as violence, riots, demonstrations, hunger strikes, and such other methods.

(4) Associational Interest Groups : Then there are specialised structures, such as trade unions, organisations of businessmen (chambers of commerce, industrial guilds), and agriculturists (kisan sabhas), religious denominations (Sanatan Dharam Sabha, Sri Gurudawara Prabhandhak Committee) and civic groups (civil liberties association). These groups are properly organised by their members. They employ full time professional staff and provide for an orderly procedure for the formulation of interests and demands.

Besides structures, another factor in interest articulation is the *style of articulation of interests*. The interest, articulation may be *manifest or latent*. When a demand is explicitly formulate and expressed, then it is the case of manifest expression. Sometimes demands are not expressed that way, but given expression through such moods as those of indignation, showdowns, minor civil disobedience, vague grumbling. Such techniques as 'work to rule', hartals, are expression of latent articulation of demands.

Interest articulation may be *specific or diffuse*. When demands, are presented in clear cut, specific manners then it is the case of specific articulation style. And if people simply say 'we want change', inqlab zindabad, 'purity public life of the nation', and raise such other slogans which do not make any specific demand, then it is the case of a diffuse style.

Interest articulation may be *affective or instrumental* in style. An affective style may take the form of an expression of feelings of anger, gratitude, disappointment or hope. On the other hand, instrumental articulation taken the form of a bargain with consequences realistically spelled out. When demands for instance are linked with electoral politics then the style is instrumental in form.

Interest articulation both in respect of its structures, and styles depends upon the level of the political culture of a system. If, for instance, people have scant regard for orderly behaviour, then interests might often be articulated through anomic structures. Similarly, a modernised political system with a secularised, political culture would articulate its interests through institutional and associational groups

and there would be comparatively less dependence upon non-associational groups. Their style of articulation would also be manifest, specific and instrumental.

B. Interest Aggregation : Quite often the demands that are articulated by various groups contradict one another. It is therefore, very essential that various demands may first be aggregated, i.e. they should be correlated and coordinated with one another and then formulated in the form of political decision alternative and presented to the decision makers of the system. This function is generally performed by political parties and bureaucracies. These structures are very important in so far as the efficient performance of the political system is concerned, unless there exist structures for the aggregation of interests, the central decision making apparatus would receives a heavy overload of demands and it might crumble under their pressure.

C. Governmental Functions (Rule-making, Rule-application and Rule-adjudication) : The first important function that a political system performs on the output side is that of rule making. At the outset a question arises, as to why we do not make use of the term, legislation and instead, why rule-making. The reason is that, legislation is generally done by a formally organised structure called Parliament, Congress or legislature, and these structures follow a certain specific, formal procedure whereas in some of the systems there does not exist either a formally constituted legislature procedure. In such political systems, rule making "tends to be a slow incremental process of the accumulation of tradition, which in part is a derivative of the day to day rule enforcements and rule adjudication of the systems." In modern democratic political systems, rule making is generally dispersed and delegated. Mostly, rules emanate from the actions of political executives and bureaucracies. However, the legislature which is formally charged with the function of rule making, quite often rejects the proposals of law as come from the executive arm, of the government. To end, it may be remarked that rule making like any other government function, is pretty disposed among a number of interacting structures.

The second important function of the government is rule application. This function is also performed by a number of more or less autonomous structures whose interaction forms a complex web. In this particular aspect of governmental functioning, individuals who manipulate this process and the cultural environment of the system exercise a good deal of influence, in view, of the fact that this function involves problem solving and policy formulation. When problems are to be solved and policies to be formulated, individuals' skills, capabilities, resources, energies and attitudes are considerably taxed. Similarly, the cultural pattern of the system determines the style of people's functioning. Policy makers of the political System, having a fully secularised culture would obviously function in a bargaining style and show greater capacity for give and take toward those are opposed to them. Such may not be the case in a political system having traditional culture.

The rule application function is specially important in view of the fact that it involves good deal of manipulation of the environment around. It is, therefore, significant to note that more differentiated and developed the rule application structures, better control the system will have over its environment. This is the reason

why every developed political system strives to develop such specialised rule application structures as bureaucracy and the like.

Finally, the government performs the rule adjudication function. In modern societies, rule adjudication is mostly done by courts. There are however, certain other structures which do this function. For instance, the secrets police, in totalitarian systems not only pursues individuals, accuses them, but also tries them and even executes the sentence. The rule adjudication function is very important in so far as the existence of the system is concerned. It "provide a means of resolving conflict within the system without expanding pressure on the rule makers make new laws or to become intimately engaged in the administration of old ones". It thus avoids conflict situations by effectively processing a particular type of demands.

D. Communication Function : Another very important conversion function which does not strictly form a part of either the input or output functions is the communication function. It simply means the gathering and transmitting of information. No individual in a system can effectively function unless he has full and latest information on the subject he is supposed to handle. In a political system, rule making, rule appreciation, interest articulation, interest aggregation all depend directly or indirectly upon the amount and correctiveness of the information and upon the speed with which information is made available. That is the reason why all political systems insist on the desirability of having a free press and complete freedom of speech and expression.

The communication function is performed by the different types of structures as identified by Almond. These are

(a) Informal Face to Face Contracts : Information is often transmitted from one person to another through face to face contact, Though it is a dominant feature of the traditional societies, informal face to face contact, also plays a very important role in developed societies.

(b) Traditional Social Structures : Almost every traditional society develops certain structures in order to transmit information to the rank and file. In our society we find that there exist in the rural areas in particular, certain well informed individual families or caste groups which act as important agents of information communication. These traditional structures stand between the national elite and the people. They transmit to the latter whatever information they feel is worth passing on to them. By doing so they help build public opinion among the people.

(c) Governmental Structures : The most important governmental structures that does this function is the bureaucracy. It not only transmits information to the people, but it also provides relevant information to those who are charged with rule making function.

(d) Input Structures : Interest articulation and interest aggregation structures while performing their allotted function also do a lot of information communication. People make demands, certain structures articulate and certain other aggregate them, and there by they communicate to the decision makers the necessary information

about what the people demand and it is upon this information that decisions are taken and demands converted into outputs.

(e) Mass Media : The last category of communication structures consists of the mass media which comprises radio, television, newspapers, books and magazines. This is the most specialised and differentiated set of structure which perform this task in the cheapest possible manner and without the least amount of distortion. It provides to the government and others a vast network through which, one can reach the millions living on a vast expanse of territory in an easiest possible manner.

4.3.2 Capability Function

So for we have been studying the intra-system functioning of the political system. Now we switch over to the other aspect, namely how does a system behave vis-a-vis its environment. As you know, every system is embedded in an environment, and it, being an open, receptive system, continuously reacts to it. While discussing its relationship with the environment, we come across the phenomenon of stress. How a system manages to overcome stress as generated by the environment is, a very important question to be examined. It is in this connection that we study the capability of a system. Almond speaks of five different kinds of system's capabilities. These are :

1. Extractive Capability : This refers to the system's capability to extract resources from the people, such as taxes and services for the collective causes flow effectively and efficiently and through what modes and procedures the systems perform this function, are some of the things to be carefully looked in this respect.

2. Regulative Capability : This capability relates to the political system's exercise of control over the behaviour of individuals and groups. In other words, it is the problem of the maintenance of law and order, or that of the employment of legitimate coercion to control behaviour. In this respect, points to be heeded are what degree of control the system exercises over the behaviour of the people and what aspect of their behaviour are affected and to what extent and through what means. A totalitarian system would like to control every aspect of the people's behaviour and that too very closely. On the contrary, a democratic system would accord maximum of freedom of action to the individual.

3. Distributive Capability : "This distributive capability refers to the allocation of goods, services, honours, statuses, and opportunities of various kinds from the political system to individuals and groups in the society". The relevant questions to be noted in this respect are, what important objects and in what quantity and to what category of people, are distributed by the system. Distribution of goods and services is a very important job of the government. It is in this vital field of its functioning that the quality of the system is judged.

4. Symbolic Capability : Every system maintains certain symbols which arouse in the people their sense of love, affection, respect and pride for the system. How effectively the system arouses on a continuous basis this sense of love among the people. Sometimes when the legitimacy of the authorities of the system erodes, people begin to give public expression. to their resentment in such forms as tearing or

burning of the national flag, showing disrespect to the national anthem, return of the titles, honours, medals, etc., which the system has conferred upon them. Then we say that the symbolic capability of the system has suffered a set back.

5. Responsive Capability : The first four capabilities, i.e., extractive, regulative, distributive and symbolic capabilities, are of an input nature whereas this last one maintains a relationship between the inputs and the outputs. No doubt, every system is responsive to the demands of the people and functions with a view to satisfying their aspirations. For, unless it does so it cannot hope to last long. But the question is, to which sections of the people it is responsive, who are the people who channel demands to it, which sections of the people have little access to the system. In monarchical systems of the olden days the system was responsive to the demands of those who were close to the king and his bureaucracy. In totalitarian states, the system is responsive to the political party or to that group of the people who control its functioning. The rank and file of the people is kept away and their behaviour is strictly controlled. In contrast, a political system which has a highly developed set of interest groups and political parties to which elites are sensitive in policy making, possesses a high degree of responsive capability. What did we observe in our own country during the emergency days is that the system had become responsive to the demands and aspirations of the people. If they tried to give expression to their demand, they were severely dealt with and branded as traitors, with the result that the legitimacy of the regime had considerably eroded. Its responsive capability suffered a setback.

4.3.3 Pattern Maintenance and Adaptation Function

Finally, there is the function of maintaining the existing pattern of the system by continuously adapting it to the changing environment, this function is related to the perpetuation of the cultural component of the political system. It involves the process of political *Socialisation and recruitment.* This is a process by means of which political cultures are maintained and changed. Through the performance of this function individuals are inducted into the political culture, their orientations towards political objects are formed." You would recollect that in the previous lesson we told you that Holt describes this process as that of enculturation. In other words, this implies that the existing pattern of values, beliefs and attitudes that the members of the system hold dear must be inducted into the future generations so that political culture is perpetuated indefinitely.

Political socialisation may take the form of either *manifest or latent transmission.* Where specific information is given to the people about political objects, then it is the case of manifest socialisation. When we do teaching of civics and political science through which we impart instruction to the students about political objects, we say that political socialisation is being done in a manifest manner. On the other hand every parent, teacher and preacher would advise the children to obey their elders and show respect to them. By telling them to do so, he is inculcating in them a habit of obedience, respect and love, not only for the parents but also for the laws of the system and the authorities thereof. This, type of socialisation through indirect means is called latest transmission.

As regards the agents of political socialisation, these may be listed as : family, school and work associations. A good deal of socialisation is done through the agency of the family and the school, where, elementary things are taught and attitude formation is done. Then one learns many things by one's own experience when he works with his colleagues and friends. Finally, there is the role of the mass media, which as we explained to you earlier, consist of newspapers, radio, television, books and magazines. It contributes to a major extent toward the attitude building of the people.

4.4   SUMMARY

We have explained to you all the relevant aspects of the second derivative of the systems approach, i.e. structural-functional approach. You would, however, note that Gabriel Almond did not indulge into this exercise only with a view to highlighting the structures and functions of a political system. He had a far bigger purpose in mind, as he spelt out in his second book. He in fact wanted to work out a theory with the help of which he could compare the various political systems of the world with one another. He also wanted to analyse the intricate and baffling process of political development. He remarkably succeeded in achieving his objectives. A mere glance at his structural functional theory tells us that we can compare one political system with other in terms of their conversion functions, their capabilities and their methods of political socialisation and recruitment.

Similarly, we can measure their degree of political development also in terms of these three major paradigms.

4.5   FURTHER READINGS

1. Peter Calvert. *Comparative Politics – An Introduction,* London, Pearson Education, 2000.

2. James N. Danziger. *Understanding the Political World*, New York, Longman, 1991.

4.6   MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the conversion function of a political system as given by GabrielAlmond.

2. What do you understand by capability of a political system ? Spell out different types of capabilities.

MARXIAN APPROACH

Structure

5.0   Objectives

5.1   Introduction

5.2   Marxian approach - an overview

5.3   Marxist focus of attention

5.4   Marxian method of analysis

5.5   Dialectical laws of social development

5.6   Summary

5.7   Further Readings

5.8   Model Questions

5.0   OBJECTIVES

This lesson shall enable you to:

- understand that politics according to Marxists is a by-product of the socio-economic system

- learn that Marxists study political phenomenon in historical perspective in terms of class war

5.1   INTRODUCTION

In the last two lessons we have studied various approaches developed by western scholars. In the next two lessons we will discuss some approaches from political economy perspective. First we will take-up the Marxian approach and then Dependency and modes of production approach. But before that let us try to understand the meaning of political economy. In simple words it is the consideration of interaction between politics and economics. It seeks to explain how political power shapes economic outcomes and how economic forces constrain political action. We can view political economy "as the intersection of the substantive area-studied by economics-production and exchange of marketable means of satisfaction - with the process by which power is exercised that is control to politics." (Keohane, 1984 After Hegemany). We can say that it explores the relationship between economics and politics.

We may now proceed to study the Marxian approach.

5.2   MARXIAN APPROACH : AN OVERVIEW

At the outset, we may point out that the Marxists do not attach any importance to politics. As will be explained in detail in the following section, they consider it as

something superfluous and a by-product of the socio-economic system. It will therefore be mischievous if not erroneous, to say that the Marxists have any approach to suggest for the study of the political phenomenon. But at the same time, it will be equally misleading to remark that they haven't any. They do have one, as many a serious student of Marxian maintains. But the only difference is that they approach politics through social reality. There approach is thus that of social reality rather than that of the political phenomenon. The key to the understanding of that reality is conflict rather than consensus. This is where the Marxists differ from the functionalists. Further, unlike the latter, they approach politics not through the medium of structures but through the classes and, more specifically, through those factors and forces that divide the society into mutually antagonistic classes. Finally, the Marxists study the whole situation in its proper historical perspective. This, in nutshell, is the Marxian approach to political phenomenon.

5.3 MARXIST'S FOCUS OF ATTENTION : POLITICAL PHENOMENON-SOCIO-ECONOMIC REALITY

While the western scholars consider politics as an all-pervasive human activity and political Phenomenon as the most dominant conditioning factor of our day to day living, the Marxists do not attach much importance to politics and view political phenomenon as something unreal, deserving but little attention. This fact is manifest in the less priority that they accord to it. Moreover, they look down upon it as something of a contrivance mischievously devised by the capitalists to exploit the poor. In his book, *The Poverty of philosophy* (1846), Marx remarks "........ political power is precisely the expression of antagonism in civil society".[1] This deep-rooted hatred for politics and political activity makes them plead its abolition at the earliest available opportunity. Intact, their firm hope and belief is that once class antagonism between the capitalists and the proletariat ends in the victory of the latter, the stage is set for the withering away of the state. (They do however make a provision for a period of transition). For, then there will not exist anyone to exploit anyone. Alongwith the state, politics will also make an exit, "Politics must thus be conceived" says Isvan Meszaros, "as an activity whose ultimate end is its own annulment by means of fulfilling its determinate function as a necessary stage in the complex process of positive transcendence."[2]

Why is it that politics is so much abhorred by the Marxists ? The main reason for it lies in their theory, of base and super structure. According to them, every society consists of two structural parts-base and superstructure. The base comprises the relations of production (to be explained in detail later on) which are very much economic in character. As regards superstructure, it is "the sum total of social ideas, institutions and relations arising on a given economic basis".[3] They further maintain that the superstructure of a society at any given point of time resembles its base. Today, under the capitalist order, the base characterizes exploitation of the 'have-nots'

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1.   Quoted by Ralph Mill-band Marxism and Politics, Oxford University Press p. 11.

2.   Ibid p. 11.

3.   'The Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy', Moscow, Progress Publishers p. 336.

by the 'haves'. Obviously, the super-structure must comprise such ideas, institutions and relations as facilitate the functioning of the base, namely exploitation. But tomorrow when exploitations end and thereby the base is transformed, superstructure would automatically change. State and its whole paraphernalia would become superfluous and redundant. There would then be no political activity. Hence, they agree, why should be bother about something that is bound to pass by? Instead, we should focus our attention on the base which is stable. It is by this type of logic that the Marxists make us forget about the political phenomenon and call upon us to concentrate on the underlying social reality.

Some students of Marxian philosophy do not however accept this position. They opine that Marxism by no means relegates politics to the background, Their argument is that even while laying emphasis on the economic aspect of society, their objective is to understand politics and the political phenomenon. There is point in their suggestion. They seem to be correct that so long as the situation does not mature to the extent of bringing about a socialist revolution (which will bring an end of the class-based system of capitalistic exploitation) the present capitalist order with all its characteristics will remain intact. In such a situation everyone, including the Marxists, must take note of the political phenomenon and, must necessarily, involve themselves in its rigmarole, may be by way of a tactical strategy of a purely short-term nature. Even after the socialist revolution the state alongwith its entire political apparatus will remain intact, at least for some time. It will then be needed to convert the capitalist order into, what Marxists describe, the socialist order which in its turn would pave the road to communism- the ultimate Marxian goal of a classless and stateless society. During this transitionary phase of socialism, the state, will function as effectively (perhaps more effectively) as the capitalist state does today.

Thus, it was in relation to the present, unreformed situation as also the transitional socialist order that the Marxists maintain that they do not, by any means, under-estimate, the importance of politics and relegate it to a secondary-level. Their position is undoubtedly correct. But when we bring into consideration, the ultimate goal of the Marxian Philosophy as defined by its original propounders-Marx and Engles and upheld by their classical followers-Lenin, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg and Plekhanov-namely a classless and stateless society, we cannot help remarking that politics is definitely of a secondary concern to them.

Thus we, arrive at the conclusion that the Marxists focus their attention on socio-economic reality, rather than on political phenomenon. Let us now proceed further and examine how do they propose to study the socioeconomic reality. In other words what method do they suggest ?

5.4   MARXIAN METHOD OF ANALYSIS

As hinted in one of the proceeding section, the Marxists approach the social reality through the medium not of structures (as functionalists do) or constitution and law (as the old legalist school did), but through the forces of production and the

relations of production.[4] We are introducing here two new concepts with which you may not be very much conversant. Let us, therefore, first familiarize ourselves with them.

Man as you know, cannot live in society without the sweat of his brow. If he does not do any work, from where shall he eat. There is nature all around him which not only furnishes him with certain ready made commodities for his direct use (such as fruits) but also places at his disposal a vast potential of raw material which he can conveniently exploit in order to meet his wants. Then, he possesses the capacity of labour. How does he employ his labour on nature in order to produce goods and services. What are the means he uses in this unending task? This is what is implied in the concept of the forces of production. In the hoary past, when he was quite ignorant of both man and nature, he made a crude use of his hands-the only means of production he could then think of Next comes a stage when he invents bows and arrows. By and by his knowledge improves and after innumerable centuries of hard, incessant efforts, he enters into a revolutionary era of science and technology. As a result, he has been able to make an endless variety of machines which work for him, think for him and even carry him not only from one end of the global to another but right upto the space. All of them assist him in boosting social production and it is these that constitute the forces of production. "The productive forces are the forces by which society influences nature and changes it."[5]

As regard the relations of production, they denote those relations that mail builds with other fellow men in the course of social production. To dilate upon it, there is no commodity which is the outcome of the efforts of one single individual. Conversely, the whole production is the result of the collective efforts of the society. Hence it is social in character. While producing commodities, one must thus come in contact with varied types of human beings and must therefore develop some sort of relationship with them. This criss-cross network of relations is what Marx arid Engels describe as relations of production.

The relations of production do not simply include those relations which one workman builds with other fellow workmen or with his superiors (including the owner of the enterprise) while in the process of production. It is far more comprehensive and complex a concept. For, the commodities that one produces and more importantly, the means that are employed to produce them are after all owned by somebody. The nature of production relations must necessarily vary from one mode of ownership to another. Similarly, it must also change according to the mode of the exchange of commodities, "The sphere of production relations" remarks V.G. Afanasyev, "encompasses the forms

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4.   Emphasizing this fact the authors of the book. The Fundamentals of Marxist Leninist Philosophy remark', "........ the subject matter of historical materialism is human Society and the most general laws of its development, The first step towards discovering these laws was to establish the role material production in the life of Society". They further remark, "Material production furnishes the key to the interpretation of both the internal structure of Society and its internal relationship with the external environment surrounding nature". 'Op. cit.' p. 289.

5.   Ibid p. 305

of ownership of the means of production and also the consequent position of the various Social groups of production and the forms of distribution of material wealth".[6]

The Marxists are, of the opinion that the character of production relations always depends and is reflected by the forces of production. It changes as and when a change in the latter occurs. In other words, it is never stable. The history of human society bears testimony to this inexorable sociological law of development. They refer to the nature of relationship that obtained in four distinct periods of history, namely, primitive-communal period when man had not developed any means of production, social production (whatever little of it could be possible then) was purely communal and collective in nature. The production relations were then basically communal in character.

When man invented bows and arrows, he started owning them and with this, there gradually dawned an era of private ownership which culminated over a period of time into slavery. In this period, man was goaded by man to produce goods sufficient enough not only to answer the needs of both of them but also provide to the slave owner a rich, comfortable life of luxury. Then, the character of relationship was that of exploitation at the man to man level, the slave and the master. This relationship further changed when society came to be cast on feudal lines. Now, unlike, the slave master the feudal lord did man wholly own his vassal but they continued working for him. The degree of exploitation by no means decreased.

Next comes the age of mass-scale industrialization when the producers of commodities substitute human labour by power driven machines which help him produce goods in a far larger measure and at the same time, at a far less cost than before was the case. The obvious result was two fold. On the one hand, the small manufacturer who still depended on his own individual effort, miserably failed to compete with the industrialist and, as a consequence thereof, he wound up his work and sought employment in some, factory. The process thus facilitated the task of the concentration of production and capital in ever diminishing number of person. On the other side, the capitalist earned far more and incurred a far less expenditure. The industrialized production thus inflated his profit by a million fold.

In this age of industrialization, there now exist only two broad categories of people -the capitalists and the proletariat. The former owns means of production and hence their number is awfully small. The proletariat, on the other hand, who live by their labour include all those ever multiplying mass of workers who either work in several capacities in industries or are directly and indirectly, associated with their maintenance. The production, relations are tuned, again, on the lines of exploitation. But the nature of exploitation is far more complex and stringent now than it ever wage.

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6.   Q.Afanesyev, 'Marxist Philosophy' Moscow Progress Publishers, 1978, p. 198.

Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define class.

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2.   What is alienation?

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As regards the politics of the society, the Marxists hold that this being a component of the super structure is also determined by the nature of the relations of production. In fact, those who hold and own the means of production dominate the politics of the society and manipulate it in their own interest. When, for instance, feudalism was in ascendence, it was the feudal lords who ruled the state, from behind the throne of their king. The whole governmental apparatus was manned by them. Similarly, when society came to be organised on capitalist lines, politics became the handiwork of the capitalist. Now all policies began to be formulated by them and they would obviously protect and advance the interests of the capitalist. Conversely, the interests of the proletariat came to be seriously jeopardise. The only chance of their being taken care of is that when they do not militate even remotely, against the interests of the capitalists, the latter might pay their heed towards them.

Thus, the basic determining factor of politics of a society, nay of every other aspect of its life, is the forces of production. Emphasising this stark social reality, Marx remarks in one of his autographical passages (written in 1859), I was led by many studies to the conclusion the legal relations as well as forms of state could neither be understood by themselves, nor explained by the so-called general progress of the human mind, but that they are rooted in the material conditions of life, which are summed up by Hegel under the name 'civil society', the anatomy of that civil society is to be sought in political economy.[7] Now let us examine how the forces of production condition the relations of production and also consequently, the politics of the society. Marx having been endowed with a scientific temper of the highest order, has a subtle scientific explanation to offer in this behalf.

5.5   DIALECTICAL LAWS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

One common place theory that is generally put forward to explain the phenomenon of development is that of the quantitative increase and decrease. It purports to say that when a substance or a social situation gives up its original state and begins to either increase itself in quantity or shows some qualitative improvement (which too can be quantified) we describe that it has entered into a stage of

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[7.]   Quoted by G.H. Sabine, A history of Political Theory p. 580.

development. The Marxists do not subscribe to this theory and, instead, advance the theory (what they call it) of dialectical materialism. In their opinion, this theory alone scientifically explains "the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought."[8]

Marxists, being the votaries of materialism, regard the whole universe as consisting of nothing else but matter. Unlike the idealists, they do not attach any importance to spirit. What does the matter mean? The matter is that solid substance of which all concrete things around us consist of. It comprises small particles, more appropriately, the atoms. Not only the stones, rocks and other bodies of concrete consist of the matter, but everything (including the human beings) that exists on earth. The Marxists go the extent of bringing within the purview of matter ever our thoughts, perceptions, ideas and concepts to quote the authors of *The fundamentals of Marxist-Leninism Philosophy* "the whole world around us is nothing else but matter in motion in its various forms and manifestations. There is nothing in the whole world that is not a concrete form of matter. Even the most abstract ideas and concepts are the result of the activity of a material organ (the human brains) and reflect the properties of material objects."[9]

The Marxists further hold that matter is never static or stationary. It is always found in a state of motion. To illustrate this basis law of matter and motion, we may refer to a beam of light that may be travelling to a dark room and to observe how that appears to consist of small particles which are in a state of motion. It is thus the basic property of matter that it is always moving from one from of motion which in their opinion is the highest stage of development of matter, is manifest in all types of "purposeful human activity, all social changes and forms of interaction between various social systems from the individual to the state and society in general."

Motion brings about two types of changes in the matter— quantitative and qualitative. The former depicts itself in such outward manifestations as increase and decrease. When, for instance, a thing increases in weight or volume, then we describe it as a quantitative change As regards qualitative change, it is more fundamental in character. It brings about a basis transformation. Water, when boiled changes itself into steam. Water and steam are two different thing, possessing altogether different properties. This change is qualitative in character. One point to be noted in this process of material change, is that quantitative changes occur gradually whereas qualitative changes occur but abruptly. To illustrate: you take some water and go on adding more and more water, its weight and volume would show quantitative changes. Then you put it on a stove and you will notice that on change occurs for sometime, But as soon as it attains the temperature of 100°C it will at once undergo a qualitative change into steam. Still another illustration: take a piece of rubber and then stretch it. It will show quantitative change. The more you stretch it, the greater will be its length. But then suddenly and abruptly a stage will come when it will break itself somewhere from the middle into two separate parts. This will make a qualitative change. Thus,

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8.   F. dijas Anti-Dahring, Quoted in Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, op. cit.

9.   Ibid, p. 72.

qualitative changes are effected with a sudden leap or in order words, they are revolutionary in character while quantitative changes are evolutionary.

With two basis laws of motion in mind, we proceed further to study the cardinal principle of dialectics. It does not denote simple change of quantitative character. But, on the contrary, it embodies the "process of disappearance, destruction of the old and emergence of the new." The Marxists tell us that everything is a unity of opposites. In other words, it contains within itself two mutually antagonistic elements. The organic body for instance while containing within itself resistance to disease also possesses the germs of disease. This unity opposites is, found not only in living organism but also in social phenomena. Highlighting this inherent quality of things and social phenomena, Maurice Cornforth says:

"A real contradiction is a unity of opposites. There is a real contradiction inherent, as we say, in the very, nature of thing or process or relationship when in that thing or process or relationship opposite tendencies are combined together in such a way that neither can exist without the other. In the unity of opposites, the opposites are held together in relation of mutual dependence, where each is the conditions of existence of the other."[10]

What is of greater interest is that these opposites (called thesis and anti-thesis) have a tendency of mutual negation (quarrel). One wants to end the other. Disease wants to pervade the whole body whereas resistance wants to throw the disease out. Out of their mutual tussel there emerges a synthesis of two which, while containing the good points of both of them (hence described as synthesis), is also free from their bad points (hence described as negation of negation). The synthesis or negation of negations after sometime develops within it germs of its own destruction. Then it acquires the character of a thesis while the latter becomes antithesis. Once again the two come to a clash and there emerges the synthesis. This cycle goes on. This law of negation of negations is central to material dialects of the Marxian philosophy.

Another characteristic feature of dialectical materialism is that the development of a thing as also of a social phenomenon is always from the lower to the higher forms. In other words, the synthesis that emerges from the conflicts of the thesis and the anti-thesis marks some improvement over the preceding state of its existence. The process thus leads society; stage by stage, from its state of underdevelopment to development. Finally, this development does not adopt the course of a straight line. On the contrary, it moves like spiral. Quite often the advanced stage tends to draw closer to one of the previous stages. To illustrate this process, we sow in the soil one small grain, say, of wheat. After sometime it germinates and grows into a stalk. The latter is decidedly different in quality from the seed. Then there appears on the stalk an ear of grains. This ear is, again, qualitatively different from the stalk. But the grains that it bears resemble the original grain that was sown. Their quantity is, however, far larger than the seed (one to tell or twelve). This stage thus tended to touch the earlier one, thereby adopting a spiral-like route. We sum up. The essence of the dialectical process

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10.   Maurice Comforth 'Dialectical Materialism' Calcutta, National Book Agency, 1979, p. 83.

is a change through contradiction and development to higher, more complex stages through the struggle of opposites."[11]

Marx seeks to apply this law of dialectical materialism to social development. As hinted above he divides the long history of human development into four distinct periods, namely, in the primitive-communal period when man, out of his ignorance and lack of knowledge Ultimately depended upon nature for food as also for shelter, Then his mode of living was primitive communal. By and by, people invented some tools and also learnt some crude techniques of agriculture. Their mode of living also ceased to be nomadic in character and settled in hamlets with farms sprang up here and there. That marked the appearance of the germs of the negation of the existing social system. After sometime when the fixed abode and private life become a settled fact, the contradiction between the existing relations of production (tuned on traditional, communal lines) and the emerging forces of production (hunting and privately - managed primitive agriculture) became more and more glaring. A stage was then reached for the social system to undergo a change.

The primitive-communal period was then transformed into the slavery-dominated periods. That change was hastened by the growing phenomenon of conquests. An armed conquest generally resulted into mass-scale enslavement of the vanquished by the victorious. The slaves were now available to do all sorts of labour for their masters. A new type of production relations master and slave, now comes into being. After some time when land became the primary source, of subsistence to the people and agriculture was also considerably developed the old master-slave relationship) came into contradiction with the new emerging forces of production. Thereupon, the bid slavery-dominated order was replaced by the feudal order. The change was precipitated by the slave revolts which in course of time became a frequent recurrence. Again after sometime the feudal order began to develop signs of its own destruction when the feudal lords set up small factories to make such goods as, in addition to agricultural commodities, might make their living richer and more comfortable. Besides, with the increase of population some sort of urbanization took place. All these developments brought the existing production relations in sharp conflict with the emerging forces of production. The feudal order was then replaced by the capitalistic, order.

The dialectical process which helps the social organisational pattern makes continuous improvements, stage by stage, does not end with the dawn of capitalism, even though capitalistic mode of organisation is far more developed, advanced and sophisticated than all those social orders that preceded it. The finality is yet to be attained. The capitalist society which marks a clear-cut division of society into the capitalist and the proletarian classes also includes within its womb, like the feudal and the slavery dominated societies, seeds of its own destruction. As the rigorous of capitalistic exploitations are accented, the proletariat acquires greater consciousness of its misery and affliction and hence becomes more cohesive and militant. This quantitative change ultimately paves the way for the much cherished qualitative

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[11]   lan Swinewood, *'Marx and Modern Social Theory'*, Macmillan, 1979.

change. The later, as you know, is sudden and comes with a bang. The capitalist order will abruptly give way to the proletarian socialist revolution. For, the proletariat, led by this party (which acts as their vanguard) will break out into one of the bloodiest revolutions of history, destroying lock, stock and barrel, the capitalistic order with all its multidimensional paraphernalia. Upon its debris, there will emerge, a socialist state in which the victorious proletariat who constitute the bulk of the society will control the whole apparatus of the state and manipulate it against the handful of the capitalists who until the other day were exploiting the poor. The capitalists will be liquidated and the ownership of the means of production will be transferred to the state. By numerous other measures a stage will be set for emergency of a classless and stateless society wherein there will be no exploitation of any kind. For, there will exist none either to exploit or to be exploited by. With the attainment of the perfect social order, dialectical process, of development will have done its work.

5.6   SUMMARY

The Marxian approach to the study of the social reality is based on the method of dialectical materialism which, in their opinion is the only most reliable method to effectively and meaningfully analyse and understand the complex process of the governance of man. For it is based, as Stalin used to maintain, on four cardinal principles of social development. These are: (a) instead of considering nature as just an agglomeration of things, it considers things as "connected with, dependent on and determined by each other; (b) it considers everything as in a state of continuous development and change, of renewal and development, where something is always arising and eloping arid something always disintergrating and dying away; (c) it does not regard the process of development as "a simple process of growth but as a development which passes from qualitative changes," which occur "abruptly taking the form of a leap from one state to another and (d) it holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place as a struggle of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of there contradictions."[12]

While the method that the Marxists adopt is that of dialectical materialism, their base of analysis is the nature, of the relations of production which in their opinion provide the most reliable clues to the nature of the social phenomenon. Their approach is thus quite different and unique as compared to all those which the western scholars have developed.

5.7   FURTHER READINGS

1. O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

2. Gregory S. Mahler. *Comparative Politics – An Institutional and Cross–National Approach*, Englewood Cliff, Prentice-Hill, 1992.

5.8   MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What do you mean by relations of production ?

2. What is dialectical Materialism ?

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[12].   Quoted by Maurice, 'Op. cit.' pp. 63-64

DEPENDENCY THEORY AND MODES OF PRODUCTION APPROACH

Structure

6.0   Objectives

6.1   Introduction

6.2   Meaning

6.3   Main Arguments

6.4   Modes of Production Approach

6.5   Summary

6.6   Further Readings

6.7   Model Questions

6.0   OBJECTIVES

This lesson deals with approaches from political economy perspective. After studying this lesson you should be able to:

- explain how countries of the third world are being exploited because of their economic dependence on the developed nations;

- discuss how modes of production determine the character of classes in the society.

6.1   INTRODUCTION

In the 1950s and 1960s the major thrust of the writings on comparative politics was on the theories of development. After the second world war, and in the wake of decolonization a large number of European colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America attained political independence. This posed a challenge to the western political scientists and writers on comparative politics to develop frameworks for understanding and predicting the politics of new nation states, which later came to be known as third world. The atmosphere of the cold war with two superpowers USA and USSR, competing for international influence, provided the motivating force. In such an atmosphere American political scientists developed concepts of modernization and political development. They presumed that those newly liberated societies would follow the same path of economic growth political stability and democratization as the western countries. However, this approach of the western scholars was severely criticised by many scholars from the third world. The most frontal attack came from Latin American scholars like Paul Baran, Gunder A Frank and Paul Swizy. Before discussing their views let us define the term dependency.

6.2 MEANING

"Broadly speaking we can define dependency as a process through which peripheral countries have been integrated as well as assimilated into the international capitalist system, and the way the former have experience structural distortions in their domestic societies because of such assimilation and penetration." Originally this concept was formulated to explain development or underdevelopment of Latin American countries. Now this concept has found support in Asia and Africa as well.

6.3 MAIN ARGUMENTS

Let us now discuss the main arguments of the exponents of dependency theory. As said above dependency theory has been developed by Latin America scholars, some of whom are Marxists and others have leftist. Like Samual Huntington they have made an appeal to history. But unlike him they have sought to diagnose the basic cause of the unbalanced development, Paul Baran for instance points out that in the 17th century all countries were at about the same level of development. Then certain historical forces conspired and consequently colonial system came to emerge. The now so called developed countries dominated this system and continued to exploit the colonial territories.

The *economic Surplus* (surplus over consumption) of these countries was taken away by the ruling nations. Economic surplus which is generated by every country for itself is the source of development. No development can be possible without this economic surplus. Therefore, colonial countries which could not utilise this surplus for the development remained backward and under-developed.

Gunder Frank also finds that the degree of growth in one country and underdevelopment of other is unproportionate. The exploited have developed at a much faster rate and the harm done to the exploited was more than the benefit, if any.

Gunder Frank[15] further, observes that no country which suffered exploitation at the hands of the imperialists have ever been able to develop. These countries which have came in contact with the imperialists nations have suffered under-development One may ask, why four states- Canada, Japan, USSR and China are developed then ? Gunder Frank has no answer to this question. The United States of America and Canada broke away with the exploiters long back. Japan remained free from their, influence for a long time and came in contact with these countries, only when it was fully developed. The USSR and China are developed because they turned socialists. The USA, Canada and Japan have now turned into neo colonial exploiters, which has boosted up this development still further. But countries like India, Sri Lanka and number of others of Africa and Latin America remained under the influence of the Western Colonizers, for a long time and therefore, these countries are under-developed. Thus development and under-development, are the products of the same process of colonialism and exploitation. If certain countries are developed today it is because they have exploited the poorer and less developed countries.

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15.   Frank, Ander, Gunder 'Capitalism and Under-Development', New York. 1898.

Now the question arises as to why the under-developed countries are backward now when they control their own economies? Paul Baran replies that the independence which the third world countries enjoy is partial independence or sham independence. This argument has further been reinforced by Michalena[16] who points out that after having achieved their independence, these countries have been able to locate their political capitals on their soil (which were earlier, located on the soil of their imperial countries). Their economic capitals (from where actual finance for their development flows) are still located far away from their soil. In other words, they are still to a very large extent dependent on certain developed countries, which pull their strings in their own interests. The developed countries develop only those aspects of the economy of the dependent countries as serve their imperialist designs. Chile and Argentina are being developed on this piecemeal pattern by the U.S.A. Through economic control the imperialist power even control the politics of the dependent nations. Camps and associations are quite common. The economic bodies like and the World Bank which are controlled by the imperialist nations, also indulge in the game of political arm-twisting. Even Dr. V.K.R.V Rao was reported to have said that emergency in India was imposed under pressure from the IMF but he latter on disowned the article in which such statement was published.

Thus, the dependent nations are unable to develop themselves due to constant encroachment on their resources by the imperialist powers. Consequently, the gap between the rich and the poor nations is not narrowing down but widening. According to Alexander Portis[17] whereas the rate of growth of these countries is merely, 3.9 percent, the gap between the rich and the poor nations is increasing at the rate of 14 percent. Therefore, there is no hope of the economically backward nations ever catching up with the developed ones if the dependency model is allowed to operate.

The developing countries which are in a state of dependency, seek to develop with the help of foreign aid, which the developed nations provide apparently, to assist these countries for their social regenerations. But this foreign aid also involves exploitation by the donor countries in a number of ways. It comes at wrong time, goes to a wrong sector and provided for specified interested purposes. Thus foreign aid harmful as it is, does not lead to self-reliance.

The developed imperialist powers claim to, export technology for the development benefits of the dependent nations. But the exponents of dependency model regard such an export to be big fraud as only the second hand and discarded technology is exported. It is harmful also because it checks the borrowing countries from developing their own technology in their own research and development. Even India, the most industrialized country in the third world, had not much to spend on research and technology. Consequently, the research infrastructure lags behind the actual necessities of development of these countries. Even the technology which the

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16.   Michalena, J.A. Silva, 'The Illusion of Democracy in Nation' (Cambridge, 1973). Also his article, "State Formation and Nation-Building in Latin America." 'International Social Science Journal' Vol. XXIII No. 3, 1971.

17.   Alexandra Porties. "Sociology of Nation Development" in America Journal of Sociology (1971).

foreign firms develop in the developing countries goes to the monopolist west from where only the second rate technology is sold to these countries. It makes the developing countries ail the more dependent upon those countries. Thus the developing countries with discarded technology cannot develop as fast as the developed countries with modern technology can. Therefore, the former are condemned forever to remain dependent and backward.

Self Assessment Questions

1. Define dependency.

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2. Modes of production.

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The disadvantages of imported technology do not end here. The technology is exported on very stringent conditions, prejudicial to the interest of the borrowers. The recepient countries are under obligation not to pass on the technology to other countries. They have to pay high-ranging royalties to the donor countries alongwith a rich share in profit. By the time they become the masters of this technology. It looses all its worth as an instrument of speedy development.

In the modern era, the imperialist nations have abandoned the path of direct exploitation in favour of more subtle and indirect methods of neo-colonialist exploration, multi-nationals are playing a very similar role under this system. The Multi-national companies which emanate from a common centre in the imperialist countries, spread themselves over different nations, indulge in economic exploitation and control over the economic life of those nations. They create their special interests in countries and make huge profits. Out of these profits they pay fat salaries to their own employees and thereby create a sort of labour aristocracy in the developing countries. The interests of this elite labour class of the multi-nationals are always against the interests of the working class in general. They create a section of petty bourgeoisie from the ranks of the indigenous labour engaged by them and spread petty bourgeoic cosciousness among other sections of the labouring class. Therefore they wreck the working class movement in the developing countries and spoil all chances of their return to socialist path of development. Gunder Frank writes that" There are two major consequences of multi-national enterprises. Externally, these multinational enterprises have maintained and expanded the economic, dependence of the under-developed nations. Internally, they have led to the emergence of a new privilege group of people in these countries; they cause heavy drains on the indigenous economies of the host countries, through their capital and profit remittances to the parent countries.

Das Santoz says that the multinational companies spread their strangle-hold to the political sphere also. They influence the decision making process of the developing countries on the strength of their economic power. Thus, these companies act like parasites which hinder, rather than help, development in host countries.

The third world scholars contributing to the dependency model, therefore, make a strong plea for the economic self-dependence of the developing countries. They feel that these countries should develop indignous technology through their own R&D departments. In case foreign technology is needed it should be purchased rather than borrowed. The third world nations should not accept foreign aid from the capitalist countries and if such an aid is necessary it should be sought from the socialistic countries.

Let us now review the arguments given by Rajni Kothari. He feels that the west has confronted the third countries with no option They have offered to the latter their own model of development (whose underlying philosophy is that of Europocentrism-meaning that Europe is and has always been the centre of all development and good things in the world) with the only option, "have it or leave it." In other words, third world countries have not been given any choice to develop their own model keeping in view their own conditions.

In the second place, these scholars argue that even the western model which the western scholars have offered to the third world countries is a distorted version of their own historic pattern of development. In most parts of Europe, states and nations were built first and modernization came later, as for instance, Great Britain, France or Holland. But the models that they prescribe to the third world countries reverses the pattern of development in the sense that top priority has been accorded to modernization and economic development whereas the process of political development has been miserably neglected. This feature of badly ignoring the political aspect of development, argues this school of thought, has seriously told upon the political stability of many of the new nations. Besides, it has led to the uneven development of the people.

Rajni Kothari and others are of the view that too much emphasis on economic modernisation has resulted in the development of a few urban centres whereas the vast countryside has come to be badly neglected. The latter is treated by the town-dwellers as the suppliers of raw material, food grains and cheap labour. In order to sustain the supply of these vital goods, the town dwellers pay only that much attention to the development of the rural areas as can assure comfortable and rich living to the urban areas. In other words, this pattern of development has led to the problem of centre-periphery as highlighted by Edward Shills.

There is the second aspect of this development and that is that there has come to emerge a new modernised political elite in each developing country. The elite in most of the cases is the same which has led these societies to freedom. It has now developed charisma and also new sources (somewhat democratic in character) of legitimacy of its authority. This elite is very much in power everywhere. Having developed highly entrenched vested Interest it does not want to vacate the rules of power and authority. Obviously, the result is that the process of political development

in most of these countries is at a stand-still and somewhere even the reverse process of political decay has also set in.

Finally, this elite in certain cases has developed closer ties with their counterpart in other developing and developed countries. It is mostly from the latter that it secures development grants and loans which bring along their political dependence. The commulative impact is that most of these countries are economically and (hence) politically controlled by the developed countries of the west.

We reproduce here below another lengthy quotation of Rajni Kothari which would further help you appreciate the critique of the Western model.

> .... in its search for general principles, it ignores the crucial problems of political reality, namely, the prevailing pattern of dominance and control in the world at a given time. Emphasis on economic development through the historical model of industrial growth and urbanisation produces an elite (economics, bureaucratic and technocratic) that is intimately tied to the metropolitan areas of the world and treats the vast rural hinterlands in its own country as colonies that provide cheap food, raw materials and surplus labour (and market for inferior industrial products). It, no doubt, produces impressive increases in the national G.N.P.'s (and hence also in the aggregate per capital incomes) without really benefitting anyone except a very small fragment of the large humanity huddles in the countryside. Politically it produces a division in the world in which a large majority of the societies politically labelled as states and nations, become in their entirely the countryside and a small majority of them become the cities and metropoles."

> Similarly, over emphasis on the economic basis of states and nation and subsequent neglect of the political aspect.......... have reduced the theory of nation building to an appendage of the theory of modernization. Finally, neglect of the real location and relative power elites central concern of politics has led to the neglect of the power dimension itself.[18]

Thus we have seen reaction of third world scholars on both the economic and political aspects of development. Scholars like Rajni Kothari lay more emphasis on nation building as pre condition to economic development rather than to development sans nation-building. They consider political stability to be more important than economic development. The scholars of the dependency model lay stress upon self-dependent economic growth without the help of the multinational operations in these countries. But one thing is common to both these schools of scholars that they are highly critical of the western models and approaches to development of third world countries. Both of them discard foreign model in favour of self respect, autonomy, sovereignty, self-dependence and uninfluenced political and economic development of the backward countries. Therefore, scholars have their own socio-economic problem's which do not lit into the western models. Therefore, these scholars recognized the need

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18.   Ratni Kothari, "State and Nation Building in Third World" in his book (eco State and Nation Building. New Delhi-Allied, 1976, P.2.

and possibility of alternate models of development close to their own social reality and free from foreign, exploitation and infringements.

6.4 MODES OF PRODUCTION APPROACH

This approach emanates from the writings of French scholars like Althusses and Pierre-Philip Roy. Although its roots can be traced back to Karl Marx's preface to the critique of Political Economy' and Lenin's 'The Development of Capitalism in Russia'. This approach which is developed in the late seventies and early eighties lays emphasise on this fact that the articulation and combination of two or more modes of production determines the number and character of classes in a society. Rey, perhaps the most prominent champion of this approach identifies three stages of articulations: the first stage is called traditional or pre-capitalist stage when capitalism not only interacts with the former but also reinforces it. At the second stage capitalism establishes itself as a dominant mode of production. The pre-capitalist does not disappear but it became subordinate to the former. At the final stage capitalism establishes itself as the only dominant force. Roy believes that countries of the third world have, yet to reach this final stage.

John Taylor[19] while applying this approach to third world countries rejects both dependency and modernization approaches. To him, dependency is a sociological fantasy while the concept of underdevelopment is both economistic and technological. Social reality can be understood only by referring to historical materialism as a social formalism which is dominated by an articulation of two modes of production a capitalist and a non capitalist mode, and there can be no such thing as a linear succession from dominance by a capitalist mode of production. Imperialist penetration, having as its object the creation of the preconditions for transition to a specific form of Capitalist production can produce…….. the conditions for the possibility of a socialist mode of production.

Roger Batra a Latin American scholar in his study of Mexican peasantry argues that three different modes of production, petty commodity, Capitalist and self-subsistence exist side by side. Their economic system reflect a capitalist mode of production though it does not shed its basic feudal features. Similar arguments can be found in the writings of Rodrigues who argues that the traditional haciendados helped in the process of Bolivian capitalist development by becoming shareholders of banking and mining enterprises. This generated not only an articulation between feudal and capitalist modes, but the former was reinforced by the latter through the auction of communal lands, their subsequent division into small landholdings and economic interests.

This approach may be challenged on the ground that it simply overlooks the imperialist penetration which not only integrates peripheral societies with metropolitan economies, but also in that process precludes the possibility of autonomous capital accumulation in those societies.

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19.   John Taylor, From Modernization to Modes of production: A critique of the Sociologies of Development and Under-development, New York, Macmillan 1979.

However, dependency and the modes of production approaches taken together can provide a better understanding of a specific situation in the Third world. Dependency approach by emphasising exploitation of satellite countries by metropolitan countries talk of international relations rather than relations among classes. Thus it undermines the modes of production in a given society. The modes of production approach views such country as constituting a social formation with a specific structure because of the existence of classes with contradictory interests. It is this structure that determines the way in which each social formation fits into international production relational. In the end, we can say that depending lays too much emphasis on the international system as a whole and thereby ignores variations in social formations in different parts of the third world, the modes of production brings into the Limelight the interaction and articulation of various processes of production at the local land of such peripheral societies.

6.5 SUMMARY

Dependency theory is developed by Latin American scholars. For them development and underdevelopment are the two sides of the same coin. Capitalism constantly generates underdevelopment in satellite countries through the expropriation of surplus by advanced metropolitan countries. Developed countries hamper the economic development of these satellite countries (third world countries) by keeping them economically dependent on them. They are also very critical of the role of multi-national companies. On the other hand modes of production approach does not talk of international relations but emphasise the relationship among classes as determined by the modes of production in a society.

6.6 FURTHER READINGS

1. O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective,* New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

2. Gregory S. Mahler. *Comparative Politics – An Institutional and Cross–National Approach*, Englewood Cliff, Prentice-Hill, 1992.

6.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What do you mean by Dependency ?

2. Discuss the views of Rajni Kothari about the western model of development.

CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Structure

7.0   OBJECTIVES

This lesson introduces you to different typologies of the political systems. After studying this lesson you should be in a position to :

- explain the criteria of classifying political systems.

- show the difference between the old and new typologies.

7.1   INTRODUCTION

To study governments and compare them with one another is an old exercise, dating back to Aristotle. The master philosopher of ancient Greece had evinced such a great interest in the study of comparative government that he studied as many as 158 constitutions and then constructed a typology which was found by and large, acceptable by all those who undertook this exercise afterwards. To some extent, it is considered valid even today, when toward the second half of the last century institutionalism grew and acquired importance, a new generation of political scientists

gave a new orientation to the study of comparative government. This particular area of the study of political science experienced yet another change after the second world war when the rising tide of behaviouralism swept across the whole realm of social sciences. In the pages to follow we briefly explain these developments and then dwell at length on modern typologies.

7.2 ARISTOTLE'S TYPOLOGY

Aristotle lived in an age (some 25 centuries ago) when the city state culture in ancient Greece was quite advanced. Possessing a fairly high level of differentiated structures and secularised cultural orientations, the city-states presented a vast spectrum of systems variations. There existed democracies, aristocracies, oligarchies and even tyrannical governments. This highly asserted lot provided to Aristotle a sufficiently large date to undertake an exercise of constructing governmental typologies. He applied the following three criteria.

(a) **The number of persons who hold power :** Accordingly, if power vests in one person, it is monarchy. If it vests in a few persons then it is aristocracy, and if all people hold power, then it is the case of a polity.

(b) **The objective or the goal that ruler/rulers seek to achieve :** The objective may either be the welfare of the people or the gratification of the ruler's personal ends of power and glory. If one person rules in the overall interests of the people, the government is called monarchy. But in case he indulges in self-aggrandisement and neglects the welfare of the masses, he ceases to be a monarch and becomes a tyrant and likewise his government becomes a tyranny. In the same manner, when a few persons rule in the general interest, it is aristocracy, and when they begin to abuse power for their personal ends, aristocracy transforms itself into oligarchy. Further, polity is the government of the people and for the people, while democracy is the government of the people but not in the interest of all.

(c) **Dynamics of change from one government to another :** Finding governments of his contemporary city-states undergoing changes quite frequently, Aristotle adopts the dynamics of political change as yet another important criterion of classification. He is of the opinion that governments change in a cyclical manner, i.e. monarchy changes into tyranny, tyranny into aristocracy, aristocracy into oligarchy, oligarchy into polity, polity into democracy, democracy into monarchy. Thus after a full circle, the first government again comes to be established to provide peace and harmony to the people. The cycle of political change, according to him, starts from monarchy, in the ancient times, the first form of government, to begin with was monarchy. A man of outstanding virtue used to be the ruler. He ruled his people with love and justice and considered their welfare his prime duty. But after sometime his successors degenerated into tyrants and came to be despised by the people. With passage of time other persons of virtue and merit arose and tried to have a share in political power. Thus, a government of a few, i.e. aristocracy, for the welfare of people, came into being. But after some time, these noble men degenerated into an oligarchy and began to rule in the interests of their own class, at the expense of the common good. This state of affairs, also could not last long. People rose in rebellion against them, and another form of government i.e. polity a government of the many, for the

welfare of the whole community came into existence. However, as the time passed, this government too degenerated into arbitrary rule of the poor and uneducated masses, with the result that there emerged again a man to save the whole society from utter ruin.. There was monarchy once again. In this way, the cycle of change goes on endlessly. Thus, credit goes to Aristotle for bringing into focus this highly important factor.

The classification of Aristotle may thus be put in the following tabular form :

No. of rules	Normal forms, in which the rulers selflessly seek the common welfare	Perverted forms, in which the rulers seek their own welfare
Rule of one	Monarchy	Tyranny
Rule of few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Rule of many	Polity	Democracy

We may wind up our discussion with the remarks of Almond and Powell regarding the importance of Aristotle's typology, they observe :

"This Aristotalian scheme of political classification and theory of political development must seem rather simple to modern students of politics, but the fundamental questions which Aristotle asked and sought to answer are still the ones that each generation of students of politics must seek to answer."

In this way, Aristotle's classification is of fundamental value. It may not cover the modern forms of government, but it has provided the historical basis for all classification of government.

7.3   19ᵀᴴ CENTURY TYPOLOGIES

To come to the recent times, a number of new typologies were furnished by men like Marriot, Leacock and Maciver. Unlike Aristotle, these persons had not taken pains to base their conclusion on a large data, even though they had before them the panorama of the entire world. Instead, they had focused their attention on a handful of Euro-American countries, which had assumed to themselves the role of the world. The classificatory norms that they had worked out were:

a) *the locus of power. Whether power vests in one person or in the people : (dictatorship and democracy):*

b) *the relationship between the legislative and the executive: (parliamentary and presidential):*

c) *the pattern of the spatial distribution of powers: (federal and unitary):*

d) *the nature of constitution: (rigid or flexible): and*

e) *the number of the legislative chambers: (single-chambered or double chambered)*

You are quite familiar with these classifications. The post-second world war development which lifted the cloak of obscurity from the face of the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thereby compelling the students of comparative politics to pay their due attention to them as well made the old typologies redundant, the following reasons accounted for the out-modedness of these typologies :

7.4 SHORTCOMINGS OF THE OLDER TYPOLOGIES

1.   The old typologies were based on the limited knowledge of a handful of Euro-American states. But now there have emerged on the political horizon of the world a large number of new states which until recently had been kept in bondage by the imperial nations of the west. Any new typology that may now be worked out must take cognizance of these bewilderingly large number of new societies.

2.   The new societies, unlike the older ones, were, highly underdeveloped, both politically and economically. This fact has a very intimate bearing on the nature of classification typologies. To elaborate, the older societies were so much politically developed that their highly differentiated institutional structure and their secularized political culture, together could provide a correct insight into their political reality. But on the other hand, the new societies were under-developed. Even among them, the level of their under development was not of a uniform nature. Some of them were developing and some were totally underdeveloped. As a result, most of them possessed highly diffuse structures as also parochial political culture. If such was the panoramic view of the new world, how could the older typologies, based as these were on the data drawn from the highly developed societies, comprehend and explain the highly heterogeneous conditions of the new societies.

3.   The older typologies had been based on the institutional-legal approach which could, more or less, satisfactorily explain the nature of politics of the developed societies. But as you know, the political scientists had discovered the inadequacy of this approach even with regard to the developed societies.   Under the spell of behaviouralism, they had devised the systems approach in order to correctly analyse the political reality. The emergence of new societies along with the dichotomy between their institutional structure (whatever little of it they had devised) and the facts of their politics rendered the old typologies all the more redundant. A new approach, preferably based on the systems approach, was thus called forth.

4.   The older typologies tended to divide various governmental systems into a number of pairs, each containing two alternative and mutually exclusive systems, as for example, federal and unitary, parliamentary and presidential, democracy and dictatorship, and so on. These did not thus take into consideration that governments can also be of the mixed types, as Aristotle had maintained long ago. This was one of the big lacunae which had further rendered them unsuitable to answer the needs of the modern times.

5.   The highly ambivalent nature of politics of the new societies made the task of the students of comparative politics all the more difficult. We observe day in and day out that societies of the new world change their regimes so fast that it becomes difficult to keep track of their developments. Today, one is a democracy,

tomorrow it becomes totalitarian and so on. Apart from this fact, almost all these societies describe themselves as democratic. But the irony is that the regimes of no two societies resemble each other.

Thus, these developments made the old typologies altogether redundant, thereby pressing the urgent need for new typologies. Any new typology that might be developed must satisfy the following minimum conditions.

7.5   REQUISITES OF A NEW TYPOLOGY

1.   It must be comprehensive enough so as to take note of all the societies, old and new, developed and developing, western and eastern. In other words, It must possess universal orientations.

2.   It must be based, preferably, on the systems approach. For, the systemic, approach which takes into consideration the interaction between structures and political culture, as also the impact of the environments on the day to day functioning of the system properly brings out the dynamics of political reality. This approach will thus help reflect the working of the new societies better than any other approach, thereby facilitating the task of the students of comparative politics.

3.   It must be suitably related to the twin process of political development and modernization. This is imperative for the reason that the new societies, one and all, have initiated this process and at present the level of their development is much too uneven. Under such conditions of fluidity, the development approach as developed by Gabriel Almond can explain the situation in a much better manner and also help devise typologies of greater relevance and utility. Eulogising the developmental approach, Almond and Powell observe :

"We have in short, emphasized political development because we believe that this approach enables us to lay the basis for prediction as well as for description and explanation. The forces of technological change and cultural diffusion are driving political systems in certain directions which seem discernible and susceptible to analyse[1] in terms of increasing levels of development. The development approach also enables us classify political systems according to one of the most powerful sets of constraints and limitations which shape their future-their political past."[2]

In essence, the new typologies must be eclectic in nature, combining in them the institutional systems and developmental approaches, and take the world-wide view of the societies and situations with them.

The task of developing new classification typologies was so difficult and complex, particularly in view of the monstrosity of the problem, that it was difficult to evolve a consensus, much less unanimity, among the political theorists around any one, single typology. Any one who tries to handle that problem came out with his own approach, own typology. With the result that today we come across too many typologies. We may now refer to some of these new typologies.

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Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define Aristotle's Theology.

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2.   What is totalitarian Oligarchy?

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7.6   A FEW SELECT NEW TYPOLOGIES

7.6.1 Max Weber

Motivated by the desire to develop the ideal types, Max Weber worked out a tripartite typology of political systems making the nature of the basis of authority as the main criterion. His three types are, as follow:

(a)   Traditional: The traditional political system is the one in which the authority receives sanction from the traditional past. In other words, the authority derives its strength and support from customs and conventions of times immemorial, from the glorious heritage of its civilization and from the proved performance and valorous deeds of their ancestors. Tradition is respected both by the rulers and the rank and file of the population.

(b)   Charismatic : In charismatic system the basis of authority is the charismatic personality of the leader who guides the destiny of the society concerned. His personality is so charming, impressive and dominant that everyone looks at him with respect and reverence. None but he alone is regarded by the people as the only source of power and authority. In this context, we may refer to such names as those of Mahatma Gandhi, Lenin, Kamal, Attaturk, Mao, etc.

(c)   Bureaucratic : This type of a system derives its authority neither from traditions nor from any personality, but from systematically enacted rules and regulations. In other words not men but laws rule the state. Max Weber describes this type as 'legal-rational'. The bureaucratic systems are perfectly modern in character.[3]

7.6.2 Fred Riggs

Adopting development and political change as the criterion, Fred Riggs classifies political systems into three categories. It may however be pointed out that his major focus was the administrative structure of society. His categories are :

(a)   Fused : This type of system possesses highly diffuse, political and administrative structures. One single structure may be a king, a priest, officials of family heads who may play various roles, which are least specified and specialized. This type of a system occurs only in highly traditional societies.

(b) ***Refracted :*** It is the case of a political system just opposite to the fused category. Here, the various social, economic and political structures are not only highly differentiated from one another but are also specialised. One structure performs only one function. We find that in highly industrialized societies of the West numerous structures are political parties, Pressure groups, trade unions, bureaucracies, legislatures, judicial tribunals, administrative agencies, scientific organizations etc.

(c) ***Prismatic :*** These are the systems in transition. Those of you who have studied physics must be familiar with the prism, a triangular type of thing made of thickened glass. If you put it in front of the sun, you would find the rays of the sun breaking themselves into numerous multi-coloured small rays. In the same mariner, when a society begins to develop itself politically, its hitherto fused roles gradually get differentiated and also (though very slowly) specialized. Thus, prismatic societies are those societies which pass through the transitionary stage, from the highly under-developed to the highly developed stage.[4]

7.6.3 Leo Binder

On the basis of his study of Iran, Leo Binder also divides political systems into three categories. While doing so, he adopts the criterion of the level of political development of a society. His three categories are :

(a) ***Traditional :*** This type of systems are the least developed one, characterized by patriarchal leadership, a hap hazard delegation of authority, belief in the super-natural, pre-scientific notions of causation.

(b) ***Conventional :*** These systems exhibit the features of both traditionality and modernity. They are traditional in the sense that the authority and procedural patterns remain the same. But at the same time, they Imbibe the features of constitutionalism by basing their authority on customs and conventions. In other words, these systems draw their legitimacy and sanction from conventions rather than from their personal influence.

(c) ***Rational:*** These systems are fairly advanced in nature in the sense that they develop formalized hierarchical patterns of authority and base their regulatory procedures on legally formulated laws instead of conventions or personal influence of one person.[5]

7.6.4 Jean Blondel

He develops his typology around a very important political process, namely decision making. In this context, he raises three very vital questions, on the basis of the answers to which he builds his classification typology. These questions are :-

(a)   Who makes the decision ? This explains the nature of the participation in decision making. Accordingly, the systems may be monarchical, oligarchical or democratic.

(b)   In what way was the decision taken ? This would provide to us an insight into the method(s) of the functioning of the regime. The means employed may be liberal, authoritarian and, accordingly, the regimes will be as such ; and

(c)   What was the decision about ? This would indicate the goals of the regime, whether it wants to maintain the status quo or wants to bring about changes. Accordingly the regimes may be conservative or radical.

Being a staunch critic of the older approach which provided dychotomical classification (as discussed above). Jean Blondel believes that regimes generally present the mixture of a number of neat categories. Hence he gives to us five old classification; traditional conservative systems, liberal democratic systems, communist systems, populist systems, and authoritarian-conservative system.[6]

7.6.5 S.A.N. Eisentadt

Combining both the developmental approach and Blondel's three-dimensional decision making approach, Eisenstadt constructs his own typology which he explains in his famous book. *The Political Systems of Empires*. He holds the view that all systems can be classified on the following bases.[7]

(a)   The extent to which political activities are specialized and differentiated from one another and also from other non-political activities.

(b)   The extent to which political activities are organized in specific collectivities (such as political parties, pressure groups, legislatures) or embedded in others (such as kinship caste, territorial or status collectivities).

(c)   What are the goals that a society wants to attain and who has defined those goals ?

(d)   What is the basis of legitimation of authority concerned ?

Keeping in view these vital issues, Eisenstadt classifies political systems into the following seven categories:

- Primitive systems;
- Patrimonial empires;
- Nomad or conquest empires;
- City-states;
- Federal systems;
- Centralised historical bureaucratic empires;
- Modern systems, which can be further sub-divided into the following :
  a) Democratic;
  b) Autocratic;
  c) Totalitarian; and
  d) Under-developed.

7.6.6 Edward Shills

He adopts an altogether new approach. He is of the view (and he empirically proves it) that the newly-freed societies happen to be highly ambitious of developing

themselves as speedily as possible. They having lived under the imperial rule of their western masters, gave to their elite the idea that democratic institutions, the type of which their masters had, were the ideal ones and could help them achieve their goal of development. As a result, every society begins its independent career with a democratic set-up. By and by, as that set-up fails to deliver the goods (whatever may be the underlying reason for the same), the elite starts tampering with it and as result, the political system goes on changing forms, one after the other. In the light of this general observation/hypothesis, Shills develops the following typology:

(a) ***Political Democracy*** : It is a civilian rule, pressing all the basic features of a genuine democratic set up (though the cultural dimension, vitality necessary to work out the institutional infrastructure is however missing) - such as universal sufferage, periodically elected legislature, responsible executive, independent judiciary, democratic opposition, fundamental civil and political rights, free political parties etc.

(b) ***Tutelary Democracy*** : When political democracy somehow fails, the ruling elite embarks upon a path of distorting the institutions. Though still maintaining the facade of democracy, it introduced such modifications, as strengthening of the executive and weakening of the legislature, not holding elections on time, occasional attempts to curb liberties and so on. The all-out efforts of the ruling elite are somehow to ensure the stability of its regime and, at the same time, maintain the outward postures of democracy.

(c) ***Modernising oligarchy:*** This is the third advance step. When the elite fails to retain itself in power it kicks out democracy on the plea that the democratic institutions endanger stability and slow down the process of development. Then the elite assumes power to itself permanently and tries to legitimise itself on the assurances of the speedy development of the society. It tries to act as guardian of the nation, hence the form of government is 'modernising oligarchy'.

(d) ***Totalitarian Oligarchy:*** This is yet another step toward the consolidation of power by a small clique of persons. While earlier they were still seeking legitimacy from the people and some sort of opposition was acceptable to them, now they completely do away with all sorts of opposition and try to encroach upon all spheres of public (and even private) life of the nation. Yet they describe their regime as democratic.

(e) ***Traditional Oligarchy:*** Finally, he says that certain societies do not pass through the process at all and they continue to be traditional in all respects. They are ruled by a small group of people, may be tribal chiefs, and their structural as well as functional patterns are highly diffuse. In brief, these are the major categories of political systems; as classified by Shills.[8]

7.6.7 David Apter

Applying the criterion of political development and nation-building. David Apter finds three dominant categories of political systems among developing societies in general and Africa in particular. He constructs his typology on the basis of his study of three African states, namely, Ghanna, Guines and Nigeria. His three categories are the following :-

(a) ***Mobilities Systems:*** Aiming at the modernization of society, these systems seek to bring about a mass-scale mobilization of the total resources of the society-physical and human.

(b) ***Consociational Systems :*** These systems seek to bring about unity in the society by effecting a compromise on certain mutually agreed terms, among various segments of the population. This has been done in countries like Nigeria.

(c) ***Modernising Autocracy:*** Here the basic character of the system is traditional and it seeks to modernize itself through the agency of an autocracy. The modernizing autocracy seeks to exploit the religious sentiments of the people both to retain power to itself and to modernize the society. Apter compares the modernizing autocracies of today with the monarchies of the earlier times of Europe.[9]

7.7   SUMMARY

After having briefly examined various typologies of modern times, we may now try to correlate one with the other by identifying the common categories among them.

One category about which all political theorists mention is that of the traditional systems. By and large, they are of the opinion that these systems are characterized by : diffuse structures, parochial cultures, ascription-based recruitment to various socio-political roles, traditional basis of authority, etc. These may be different types of the traditional systems.

The second most common category is that of the democratic systems. Viewing it from different angles, various theorists projects its various images and describe it by various names : Jean Blondel calls it liberal democracy, Eisenstadt as democracy, Edward. Shills as political democracy, Leo Binder as rational system : and Max Weber as legal-rational or bureaucratic system. Terminological variations apart, the democratic systems are characterized by : universal adult franchise, periodic elections, responsible executives, independent judiciary, democratic opposition, competitive political process, well-organised political parties and pressure groups, inviolable fundamental rights, free press, and so on : Democracy is a feature of both the developed and developing societies. The latter adopt it with a view to effecting mobilization of resources.

In the third place, we come across the mobilizational systems. With a view to mobilizing the physical and human resources, the newly-freed societies experiment with various type of regimes, such as modernizing oligarchy, modernizing autocracy, populist and charismatic forms. Their objective is to bring about socio-economic development of society.

Then, there are totalitarian systems which are characterised by the concentration of power in one or few hands, total eradication of opposition, abolition of political parties, extension of the state power to every aspect of the social and private life etc. The totalitarian authority may be wielded by a traditional oligarch, a civilian leader or a military general. They tend to pose themselves as the saviours and servants of the society, but their objective is to aggrandize their personal power and glory. One variant of the totalitarian system is the communist system wherein the supreme power

is held not by one individual but by a political party, which functioning under one leader, seeks to mobilize society with a view to bringing about its speedy socio-economic development

7.8   REFERENCES

1.   Gabriel Almond and Bingham G. Powell. *Comparative Politics A New Development Approach.* P. 215-16.

2.   *Ibid* p. 301.

3.   Refer to Max Weber. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation.* Trans, A.M. Handerson and T. Parsons (eds) Oxford University Press, 1947, Part III.

4.   See H.V. Wiseman, *Political Systems.* London, Routledge, 1967, pp. 58-62.

5.   *Ibid.*

6.   Jean Blondel, op., cit.

7.   See H.V., Wiseman, Op. cit.

8.   *Ibid.*

9.   *Ibid.*

10.   O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

11.   Jean Blondel. *An Introduction to Comparative Government*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998.

7.9   MODEL QUESTIONS

1.   Describe the shortcomings of the older typologies.

2.   What are the main features of the new typologies ?

CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS-II

Structure

8.0   OBJECTIVES

This lesson deals with Almond's classification of Political Systems. After reading this lesson you should be in a position to :

-   understand the basis of Almond's classification of Political Systems;

-   explain all kinds of political systems — primitive, traditional and modern;

-   make out the differences between democratic and authoritarian systems.

8.1   INTRODUCTION

In the previous lesson, we acquainted you with a few typologies of political systems-traditional and modern. As you find, various political theorists adopt various criteria. If Aristotle, for instance, classifies political systems on the twin-basis of the locus of power and the ends of the regime, the modern theorists adopt criteria ranging from the nature of the decision-making structures to the levels of modernization and political development. The typology that we discuss at some length in this lesson, namely the one given by Gabriel Almond, is eclectic in nature i.e. It draws its elements

from all modern approaches. Hence it provides a framework wide enough so as to make almost all modern political systems-whether of the east or of the west, north or south, developed or developing-ideally fit into it.

8.2 GABRIEL ALMOND'S TYPOLOGY

Like Max Weber, Fred Riggs and S.N. Eisenstadt, Almond too adopts the criterion of political development. But instead of focusing on the basis of authority and the nature of legitimacy thereof as Max Weber does, Almond concentrates his attention on structure and political culture. For, his basic contention is that every system has to perform certain functions in order to survive and that every political system develops relevant structures in order to perform these functions. The nature of the structures depends upon the level of development of the political system. The more developed a political system, the more refined its structures are, in other words, as a political system begins to develop itself, its hitherto diffuse structures start getting differentiated and specialised. Simultaneously, its parochial culture also begins to secularise itself.

Describing the process of modernization and political development as a linear development, he delineates it as : to begin with all societies possess diffuse or intermittent structures i.e. the roles are imprecise and vague. A handful of persons doing all things. The political culture too is characterized by its highly parochial nature. This constitutes the starting point of the long-drawn process of political development. By and by, as the process goes into strides, structures begin of differentiate from one another and also start specializing themselves. On the political plan it is the governmental structure (namely those relating to rule-making, rule-implementation and rule-adjudication) that differentiate themselves not only from other structures of the political system but also from one another. This differentiation and specialization of structures is the by-product of another process, namely that of the secularization of culture which also sets in simultaneously. Finally comes the stages when non-formal political structures such as political parties, pressure groups and the like emerge, quite independently of the governmental action. They perform their role of articulation, aggregating and communicating interests. Again in the process, political culture gets further secularized and also acquires the orientation of participation.

Thus, Almond deciphers three distinct stages in the process of development and accordingly, distributes the political systems into three broad categories. These categories are "(1) systems with *intermittent political structures* in which there is a minimum of structural differentiation and a concomitant diffuse parochial culture; (2) systems with *differentiated governmental-political structure*, characterized on the attitudinal-side by the spread of what we have called a 'subject' culture; and (3) systems in which *differentiated political infra-structures* (political parties, pressure groups, media of mass communication) developed along with some form of participant political culture. Within each category, there occur systems, which further distinguish from one another according to the degree of structural differentiation, structural autonomy and cultural secularization. We are giving below an exhaustive chart of this classificatory norm :

8.3   PRIMITIVE SYSTEMS

Intermittent Political Structures

A. Primitive Bands (Bergdama)

B. Segmentary Systems (Nuer)

C. Pyramidal Systems (Ashanti)

II.   TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS :

Differentiated Governmental Political Structures

A. Patrimonial Systems (Quagadougou)

B. Centralised Bureaucratic Systems (Inca, Todhr England, Ethopia)

C. Feudal Political Systems (Twelfth-century France).

III.   MODERN SYSTEMS :

Differentiated Political Infrastructures

A. Secularized City-States

Limited differentiations (Athens)

B. Mobilized Modern Systems

High Differentiation and Secularization

   1.   Democratic Systems

Subsystem Autonomy and Participant Culture

   a.   High Sub-systems Autonomy (Britain)

   b.   Limited Sub-system Autonomy (Fourth Republic France)

   c.   Low sub-system Autonomy (Maxico)

   2.   Authoritarian Systems :

Sub-system Control and subject-Participant Culture

   a.   Radical Totalitarian (China)

   b.   Conservative Totalitarian (Nazy Germany)

   c.   Conservative Authoritarian (Spain)

   d.   Modernizing Authoritarian (Brazil)

C. Premobilized Modern Systems :

Limited Differentiation and Secularization.

   1.   Premobilized Authoritarian (Ghana).

   2.   Premobilized Democratic (Nigeria Prior to Jan. 1966).

8.4   PRIMITIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Intermittent Political Structures

Political systems like those of Eskimo and the Bergdama bands of south-west Africa, which are still in the primitive stage of their existence, are characterized by a minimum possible level of role differentiation and cultural secularization. The headman performs all roles, doing various things at one and the same time. Almond gives an illustration of the manner, things are managed by the Bergdama tribe.

> "To illustrate, let us imagine a Bergdama band sitting around an evening campfire, somewhere in the mountains of southwest Africa after the completion of the evening meal. The group might be discussing plans for hunting-and-gathering activities during the following day, a discussion in which the headman may take the leading role but in which other adult males take active part. In this context the headman and the adult males may be making economic decisions. They may invoke spirits to ensure the success of the next day's operations. In this connection, they would be acting as the religious sub-systems of the society. Finally a disagreement among the adult males about the appropriate course of action, or a quarrel about a woman may bring the political sub-system into operation. Here, when the order of the society is threatened by a quarrel, there may be a treat, either overt or implied, of compulsion against the offending member or members".

These systems are small in size. It was therefore, easy for all people to have face to face interaction with one another. These systems also tend to be 'omnifunctional' in nature. In other words, there do not exist clear-cut boundary distinctions between one role and the other. However, the fact remains that the political system performs all those functions that developed system is expected to perform. Take, for instance, the conversion function. Suppose, A commits a wrong which is tantamount to a breach of a rule of the Eskimo tribe. The elder persons of the society would sit together, deliberate among themselves and the decision, say, of executing that person is taken. Then an appropriate day is fixed when the offender is publicly executed. Analysing this process, we find that the report about the misconduct of person concerned is roughly equivalent to the communication of interests, the deliberations of the elders is the adjudication of the case and the execution is the rule implementation process. In this way, even a primitive political system of the type of an Eskimo tribe also discharges all the relevant conversion processes.

As regards the maintenance function, this too is performed. Although the role recruitment is not done very frequently, yet the headman and other tribal leaders do change hands from time to time and there does exist some well-recognised method for the same. Similarly, the members of the system also socialize their incoming generations in the values of this system.

The manner how the headman obtains the share of this booty and of the regular hunting and gathering operations, indicates the extracting capability of the system. In the same manner, how disputes are settled and offenders of law—are brought to book provide an insight into the regulative capability of this system.

In the end, it may be observed that while the primitive political system discharge all functions, their ability to adopt themselves to the changed environment to too little. That is why they live in jungles or in deserts, quite away from the civilized people. Moreover, their capabilities are far too incommensurate with the resources at their disposal. This is for the reason that they do not exercise any control over nature.

Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define traditional view of political system.

    _____

    _____

    _____

2.   Define Gabriel Almond's typology.

    _____

    _____

    _____

8.5   TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS

Differentiated Governmental Structure

Almond includes in this category three types of political systems, namely : (a) Patrimonial systems (b) Centralised Bureaucratic system (c) Feudal Political systems. We briefly explain them, patrimonial system is one where there are specialized political elites, such as kings, sub chiefs and a relatively specialized officialdom. The system is called patrimonial because the whole kingdom is considered as the enlarged household of the king (to use the Indian phrase '*Raj Kutumbh*') and almost all offices the located within the palace of the king. In most of the cases these systems emerge out of a certain peculiar situation, as, for instance, a powerful tribe conquering another, tribe and, as a result, the former exercises complete control over the latter everybody owing complete allegiance to the tribal chief of the ruling tribe. Almond explains the working of these systems with the help of the kingdom of the Ouagadougou, which the European powers discovered during their drive of the control of Africa in the nineteenth century.

The Ouagadougou Kingdom was said to be a very old one, tracing its origin back to the fourteenth century, its authority pattern was hierarchical in natures having four layers. At the lower-most rung, there was the basic unit of the extended family whose affairs were regulated by the eldest male member of the family. A number of households combined to form a village which was administered by a village council, at the head of which there was the village-chief. He exercised authority over all affairs of the village. The village-chiefs, in their turn, were under the authority of the district-chief who were subject to the control of the king.

The second category was that of the Centralized Bureaucratic Empires. S.N. Eisenstadt has extensively probed into them. He gives the following three features as

characteristics of these empires. These are : (1) the development of autonomous goals by the ruler and, to some extent, by those who participate in political decision-making; (2) the development of specialized administrative structures; and (3) organization of the society on centralized lines. Almond illustrates this system by referring to the Inca Empire of Latin America and the Tudor Monarchy of England. He finds the latter closer to Eisenstadt's model. We briefly discuss it, as under:

The Tudor monarchy ruled England from 1484 to 1603. Its note-worthy figures were Henry VII, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Before the advent of the Tudor. House, England was not so well-knit a kingdom. A number of local chieftains and feudal lords wielded a good deal of authority. The credit goes to the Tudor kings for centralizing the politics and administration of the kingdom. They not only curbed the Ideal chieftains but also ended the over-lording hegemony of the Rome-based Catholic Church. The House of Lords, which comprised the old landed gently and the House of Commons which represented the common people living in towns and country side assisted the king, and all the three combined together (called the king-in-parliament) performs the rule-making function of the realm alongwith the justices of peace (hundreds of whom were stationed in the length and breadth of the kingdom). The members of the two Houses of Parliament articulated, aggregated and communicated interests to the decision-making structures. The Tudor had also set up a vast bureaucratic machinery which efficiently looked after the rule implementation aspect of the political system. There also existed a well organized judicial hierarchy with the Justices of Peace at the bottom and the privy council at the top. Thus, we find the England of the Tudor period contained all features of a centralized bureaucratic empire. The governmental structures had been fairly developed with proper differentiation and specialization of functions. Other political infrastructures, such as parties, pressure-groups and media agencies had not however emerged into existence.

As regards the third category, namely, the feudal systems, this type of political system did not provide for a centralized administration. Instead, the whole administration of the kingdom was managed by a number of feudal lords; each of whom maintained his own private armies, held his court, implemented his law, and he himself owed his loyalty and estate to the king. The relations that bound him with his lord (the king) or with his vassals were contractual (not personal) in nature. Thus, the feudal system was bureaucratically organized, bearing a close resemblance to centralized bureaucratic empires.

8.6 MODERN POLITICAL SYSTEMS

After having explained the political systems of the past, Almost takes up the explanation of the modern political system. Unlike the older systems, the modern systems are characterized by the development of not only properly differentiated and specialized governmental structures but also by such political infra-structures as political parties, pressure groups and media agencies. However, all the modern systems are not alike. They differ from one another "according to the degree of autonomy of the structures and according to the degree of differentiation and secularization". He classifies these systems into two broad categories, namely : mobilized and pre-mobilized systems. Possessing a high degree of differentiation and

secularization, the mobilized systems are subdivided into Democratic Systems and Authoritarian Systems, Almond further makes a distinction among various political systems, included in each sub-category, on the basis of the degree of sub-system autonomy and participant culture, and, conversely, on sub-system control and subject participant culture. Pre-mobilized political systems are also classified into democratic and authoritarian types. The classification that he thus gives may be explained in the form of a table as given below :

MODERN SYSTEMS

Differentiated Political Infrastructures

A.   Secularized City-States:

Limited Differentiation (Athens)

B.   Mobilized Modern Systems :

High Differentiation and Secularization.

1.   Democratic Systems :

Sub-system Autonomy and Participant Culture

(a)   High Sub-system Autonomy (Britain)

(b)   Limited Sub-system Autonomy (Fourth Republic of France)

(c)   Low Sub-system Autonomy (Maxico)

2.   Authoritarian Systems:

Subsystem Control and Subject—Participant Culture

(a)   Radial Totalitarian (U.S.S.R.)

(b)   Conservative Totalitarian (Nazi Germany)

(c)   Conservative Authoritarian (Spain)

(d)   Modernizing Authoritarian (Brazil)

C.   Premobilized Modern Systems :

Limited Differentiation and Secularization

1.   Premobilized Authoritarian (Ghana)

2.   Premobilized Democratic (Nigeria prior to January, 1966)

8.7   MOBILIZED POLITICAL SYSTEMS : DEMOCRATIC

As hinted above, mobilized democratic political systems are of three types. The first of these had *high Sub-system autonomy.* This is a type in which such political structures as political parties, pressure groups and mass-media communications are fully developed and enjoy enormous existence. Besides, in these systems political culture also develops participant orientations. The British and the American systems possess these characteristics and hence they alone deserve to be put in this category. Next comes the subcategory of those mobilized political systems which have *limited*

sub-system autonomy. Herein, the political structures have emerged but they tend to depend upon one another. Almond puts France of the Third and the Fourth Republics, Italy after World War II and Welmber Germany into this category. He illustrates the phenomenon of mutual dependence of political structures by citing the example of the Catholic Church of France and Italy. In these countries, the Catholic Church does not simply function as an interest group but its own political party, trade union and media of mass communication. As regards political culture of these systems, it is largely fragmented and possesses the features of its being subject and parochial in character. The third sub-category is made up of those which possess *law sub-systems autonomy.* They are mostly one party dominant systems or have hegemonic party systems. Maxico provides as an ideal case of these political systems. We may now briefly explain the various systems, as under:

8.7.1 High Sub-system Autonomy Systems :

(a)   Britain : In Britain, political structures enjoy a high degree of a sub-system autonomy. Even though various pressure groups own their existence, and are also intimately related to various political parties, they do not interfere in the working of the latter. For instance, trade unions are mostly organized by the Labour Party and their functioning is guided by the former. But When the Labour Party assumes power, trade unions do not seek to guide the policies of the Parliamentary wing of the Labour Party. Instead, they ensure that the policies of the Government should reflect the over all well-being of the society and not that it should be unduly favourable to the workers. In the same manner, most trade associations and chambers of commerce are affiliated to the Conservative Party.

They also behave likewise when their party is in power. Similar is the case of the newspapers. These are not simple organs of the party leadership. As regards political culture, it exhibits all the features of a participant culture Almond and Verba describe it as 'differential' participant culture which implies that the differential orientations of the British do not militate against their loyalty to the independent author of the government and that they actively participate in the affairs of the state.

The conversion characteristic of the British political system are related to these structural and cultural conditions. Various interest groups play an effective role in articulating the demands of the people and, likewise, the two political parties aggregate the demands and present to the decision makers two alternative programmes for policy formulation. The media of mass communication even though controlled by the government are relatively neutral in performing their function of disseminating information about political events. Thus, the flow of demands, decision and action is relatively continuous.

A regards system's capabilities, these too possess a relatively high degree of effectiveness. The British maintain their law and order conditions fairly well, though in recent years we have been listening to sporadic challenges to the same. The extractive level of the system is also fairly high as reflected by the collection of taxes. Unlike India, the incidence of the tax arrears. In Britain is practically nil. Immediately after World War II, the British Government nationalized a number of key industries as well as the health services. In addition, public grants to various educational programmes

were also considerably enhanced. All these measures were, directed towards the redistribution of the nation's benefits to various sections of the population. Their impact is gauged from the recent trends, in recruitment pattern of the political system. Membership of both the Houses of Parliament is now more open to the middle and lower classes than hitherto was the case. The higher civil services have also acquired a socially more broad-based character. The changes in the recruitment patterns", observes Almond "reflect significant trends in development of British political culture. Evidence suggested a declining deferentialism and broader spread of particiant orientation in British society".

8.7.2 Limited Sub-system Autonomy and Fragmented Political Culture

France : France of the Fourth Republic provides the best illustration of a political system with limited sub-system autonomy and fragmented political culture. There also exist pressure groups, political parties and mass media communication and they are fully developed. But they closely depend upon one another and (conversely), do not enjoy an autonomous existence of their own. To explain, there are distinct political sub-cultures. The first is the Communist dominated general trade union (C.G.T.) and the Communist press. The second sub-culture is that of the Socialist which too has its political party (S.F.I.O.) the trade union organization and its own newspapers and periodicals. The third sub-culture is that of the Catholics. The Catholic system also comprises a Catholic Church hierarchy and clergy, a Catholic party (M.R.P.), Catholic Action with its vast network of specialized groupings based on age, sex, occupation and profession, and a Catholic Trade Union (C.F.T.C.). It too has a chain of its newspapers and periodicals.

This fragmented nature of the French political system effects the functioning of all its components and process. "The Communist, Socialist and Catholic trade unions had difficulties in coming to agreements on policies regarding the specific interests of various sectors of the working class. Political parties had difficulties in forming stable coalitions because of sharp ideological differences and distrust and the media of mass communication were unable to function effectively in disseminating unbiased information regarding social and political problems. Thus, the conversion process in the Fourth Republic was often blocked Demands, so to speak piled up and were not converted into policy alternatives or enacted into law."

The system's capabilities were relatively at the low level "French evasion of taxation cynicism regarding law enforcement and non-compliance with law, and general alienation from the institution of the Fourth Republic suggest low support levels and limited extractive regulative and symbolic capabilities".

8.7.3 Low Sub-system Autonomy Systems

Mexico : Mexico is one of those countries which was ruled by one dominant political party Institution Revolutionary Party (P.R.I.) till 1997. It generally received 70 to 80 percent votes. Its candidates dominated federal as well as state elections. The dominance of this party was so great that any other party which wanted to establish its existence must get itself registered with the Central Government which was

invariably dominated by the P.R.I. The P.R.I. could thus interfere, though indirectly, in the functioning of other parties.

The P.R.I. is hierarchically organized. Each stage of its hierarchy is composed of the representatives of a number of interests, as for example, agrarian, and middle class business. Each sector within the hierarchy formally functions as one single block. But in fact, it contains a variety of groups which quarrel among themselves over various issues of public policy, in addition, there also exist a number of other strong interests which do not form part and parcel of the P.R.I. Important among them are : powerful business and industrial elements, Communist Trade Unions, Catholic Church, etc. Being quite powerful in nature, they have developed in formal channels of communication with the presidents and the top-levels, of the bureaucracy. Quite often, the role of these outside groups is much more important than that of the formal governmental or party organizations. Thus, there existed comparatively very little of sub-system autonomy.

As regards Mexican political culture, it has been developing secular orientations very fast. However, the Mexican people feel alienated from their system. By and large, they have a sense of distrust towards their government. In this way, we find that political culture is somewhat fragmented.

8.8   MOBILIZED POLITICAL SYSTEMS : BUT AUTHORITARIAN

We now come to those political systems which are authoritarian in character. They distinguish themselves from the democratic systems, not on the basis of the total lack of sub-system structures and competitiveness among them. Almond points out that since various authoritarian systems of today have come into existence after the industrial revolution (which had brought in its wake a faster pace of urbanization, fast means of communication and the enhanced level of political awareness on the part of the people), they must, develop some sort of political infra-structure and, further, that there must take place some degree of competitiveness among themselves. This is what is the natural process. However, what happens in authoritarian systems is that the regime tries to eliminate formal autonomy of structures and thereby curbs the spirits of competitiveness among them. Almond maintains that "even the most extreme form of totalitarianism for example, the Soviet Union under Stalin still contains pluralistic tendencies and what we might call a political process." Illustrating this type—

Almond refers to the pre-Gorbachev Soviet Union and Spain. He describes the former as radical totalitarian and the latter as stablizational conservative authoritarian. To explain in the erstwhile Soviet System the sub-system autonomy had been reduced, thereby making the political system thoroughly penetrating into the economic, regional, cultural and family life. This is evident from the fact that in the Soviet Union the entire economy was controlled by the state, the influence of the Church had been deliberately and completely destroyed and attempts had also been made to forcibly assimilate the non-Russian population of the country into the system. Besides, the Soviet system had devised an extremely elaborate and effective apparatus for social and political mobilization. One of the most important components of this apparatus was the Communist Party. It performed two very important functions. First, it sets the goals of the system and monitored the implementation of those goals.

Second, it mobilized the society in carrying out the goals. Almond remarks, 'Thus, the political infra-structure of the Soviet political system is a thoroughly elaborated one, encompassing organizations, intended to mobilize the energies of all the strata and groupings of Soviet Society".

Despite this, the system could achieve only a partial success in the sense that some parts of the system retained an element of autonomy. The penetration of the political system in the families had not been complete. Besides, there were a number of other groups of people who maintained their identity and they were often seen locked in various types of conflicts among themselves. Almond cites the examples of bureaucratic groups in conflict with groups in the party apparatus, groups with the governmental bureaucracy such as the army and the various branches of civil and economic administration; regionally-based groups which were in conflict with each other and with the central government and the party bureaucracy, professional groupings such as artists, writers and scientists in conflict with party bureaucracy and top party elite. In addition, there were a number of different occupational and skill groupings which were in conflict with one another over their share of the natural product and so on and forth. Thus, we find that like any other political system, this too was money-combed with a variety of conflicting groups. The only difference between it and others was that in the Soviet system the conflict was suppressed and officially eliminated whereas in others it is conceded full freedom to interplay itself.

Another significant feature of the Soviet system was that mass media was completely controlled by the political system, not to speak of the official management of various media agencies, the elites were too sensitive to any type of criticism of the society by writers and intellectuals. None was allowed to open his mouth, Moreover, media did not function as interest articulation structure as was the case elsewhere. Occasionally, it could transmit individual complaints against the lower-level bureaucracy.

As regards the patterns of political culture, the Communist party had made over the years sustained and systematic efforts to shape people's beliefs, political feelings and values on the lines of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Yet there still persisted old culture pattern of the pre Bolshevik revolution days which intermittently broke through the surface and came into conflict with the official political culture.

To sum up, modern mobilized systems differ from one another on the basis of their sub-system autonomy. Though in modern times there can be no system where various political infra-structures have not been developed, some systems allow free autonomy to them and thus qualify themselves to be described as democratic, whereas others deliberately destroy that autonomy by making the political system effectively penetrate into those structures. Such systems are described as authoritarian and since the political system tries to assimilate into itself every other part of the society the system can also be said to be totalitarian in character.

8.9   PRE-MOBILIZED MODERN SYSTEMS

Thus far, we have been dealing with the mobilized political systems which are characterized by differentiated political structures and secularized cultural

orientations, "Although traditional values and structures may be important in these societies", observe Almond and Powell, "their political systems rest on a base of considerable social and economic development. Large number of individuals are urbanized, have become literate, and have been exposed to differentiated economic enterprises. The spread of instrumental and participatory attitudes creates both problems and potential for the political systems."

Now we take up for consideration those modern political systems which are not mobilized as yet. Having won their independence from the colonial masters only recently, they have undertaken the process of development and modernization. As a first step in that direction, they have created all those symbolic structures as go with developed democracies. These are : political parties, interest groups and mass media. Almond describes them as 'trappings of political modernity'. But the problem is that political culture has not been secularized so as to provide to these structures a suitable soil to properly grow. Thus these continue to be imposed on highly traditional societies.

The net result is that only a small section of the elite which had involved itself in the national movement for freedom has been exposed to modernity and is thus mobilized. The rank and file of the population continue to be caught up in a web of traditional family and community ties. Knowledge of the means and smiles of political action, or even the desire for autonomous participation, are virtually absent.' Political parties are too unduly dominated by traditional elites whose appeal is invariably based on narrow family, and community loyalties.

Characterized by these features, these societies deserve to be described as pre-mobilized. The handful of modernized elite that has come into existence during independence struggle is, engaged in instilling some national consciousness into their primarily parochial populations, in attempting to transform their locally-oriented villagers into subjects of national or regional authority, and in seeking to recruit competent and loyal incumbents into the roles of their political systems, their economies and their "societies". Almond further argues that had these societies not been subjected to colonialism and consequently involved in the struggle for independence, even this handful of modernized elite would not have come into existence. Despite the fact of this accident of history, which has opened vast avenues of the rank and file of the population to expose themselves to the forces of modernity, not much has been achieved. By and large, these societies continue to be immobilized.

Under such conditions of immobilization, governmental structure remain unstable, with the result that structural shifts in these systems become rather too frequent. Almond illustrates this phenomenon of pre-mobilized societies by referring to the governmental change in Ghana and Nigeria. In fact, most of the developing societies continue to be immobilized. Ghana and Nigeria are not the only ones to fall in this category. This is the reason why these societies could not attain a degree of political stability.

8.10 SUMMARY

The major criterion that Almond adopts in his typology is that of differentiation of structures and secularization of culture. Accordingly he develops three broad categories namely (1) systems with intermittent political structures in which there is

minimum of structural differentiation and a concomitant diffuse parochial culture (2) Systems with differentiated governmental political structures i.e. governmental structures gets differentiated but people do not have participatory orientations i.e. there is subject culture (3) Systems in which differentiated political infrastructure in the form of political parties, pressure groups, media of mass communication have developed along with some form of participant political culture. He calls them modern political systems. These can be democratic or authoritarian. We can say that his classification makes a clear cut distinction between redeveloped and developing societies.

8.11 FURTHER READINGS

1. O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

2. Jean Blondel. *An Introduction to Comparative Government*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998.

8.12 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. On what basis Almond makes a distinction between traditional and modern systems.

2. What do you mean by pre-mobilised modern systems ?

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Structure

9.0   Objectives

9.1   Introduction

9.2   Political Participation —Meaning

9.3   Political Activities

9.4   Political Apathy

9.5   Voting Behaviour

9.6   Nature of Studies

9.7   Method of Study

9.8   A Critical Appreciation of Voting Behaviour Studies

9.9   Voting Behaviour in U.S.A.

9.10   Voting Behaviour in Britain

9.11   Voting Behaviour in India

9.12   Summary

9.13   References

9.14   Further Readings

9.15   Model Questions

9.0   OBJECTIVES

This lesson deals with political participation and voting behaviour. After going through this lesson you should be able to :

- understand the meaning of political participation;

- explain the nature of voting behaviour studies;

- evaluate the voting behaviour in the leading democracies of the world.

9.1   INTRODUCTION

This lesson discusses the issues of political participation and representation. The spread of democratization process has massively increased the proportion of the world's population able to play a significant role in collective decision making. Only few regimes still deny the masses any formal political role at all. These are traditional regimes where politics remains the exclusive preserve of tiny elite (for example Saudi Arabia) and military government which forgo a democratic facade. Elsewhere the population is generally permitted sometimes encouraged to express its political views.

But it has been observed that even in the most advanced and developed countries for majority of the people, their role in politics remains confined to voting only. Let us now proceed to discuss the meaning of political participation.

9.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION - MEANING

Political Participation, as the term itself suggests, means taking part in political activities of state. Democracy which is said to be (to quote the of repeated definition of Abraham Lincoln) "the government of the people, by the people end for the people", demands that the common man should actively involve himself in the day to day affairs of his state. There was a time when the state was small and its affairs simple and straight, people then did take an active part in the shaping of its public policies. One is reminded of the ancient city states of Greece. Not long ago, citizens directly participated in the local mass assemblies in almost every state of the world. How much keen interest people evinced in public affairs, a glimpse of it is provided by Kirkpatrick Sales in the following words.

> "In past times when it was the locality that controlled daily affairs, the average adult participated in politics, joined civic groups, stood for office, took battles to the city legislature and problems to the city hall, met and thrashed things out in town meetings and ward assemblies from coast to coast".[1]

The enormity of the size of the modern nation-state, the growing complexity of human affairs and above an, the tremendous expansion in activities of the state under the impact of welfarism, have rendered it almost impossible for the common man to take as active an interest in public affairs as his ancestors used to do. At best, he is expected to go to the polling booth every four or five years (as per requirements of the law of his state) and cast his vote. Beyond this, nothing is either possible or expected of him. To make a judicious use of his 'sovereign right', he is however expected to maintain a keen interest in the dynamics of the political process, it is this obligation which involves him, though indirectly, in public affairs. Again all people cannot discharge this moral obligation uniformly. Hence the degree of interest and involvement varies from person to person. It may range from the contesting of election and holding of public offices to contemptuous absention from voting. A number of factors account for this wide variation in the political behaviour of the people. It is not the topic of this lesson to study these factors. We may look into those activities which enable a person to take part in politics and then try to assess and compare the degree of people's political Participation in various democracies of the world.

9.3 POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Which activities of an individual constitute the category of political activities is too difficult to determine. However, a few researchers have taken pains to do so. One of them was Lester W. Milbrath who tried to identify such activities in the context of the American environment. He listed them, as holding of office, offering a candidature at the polls, collecting funds, acquiring the membership of a political party, wearing party buttons, attending party and election rallies, distributing campaign literature, taking the voter to the polling booth, etc. etc.

Following him, the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, also worked out in 1967 a list of participatory activities of this country. The list comprised :

1.   Canvassing for candidates,

2.   Getting out the voters,

3.   Raising money,

4.   Organising meetings and rallies,

5.   Participation in processions and demonstrations,

6.   Distributing campaign literature,

7.   Other types of campaign activities,

8.   Involvement in campaigns through associations and groups,

9.   Attending public meetings and rallies,

10.   Being member of a political party,

11.   Contacting government officials for help in solving problems, and

12.   Voting.

Reviewing the above-given list of political activities in the context of the present day political environment of the country, we find that it is too incomplete. It does not take into consideration that vast array of anomic activities with which our political scenerio is so much characterised today. We may refer to : demonstrations, dharnas, gheraos, strikes, riots, political assassinations, and non-voting. As we have witnessed in recent years these are the methods which enable the people not only to develop an interest in politics but also to get into it in a more vigorous manner. If the people of Punjab and Assam have today become politically very active, it is all because of the anomie that prevailed in those states in the recent past.

We may again point out that the degree of interest and involvement of the people varies from individual to individual and from time to time. You come across people who are immersed in politics from toe to top. Wherever there is any type of political activity, you would always find them there. For them, politics is both a profession and a mania. On the other hand, there are others who take but a marginal interest in politics, on the basis of their degree of interest in politics. Milbrath classifies people into four categories - gladiators, transitionals, spectators and apathetics. Describing their features, he says that the gladiators are those persons who are the most active in politics. They become members of political parties, contest elections, hold public offices and manage election campaigns. Coming next to them are the transitionals who attend party meetings; take part in processions, carry party flags and casually participate in such other party activities. The spectators are mere spectators. The apathetics who rank the lowest in this racking, order, are those who are totally indifferent and disinterested in politics.[2] Milbrath's classification is quite comprehensive and is thus capable of universal application.

These activities, though of a minor nature are quite significant in the sense that they reflect the degree of people's involvement in politics and hence the degree of the stability of a given democracy. But the problem is that little empirical evidence of the intensity of involvement of the masses in these activities is available. In fact, very little work has been done in this particular segment of political research. By and large, people have concentrated their attention on the study of the voting behaviour. A sufficiently large number of studies on this subject have been conducted almost every where. This is perhaps for the reason that voting reflects the highest water-mark of one's interest in politics. Moreover, voting behaviour studies is that one single field of political research (as Samuel J. Eldersveld points out) wherein "we have achieved more definitive conclusions than in any other type of political science research".[3] it may, however, be added that of late researchers feel somewhat disillusioned even with this type of research, for the forecast that are made on the basis of the research findings (particularly those relating to prepoll studies) show much variance with the actual outcome of the elections. Nevertheless, both pre-poll and post-poll studies continue to be made almost everywhere. More significantly, Gallop-poll type studies have become quite popular all over the world.

9.4 POLITICAL APATHY

It is not very essential that one's interest in politics is measured only by his participation in casting his vote. His non-participation be equally intriguing and significant. Who knows, why a certain individual is not going to the polling booth and casting his vote ? There is a great possibility that he may be abstaining from this exercise quite deliberately, may be out of protest against something which might not be to his liking. In 1980, the bulk of voters did not participate in elections in Assam. Does it mean that level of political participation in that State was to low ? They did so (as everyone knows) out of sheer protest. They wanted to register their resentment against the indifferent attitude of the Central Government towards the 'foreigners' in Assam.

It may also be underlined that non-participation, is not always deliberate. It may be inadvertent, arising out of the lack of political awareness on the part of the common man. If the turnout to the polls is poor in, say, : U.S.A. the reason is not the lack of political awareness (We shall explain this phenomenon later on). But the reason of poor turn-out in India is precisely this. Non-participation, whether deliberate or inadvertent, is described as political apathy. A good deal of research has also been conducted in various countries in order to study the underlying reasons for non-participation of the people in elections.

As hinted above, very little empirical literature is available on political participation, other than on voting behaviour. Therefore, we choose to study political participation in various democracies only in terms of the voting behaviour.

9.5 VOTING BEHAVIOUR

The term voting behaviour is somewhat intriguing in the sense that it conveys a wrong impression. Psychologically, the study of one's behaviour should reflect the manner a person behaves and the basic strains of his mental make-up. Such, however,

is not the case. The voting behaviour studies mainly try to uncover those factors and forces which condition the behaviour of the voters and the correlation between these factors and the resultant behaviour of the voters. To illustrate, the researchers would make an effort to study how those who live in slums would vote; how those who live in posh colonies would vote, why the turn-out in a particular election has been large or small; which political party has won with a landslide victory and why; and so on. To quote Eldersveld again.

"What is different in studying political behaviour or voting behaviour is not the *Principle of behaviour, or the content of behaviour,* but rather the context in which the individuals behaviour is being examined, namely the context of government institutions".[4]

The voting behaviour researchers do not confine their study to only those who vote. They also extend it to cover those persons who do not go to the polling booth and cast their vote. To these researchers, non-voters are as much important as are the voters. If a person does not care to exercise this privilege, the question arises what are those factors and forces which have dampened his interest in this highly important political event. An insight into these factors and forces can provide a worthwhile clue to the health of the political system. Has the political system failed to stimulate the interest of the people and, if so, why ? or the rank and file of the population is quite satisfied with the way it has been functioning and hence it does not feel the necessity of participating in the periodic polls. Thus, the studies of the non-voters have been quite popular.

9.6   NATURE OF THE STUDIES

The next important aspect of the voting behaviour studies which needs to be highlighted is their nature. What types of studies are generally conducted. Broadly, these are of two types : pre-poll studies and post-poll studies. As these terms are self-explanatory the former type of studies are conducted before the election whereas the latter are conducted after election. The pre-poll studies are generally directed towards the assessment of the voters mood and the likely trend in the election. These are also described as opinion surveys. An opinion poll is an attempt to tell about the preferences of a large number of persons on the basis of talking to a very small number of them. As such, the reliability of the findings depends on how representative is this small sample of the entire population. That is why, even the best of opinion polls has the possibility of a small amount of error (about 3 to 4%) built into it. They owe their origin to the American Journalist, William Gallop who initiated this type of survey. Since then it has become quite a popular exercise. We too have established in India a National Institute of Public Opinion which conducts this type of opinion surveys from time to time.

As regards the post-poll studies, these are conducted after the elections are over. The aid of this type of studies is to test a certain hypothesis or a set of hypotheses. In other words, the researcher assumes the significance of a certain proposition on the basis of his hunch (say, the Congress Party in Indian heavily lost the 1977 parliamentary polls because of the imposition of the state of emergency, or

Mr. X won in constituency 'Y' because his co-caste brethren outnumbered all other voters, and so on) and wants to verify the truth or falsity of this hunch.

The researchers also undertake this type of studies in order to find out a certain trend of voting in various regions or over a period of time, if the former is the objective then all the constituencies or few representatives constituencies of the region are taken up and the mutually tallied and inferences are drawn, if the objective is to study the trend over a period of time, then the survey is no conducted. Instead, the voters behaviour, data of the past elections of the constituencies concerned as available in government reports and research studies is collected, tabulated and interpreted. Again in both these types, of studies the researcher's effort is to test a certain hypothesis / hypotheses. It is in keeping with his assumption that he selects the constituencies and collects the data only that which, in his opinion, will help him either prove or falsify his hypothesis.

Another type of voting behaviour studies which are also popular are of a comparative nature. One wants to study pattern of voting in various states, regions, or nations. This type of study, too depends upon the data collected by others which is collected and compared. In a very rare case, the researcher would develop a questionnaire and administer the same to a sample of respondents of various countries, state or regions. It involves a lot of effort and huge resources which every researcher cannot afford. Some of the important studies of this type are : Tingston's *Political Behaviour*, 1937, Cosnell's *Why Europe Votes*, 1930 and Grassroot Politics, 1942.

To conclude, voting behaviour studies are classified on the basis of the time when these are conducted (pre-election or post-election, single election or elections over a period of time) the number of hypothesis, single hypothesis studies and multi-hypothesis studies : the area to be covered (one single constituency, region of states); trend studies (over a period of time or over a large-format of constituencies/regions); and so on.

9.7   METHOD OF STUDY

Now the question arises, how are these studies conducted. To briefly explain : the first step a researcher takes in this connection is to develop a hypothesis or a set of hypotheses. He may do this by acquainting himself with the voting behaviour studies of the past or may just develop certain assumptions in a casual way. Once the hypothesis is ready; then he is to decide the area of his study. Though this decision is to depend upon the nature of the hypothesis, his arbitrariness would be the only factor and consideration in this behalf. To illustrate in case he wants to study the voting behaviour of the slum dwellers and compare it with that of poor farm labourers, obviously he must take up a few urban constituencies where slum dwellers predominate and, at the same time, he must also include in his sample a few such rural constituencies where large farms are available. But which of the constituencies among the so many in the same category are to be selected, depends exclusively upon his sweet will.

Once these preliminaries are over, he would develop a suitable questionnaire one which includes a couple of searching questions and questions which help him check and cross check the answers of the respondents. Since the efficacy of the whole study would depend upon the questionnaire, its preparation would need a good deal of thought, deliberation and discussion. When it is ready, it is got to be pretested, i.e., it is to be administered to a few stray respondents so that its efficacy may be tested. If it is discovered that the questionnaire does not help us reach conclusive results matching, with the hypothesis, it will have to be suitably modified and improved upon. This might have to be done twice or even more. But the labour put in at this juncture is not to be grudged, for it is the most crucial stage of the study.

When the questionnaire is ready, we are to decide about the sample of respondents. You know the each constituency contains lakhs of voters and then the study is to be spread over a couple of constituencies. Obviously, the views of each and every voter in all constituencies cannot be elicited. We are, therefore, compelled to draw out a sample of respondents from each constituency with a view to administering the questionnaire to them. There are a number of techniques to draw the-sample. Anyone of them may be selected and applied. We do not propose to discuss them in detail here. Suffice it to say that the sample that may be drawn should be fairly representative of the universe.

Now the state is set for the administration of the questionnaire. As soon as the suitable time comes, the investigators would fan out themselves in the whole length and breadth of the area, spot out the respondents and administer the questionnaire to them. When the survey is over, the data is codified and processed. In case it is voluminous, which invariably it is, its processing is done with the help of the computer and other mechanical aids. Finally, the inferences are drawn and the report is published. This is how voting behaviour studies are conducted.

9.8 A CRITICAL APPRECIATION OF VOTING BEHAVIOUR STUDIES

The true objective of voting behaviour studies is to assess the mood of the people toward a party candidate or political party or to a situation. In the context of which a particular election has taken place, and above all, their orientation to the overall democratic process of the society. If these were to be the objective, the critics point out that election results are too feeble a pointer to help the researcher to draw meaningful conclusions about any of these propositions. In support of their thesis the critics refer to two things, that election is no longer a democratic device and, second, people have, by and large, lost their interest in them. We may elaborate these points, as under:

Once upon a time, elections were considered as one of the potent democratic devices. It was believed that the only guarantee of democracy is that free and fair elections are held on time so that people's representative manage the public affairs of the state in consonance with the wishes and mandate of the sovereign master. But of late it has been observed that elections no longer ensure that the true representatives to the people would rule the state.

Instead, these have become a handy device with the authoritarian and totalitarian rulers who make their entry to power through back door methods, to procure to their regime a cloak of 'democratic population' and thereby get it legitimized. This is a widely prevalent phenomenon these days. What we witness every now and then is that military generals and political upstarts stage a coup, capture the government by forcibly throwing out the existing rulers and install their government. To begin with, they will try to match their ugly deeds with a few populistic measures of a sporadic nature. When they are assured that their regime has attained a degree of stability, they would think in terms of conferring on it the label of democracy. They will first organize their own party-and then arrange an elaborate exercise of a democratic poll. The ruling party will obviously sweep the polls and they are now 'now democratically elected' rulers of the state. No one can point his accusing fingers towards them. Mr. Jerry Rawlings, a 45 years old former military fighter pilot, who had seized power in Ghana on Dec. 31, 1981 in a coup that toppled civilian president Hilla Limauu, was elected head of state as a civilian in Nov. 1992. Voters in Ghana went to the polls to elect their first civilian president after 11 years of military rule.

Self Assessment Questions

1.   Any two determinants of voting behaviour.

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   _____

   _____

2.   Any two basis of voting behavior of U.K.

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Similar type of phenomenon is witnessed in the communist countries. Since it is their basic philosophy that there can be only one party which alone is competent to represent the interests of the workers and peasants, others are not allowed to form any other party. These societies too hold elections and then take pride in hammering the point that the turn-out at their polls is very high (more often than not it comes to 98 to 99 percent).

These trends have eroded the legitimacy of elections and their utility in democracy, commenting upon the nature and usefulness of people's participation in various types of democratic activities (elections is just one aspect of this overall process). Lipset says :

"Participation by the members of an organization or the citizens of the society in political affairs is neither a necessity nor a sufficient condition for rank and file to influence an organizational or government policy. On the one hand, members may show a low level of political participation in an organization or society, but still affect policy. On the other hand, a membership or citizenry may regularly

attend meetings, belong in large numbers to various political organizations, an-even have a high voting turn-out and yet have little or no influence on policy."[5]

There is no denying the fact that the institution of elections and other paraphernalia of democracy has proved handy to modern totalitarian rulers to dig the roots of their regimes deep into the hearts of their people. They not only use elections to earn an element of legitimacy for themselves but also to mould, the thinking of the people according to their own philosophy. It is with the latter objective that they try to secure a very high degree of political mobilization of the citizenry and to that end, they introduce mass scale literacy drives (so that every citizen could read their literature), organize an elaborate party and trade union apparatus down to the grassroots. In this way, they try to reach out to each and every citizen, indoctrinate him and thus secure their regime in every possible manner.

Nevertheless, it is not safe to conclude that elections and other political participation methods are superfluous and hence be dispensed with. There are no two opinions that political participation as symbolised, among other methods, in elections, provides to the rank and file of the citizenry with a sense of satisfaction that their public affairs are being managed with an element of responsibility. Conversely, if there are no elections and other channels of political participation are also likewise chocked, people will develop a deep sense of deprivation and political attention. All those methods, if honesty implemented, safeguard democracy against the abuse of power. To quote Lipset again.

"Nevertheless, a situation which results in high participation by members of a group normally has higher potential for democracy than one where few people show interest or participation in the political process. A society in which a large proportion of the population is outside the political arena is potentially more explosive than the one in which most citizens are regularly involved in activities which give them some sense of participation in decisions which affect their lives."[6]

In the end, it may be remarked that election is a vitally essential institution is so far as the functioning of democracy is concerned. Their doing away will be a highly retrograde measure. That is precisely the reason why every democratic political system spends huge sums of money every time on the organization of elections.

As regards the other objection that people's interest in elections has been warming everywhere, this is a statement of facts. But for the totalitarian democracies like China where the heavy turn-out is a manipulated show, meant more for propaganda than for eliciting the true trend of the public opinion-the average turn-out everywhere has seldom exceeded 50 percent. As you will discover later in this lesson, in some of the advanced liberal democracies, it has shown a further decline in recent years. This trend is, by no means, disturbing.

The phenomenon of non-participation, in voting in particular, and other activities in general, is described by the term political apathy. If the under: lying cause of political apathy is the lack of civic consciousness on the part of the citizens, then there is a definite cause for disappointment and resultant political action. Political

apathy in under-developed countries is the outcome of illiteracy and ignorance of the citizenry. We know that when we introduced mass adult franchise way back in early fifties, the bulk of our countrymen did not know the meaning or significance of their vote. Though the situation has radically changed since then, there are innumerable sections of our voters who still do not realise how crucial is their vote and, as a result, they do not mind bartering it away for one type of consideration or another. Here is a situation which needs to be carefully looked into.

The case of political apathy in western countries is altogether different. Large number of voters do not go to the polling booth and cast their vote, not because they do not know its value but they otherwise do not feel like undergoing this botheration. The reason is that they are convinced that their political system is being taken case of it not very efficiently at least to their full satisfaction. They do not therefore wish to interfere in its working. But if at any time some crisis crupts, they would become alert and would spare no effort to fight it out. Lipset is thus not wrong in maintaining that political apathy in Western democracies is,

"A reflection of the stability of the system, a response to the decline of major social conflicts."[7]

Arthur Hadley, however, explains this phenomenon in another way. He feels that people, by and large, are so much immersed in their own affairs that they have neither time nor interest in politics. To quote him.

"Voters voluntarily avoid the booth because they see no connection between politics and their lives."[8]

This view has also been endorsed by a letter to a newspaper. Commenting upon the news relating to political matters, its writer says.

"It is better ignore the news, else the daily anxieties which never get relieved by national conduct, will drive us further towards insanity. What better way to maintain some degree of rationality in this age than to ignore the current events described in our newspapers and other communication media."[9]

Keeping in view the facts explained above, political apathy as prevails in the western democracies is not based or disturbing either. For, the true spirit behind the political participation is to keep the mass of the population politically alert test the democratic structure is not subverted. If people are vigilant, it hardly matters whether or not they cost their vote. The turn-out percentage cannot, therefore, be a valid criterion for gauging the success or failure of a democratic set-up.

Thus far, we have been explaining to you the voting behaviour in its theoretical perspective. We may now proceed further to examine it in some of the leading democracies of the world. Our representative sample of countries will include the U.S.A., Great Britain and India.

9.9   U.S.A.

The most important feature of the voting behaviour of the Americans is that a large section of its voters do not evince an interest in its political process. Even though

the election campaigns are very well financed, the interest of the voters has been on the decline. The awfully poor percentage alarmed the official circles in Washington. Consequently, President Kennedy appointed a commission to thoroughly look into the problem. On the recommendations of the Commission, all restrictions against Negro-Americans were removed and the voting age was also reduced to 18 years. Despite these steps, the turn-out continued to decline. In 1978. It touched an all time low, i.e. 34.5 percent in the Congressional elections. The position has been in no way better since then. In 1996 presidential election voter's turn out was 49 percent, one of lowest figures of the 20th century. It rose to 52 percent in 2000.

Commenting upon this strange phenomenon, Sale remarks.

"Voting, that basic and simplest of civic tasks, has been ingrained into us since the first grade as the very essence of our system, and the regular recurrence of national political campaigns every two years, is always accompanied by well financed and well publicized appeals for us to get out and do it, as if this one activity was more significant than any other possible public activity. And yet every year the percentage of voters gets smaller and smaller."[10]

Now the question arises as to why the percentage of the voters turn-out is small. Though the phenomenon of the smaller turn-out has of late become an established pattern of the western democracies for reasons mentioned above (namely the widely prevalent impression of the people that their political systems are well-managed and the general spirit of cynicism which has been the byproduct of the modern civilization of science and technology), there are certain specific reasons for it in as far as the U.S.A. is concerned. Perhaps you do not know that in the USA the state does not undertake upon itself the responsibility of registering the voters as is the case in our own country. In India, Great Britain and in a few other countries, it is the duty of the government to prepare and update the electoral rolls. As you must have experienced, every year the Patwari and the municipal officials go round their respective areas, knocking the door of each and every house, and find out as to who has attained the age of 18 years, which of the older voters of the family have left the village/town/city or has died and so on. The necessary modifications are made in their lists of voters. After these have been fully prepared, these are displayed on the notice boards, thereby giving to the people another chance for correction and modification. Now the electoral rolls are ready for the election. Such, however, is not the case in the U.S.A. The constitution demands of its citizens to get their names registered. It is presumed that which so ever person attains the voting age, he/she would himself/herself go to the nearest election office and get his/her name registered. Obviously, many do not bother to take this trouble, particularly when they are convinced that politics does not have anything to do with their lives or that elections is too feeble an instrument to help them overcome the 'mass society'. Thus, this one single structural flaw, combined with the general feeling of cynicism, has conspired against the heavy turn-out of the voters in elections.

This general trend apart, the turn-out varies from election to election, and from one category of persons to another. The national election draws larger voters than local

elections and, similarly, the presidential elections more than the congressional elections.

> "Men vote more than women : the better educated more than the less educated; urban residents more than rural : those between 35 and 50 years more than younger or older voters; married persons more than unmarried; higher status persons more than lower; members of organizations more than non-members."[11]

The turn-out shows marked fluctuations when certain important issues are involved in elections. When an election is fought on a certain specific issue or when the election comes in the context of a certain crisis, obviously many persons feels interested in it and as a result the turn-out marks a steep rise. The 1952 presidential election, for instance, drew a very large response from the voters, because it was of an unusual nature as compared to a few preceding ones. It was unusual in the sense (as Angus Campbell remarks) the people.

> "Wanted to get the crooks out of the Internal Revenue Service and the troops out of Korea and they certainly admired General Eisenhower." He adds, "Accumulating grievances and dissatisfactions over the last years of Democratic government finally led to a vote for a new administration. The voters wanted a new bunch of fellows to run things better."[12]

Another feature is that people's choice generally is guided by strong family, area and state traditions. There are for instance, families (as for instance Mississippi and Carolina) which vote for the Republican and, similarly, there are families and states (Vermont) whose vote invariably goes to the Democrats. Such however is not the case everywhere and at every place.

The American voter prefers to be guided by his friends and co-workers. There is a close correlation between the class one belongs to and the political party one votes for Historian Charles Board remarked in 1917 that.

> "The center of gravity of wealth is on the Republican side while the center of gravity of poverty is on the Democratic side."[13]

Lipset observes.

> "In general, the workers, even many who voted for Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956, still regard themselves as Democrats and the results of the 1954 and 1958 congressional elections show that there has been no shift of the traditional Democratic voting base to the Republicans. Two-thirds of the workers polled by Gallup in 1958 voted for a Democrat for Congress."[14]

To sum up, the American voter is guided in his choice at the polls by numerous considerations, such as : his class interests, party considerations. It has also been observed that when too many types of pressures and cross pressures are put on him, he even looses his interest in polling and keeps himself away from the dust and din of the polling booth.

9.10 GREAT BRITAIN

The voting behaviour of the Britishers is somewhat different from that of the Americans. In the first place, It has been noticed that an average Britisher is less disillusioned from politics and takes keener interest in periodic election. This is evident from the fact that the turn-out of the voters is much better in Great Britain than is the case in the U.S.A. It is worthwhile to mention here that the turn out in the parliamentary polls in 1950 and 1951 was as high as (respectively) 64.0 percent and 82.5 percent the years following them did not of course witness turn out touching that high water-mark; but it is a fact that the figures have ranged between 72.0 percent (1970) and 78.7 percent, (1959)."[15] In May, 1997 election turn out among Britain's 44 million voters was over 71 percent. However, it is far lower than the 77.7 percent figure of 1992. This is a very striking phenomenon particularly when the turn-out has marked a steep decline almost everywhere in the world.

Another significant feature of the British voting behaviour is that "the British elector votes for the party rather than the man"[16] as Moodie puts it. In other words, personality of the candidate does not count so much as the party label. There are two important explanations for it. First, since the House of Commons in a way acts as the 'electoral college' for the election of the Prime Minister and as each one of the two parties announces the name of the would be Prime Minister much in advance, the average voter thinks in terms of 'A' or 'B' as the Prime Minister of his choice. He, therefore, votes accordingly. He would not mind voting for a person whom he personally does not like, provided he is the candidate of his favourite party or his 'leader' whom he wants to occupy the chair of the Prime Minister.

Explaining this fact, Moodie says

"Since the Prime Minister is normally a party leader, chosen because of his party support, the voter must pay great attention to party labels."[17]

It may be added here that the British are then much different from us. In India, we generally take into consideration the party label as also the personality of the candidate whom we are going to vote. It has been observed that even staunch party workers do not sometimes vote for their 'own' candidate if he is not of their choice. This phenomenon, generally described as cross voting is wide prevalent in India.

The second explanation is that the British society, more than any other society, is highly class ridden. People think and speak in terms of the high and the low social status which to some extent, is still determined on the basis of the traditional social stratification. On the other side, political parties have also been organized on class-basis and ideology. Until recently, the Conservative Party stood for the status quo and championed the cause of the landed gentry, the industrial and managerial bourgeoisie, the high civil servant and the like. On the other hand, the Labour Party represented the manual worker, the industrial labour, lowly-placed government servant, rural peasants and so on. Obviously, the voting behaviour would also be cast on the same pattern. The parties would name such candidates who fit into their socio-economic mould and, consequently, the average voter would be interested in the success of his party in which he finds some ray of hope, Highlighting this feature, Moodie observes :

"It has been estimated that class voting in Britain is probably more marked than in any other western style democracy. Studies of British voting uniformly reveal that as one moves down the class ladder, the percentage of people voting Conservative decreases while the percentage of people voting Labour increases."[18]

In 1997 elections, Conservatives won about 31 percent of the votes down from 42.8 percent in 1992 while the Labour Party jumped to 45 percent from 35.2 percent.

"Moodie quotes study by Bulter and Stokes which reveals that:-

"If one takes the three top groups - higher managerial, lower managerial and other non-manual 'supervisory' employees their votes divided roughly into 80 percent Conservative and 20 percent Labour, while the three lower groups together-subordinate non-manual and unskilled manual divided roughly 68 percent Labour and 32 percent Conservative."

This study further reveals that

"Of those, who see themselves as middle class, 79 percent see themselves as Conservative and 21 percent as being pro-Labour, while those who class themselves as workers, 72 percent see themselves as Pro-Labour and 28 percent as Conservative."[19]

Why the workers and other lowly-placed sections of citizenry vote for the Labour and such other parties of the Left, Lipset gives a very cogent explanation. He says.

'The Leftist parties themselves as instruments of social change in the direction of equality, the lower income groups support them in order to become economically better-off while the higher income groups oppose them in order to maintain their economic advantages "[20]

Strong party likings of the rank and file cast a profound impact on the stability of the vote. Not much marked variations are noticed in the vote that each party gets. Very rarely that significant shifts occur from the Conservatives to the Labours or vice verse. By and large, people vote for the same party time and again.

That is the reason why the two parties are generally evenly balanced in the parliament in this respect too, our voting behaviour is too different from that of the British. In 1977 we witnessed that an unduly large percentage of the people voted for the Janta Party, spelling doom on the Congress. Three years later (1980). The scales were once again tilted in favour of the Congress The Nov. 1989 general election saw the end of Congress rule after nine years of unchallenged power. The Congress strength in Lok Sabha came down from 415 seats won in 1984 to 197 retained in 1989, and raised to 225 in 1991 election though it polled 3.53% votes less than it did in 1989. This pendulum type of swing is partly due to our political culture and partly due to the nature of our political parties. Unlike Great Britain, political parties in India are not ideology-based and as a result thereof, people are not committed to them as ardently as the Britishers are.

To conclude, it may be observed that the British electoral behaviour is characterized by high turn-out, class-based voting pattern and the stability of vote. On the contrary, the regional and family ties and the candidate's personality do not weigh so much in the minds of the voters. Thus, the British when go to the polls behave somewhat differently from many others.

9.11 INDIA

Like the U.S.A. and unlike Great Britain or other liberal democracies of Western Europe the voters' turn-out in India has been rather on the low side. It was awfully poor in 1951 (45.70 percent) when we held our first general election to the Lok Sabha and State Vidhan Sabhas. However, with the passage of time, as people acquired greater political awareness, the voters' turn-out began to show a marked improvement.

Another feature of our voting behaviour is that the turn-out at the polls has neither been constant nor has it showed a continuous improvement. Instead, it has fluctuated (though marginally) from election to election. Whenever important issues were involved people evinced comparatively greater interest. In 1977, for instance the issues involved were emergency, the highhandedness of the government in enforcement of the family planning measures, people's civic rights, etc. Obviously, the turn-out increased from 55.22 percent (1971) to 60.54 percent. Again, it slided down to 57.00 percent in 1980 when the election was practically quite dull. And, it rose to 63.06 in 1984, in 1989 it was 61.9% in 1998 voters turnout came to be about 67% and in 1999 General Elections polling percentage was 59.7 such fluctuations are noticed almost everywhere.

If the voter's turn-out is poorer in India, the reasons are different from those of the U.S.A. As hinted above, it is the low level of political awareness that primarily accounts for it. That explains why there has been some improvements in the turn-out over the years. It must also be noticed that level of literacy and urbanization also closely affect the turn-out. The higher the level of literacy or the more urbanized society, the greater is the turn-out. To illustrate, the turn-out in Chandigarh and Kerala (the Union Territory and the state having the high literacy level in the country) was for above the All India level in 1977. It was 67.40 percent for Chandigarh and 79.21 percent for Kerala as against 60.51 percent for the country, as a whole. On the other hand, in Orissa and Meghalaya the two least urbanized states the turn-out was pretty low, i.e. 49.32 and 49.58 per cent respectively.[21] This observation is true even today.

As regards the factors which influence the choice of the individual voter in India people are guided by such considerations as : caste, religion, political party, the personality of the candidate, charisma of the leader and, above all by the national and regional interests. Before we dilate upon all these factors, we may underline that the country is so large and there is much of cultural heterogeneity that vast variation in factors and forces including people's choice is but natural. There are regions/states where caste plays a very dominant role in politics. In this connection we may refer to such states as Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Andhra, Karnataka and Bihar. In the same manner there are states (as for instance Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and Kerala) where religion is a political force to be reckoned with.

The third important factor that governs the choice of the voters almost all over the country is that of the 'sons of the soil'. Unlike U.S.A. our Constitution allows the candidates to contest elections from anywhere in the country and candidates do shift their constituencies even from one state to another. But the people, by and large, lend to vote for those candidates who belong to their area. There are innumerable cases when well-meaning candidates lost the election simply because they were locked against the 'local' candidates. The underlying consideration in the mind of the electorate is that one who 'belongs to them knows their problems and aspiration and above all, he is always amenable to them, whereas an outsider would be new to both the area and its people.

The fourth consideration is the personality of the candidates. The party colour is no doubt an important factor, but people also take into consideration the personality of the party's nominee. Whether or not a person can prove to be an ideal spokesman of the interests of the area/people is a factor which does weigh in the minds of the electorate. It has also been observed that the people kicked out their old representatives in case they had defected from their party. In fact, our electorate is becoming more and more mature and choosy day be day.

In the 1984 general elections, voters appear to have been guided by altogether different considerations. By giving a massive vote to the Congress in the Lok Sabha, people seemed to have been guided by the considerations of the unity and integrity of the country. As for State Vidhan Sabhas, the electorate of the peripheral states of northern India voted for those regional parties which in their opinion, were best suited to deliver the goods. That is the reason why such parties emerged to victory as the Akali Dal (in Punjab), Janata Party (Karnataka), DMK (Tamil Nadu), CPM (West Bengal and Tripura), National Conference (Jammu & Kashmir). By 1991, people had realized that coalitions would lead to instability and one party majority alone can guarantee stability to our parliamentary system and to the nation's party system, the central slogan that the Congress-I had taken up for the election campaign. Thus, the electorate has attested to its growing maturity. Commenting upon the election results, Rajni Kothari remarks.

> "While there are a primary wave there was also a major secondary wave, not as spread out and dramatic but less strong and basic. The Congress (I) made inroads everywhere but it was held at bay in certain places. And nearly all these happened to be ones with a strong regional party or one where a national party had taken a regional role. This happened in Andhra Pradesh, in the Kashmir Valley, in West Bengal, in Tripura, even in Sikkim."[22]

But the elections of 1996, 1999 and 2004 have proved otherwise. We have again entered into an arena of coalition politics.

In passing, a reference may also be made to the role that money plays. That political parties depend upon the charity and contribution of various private institutions and individuals is a fact well know all over the world. But what is peculiar about India that the individual voters are lured with money and such other considerations. The candidates do lavishly distribute money in the slum colonies and rural areas in particular. This is no longer a secret of the election trade, innumerable

voters are such whom abject poverty compelled to indulge in such unhealthy election practices. Attesting this fact, Rajni Kothari and Tarun Sheth observe on the basis of their empirical study of the Third General Election (1961) in the Baroda East constituency of Gujarat.

"It was found that money had become an important part of the bargaining between certain sections of the electorate and the candidate of the party. In some quarters, the expectations to receive payment for votes was considered part of the routine. It was a sort of business opportunity that had come and would soon go away. This was the voters attitude in poor and 'backward' areas but it was also fond in more prosperous localities. The vote, instead of being considered as political right, was often considered as a 'deal' as a benefit to be conferred on the recipient."[23]

What was true in 1961 is also valid today, perhaps in a greater measure. The candidates both for the Lok Sabha and the State Vidhan Sabhas, on an average spend far larger amounts of money than they used to do a quarter of a century ago. The big role of money in our elections has in fact become a source of deep concern for every thinking mind in the country.

Thus, we find that the voting behaviour of the Indian electorate is not different from that of their counter-part in any other democracy of the World.. As we observed earlier, parochial considerations also weigh heavily in the people everywhere. The only deplorable aspect is that votes are 'sold' and 'purchased'. But hopefully; this ugly practice would also be over as our voter becomes more mature.

9.12 SUMMARY

Political participation means taking part in the political activities of State. Different political activities show different levels of participation of the people and degree of participation varies from individual to individual. Most of the studies on political participation are restricted to voting behaviour studies only because for majority of the people voting is the only form of participation. Voting behaviour studies mainly focus on those factors and forces which influence the voter's mind. Such studies are either pre-poll studies or post-poll studies. It also includes the study of non-voters.

When we look at the voting behaviour of people of U.S.A. we find lack of interest on their part in the political process. Voter's turnout is very low. One of the reasons given for low voter's turnout is the government does not take upon itself the responsibility of registering the voters. Another reason can be feeling of satisfaction with the performance of their political system. Another trend seen is that people show more interest in the election of President than any other election. In Britain situation is entirely different. There is a very heavy voter's turnout. British voters vote for the party rather than the candidate Big landlords, business houses, managerial class and civil servants vote for the conservative party whereas working class, lower and lower middle class vote for the labour party. It is a class based voting pattern. In India voter's turnout has fluctuated from election to election People's choice is generally guided by such considerations as caste, religion, region, charisma of the leader. Money

plays a very important role in the Indian context. Votes are sold and purchased. But it has also been observed that over the years people have started showing maturity in their voting pattern.

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9.15 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What is political apathy ?

2. Explain the determinants of voting behaviour in India.

PROBLEMS OF COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ANALYSIS

Structure

10.0 Objectives

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Institutionalism

10.3 The 'new' comparative politics

10.4 Neo-institutionalism

10.5 An Evaluation

10.6 References

10.7 Further Readings

10.0 OBJECTIVES

- To study and analyse comparative political analysis.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

From the start, comparing has been a particular way of connecting ideas derived from political philosophy and theory to empirical events and phenomena. The primary emphasis is on power. The purpose is to determine what difference differences make between the ways power can be deployed—not power in general, of course, but as organized in political systems and generated at national and sub-national levels. Interpreting the significance of differences in the uses and allocations of power by different political systems is the common enterprise underlying various alternative approaches to comparative politics.

Before discussing how comparative politics has evolved, some clarifying definitions are in order. When we speak of political "system" we mean that its components are interdependent, a change in one involving changes in others. Political systems, at a minimum, have as a primary responsibility (one might call it their original function) the maintenance of order over defined jurisdictions, for which they have a monopology of coercive force. Sovereign jurisdictions we call the state (*Poggi* 1990). "Government" is the chief instrumentality through which the political system works. "Civil society" refers to those networks of society (such as voluntary organizations, non-governmental organization, private educational and religious facilities, etc.) which are outside of government or state control but perform public functions (schools, etc.). How it intervenes, and the way its power is delimited defines the type or character of the state (democratic, authoritarian, etc.). "Democracy," following *Schumpeter* (1947: 269), can be denned as "that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote." To the degree to which government intervenes in civil society we speak of the "strong state" (Birnbaum 1982),

that is, one where government accepts a high level of responsibilities for the welfare of its citizens. Where these responsibilities are fulfilled by bodies outside the state we speak of a "strong civil society" (Badie and Birnbaum 1983). There is, however, no clear or even necessary correspondence between government intervention and social benefit.

Strong or weak, democratic or authoritarian, political systems are important to the extent that they are "configuring," that is, to the extent that they establish laws and orders effectively governing political conduct. The fit between prescribed and actual political behavior varies extensively in time and place, however. As citizens of the state or individuals and groups in civil society change and elude prescribed behavior, by legal and legislative means or by means of confrontational actions (reflecting a variety of circumstances), the result is changes in values and beliefs, alterations in principles of justice, or modifications in the pursuit of highly valued goals. Hence, included among the critical concerns of comparative politics are how well different types of political system are indeed "configuring," how such types can be established and maintained, and how perceived discrepancies between prescribed and actual political behavior can be mediated. Defining the good political system and ensuring a good fit between such a system and actual political processes is central within the broader range of comparative concerns. Insofar as there is widespread consensus that democracy is the best available political system, most comparative political inquiry shows a concern with democracy: how to realize it, sustain it, adapt and improve it, and how to deal with threats to its survival both from within and without.

Comparisons of political systems and how they work tend to be made on the basis of states which are their concrete surrogates. Most comparison of political systems is by countries, institutions within (sub-systems), and case. A variety of strategies is available: functional, multivariate, phenomenological, and so on. Any chosen strategy of research will depend on the general approach followed, the nature of questions posed or hypotheses being tested. In this respect comparative politics, insofar as it goes beyond mere description, can be said to be the empirical side of political philosophy or political theory.[20] Among the more characteristic concerns have been the exploration of differences between political systems in relation to conflict or compromise; power and accountability, efficacy and justice. Concrete political systems "types" include a wide variety of alternatives, from "tribes," to the polis, to states, monarchical and republican, democratic and authoritarian, presidential and parliamentary. Within each, there is also wide variety in how factions and coalitions form and re-form, interests are pursued, and, depending on constitutional structures, linkages are sustained between civil society and the state (whether in terms of kinship, ecclesiastical bodies, political movements, political parties or electoral systems).

Among the variety of comparative approaches, three will be singled out here for discussion: institutionalism, developmentalism, and neo-institutionalism. The first

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20.   The link between them can thus hardly be separated from comparative methods, which, however, would require more treatment than we have space for here.

approach tends to focus on the specific workings of political systems per se: presidential and parliamentary, unitary and federal, parties and voting, committees and elections. The second approach incorporates broad theories of societal change. The third approach combines both Institutionalism constitutes the bedrock of comparative politics. It remains foundational.[21] Even most recent texts remain "institutionalist."[22] That is, they describe how the political system of a state works by detailing the structure and functioning of government and its practices. What came to be called the "new" comparative politics—developmentalism (political and economic)—placed more emphasis on societal change rather than on techniques of governance, and in so doing drew considerably from other social science disciplines. In turn, "neo-institutionalism" not only brought the state back in but modified the preoccupations of the developmentalists in a direction of greater operationalism more tailored to the way political systems and states work.

10.2 INSTITUTIONALISM

Institutionalism was more or less the exclusive approach in comparative politics, up to and considerably after World War II. Its original emphasis was on law and the constitution, on how government and the state, sovereignty, jurisdictions, legal and legislative instruments evolved in their different forms. Of significance were varying distributions of power and how these manifested themselves in relations between nation and state, central and local government, administration and bureaucracy, legal and constitutional practices and principles. Such evolution began in antiquity when ideas of political system were first articulated (Bryce 1921), with democracy as a teleological outcome. However, if institutionalism emphasized the uniquely western character of democracy, it also proclaimed its universality. Democracy meant differentiated civil government, legislatures and courts, executive powers and local government, municipalities. Comparative politics involved the detailed examination of how these instrumentalities worked, including a strong emphasis on reform (expanding the suffrage, the problem of oligarchy, reducing the dangers to established order by such doctrines as anarchism, socialism, and communism)—not least of all in a context of growing social upheaval, world wars, depression and totalitarianism.[23]

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[21]. For good examples of standard comparative texts following in the tradition of institutionalism see Friedrich (1968) and Finer (1949).

[22]. Compare, for example, the categories in an "old" institutionalist text like Herman Finer's Theory and Practice of Modern Government (1949) with the latest edition of William Safran's The French Polity (1995). The categories in both are much the same.

[23]. Whether country-by-country, function-by-function, or instrumentality-by-instrumentality, their primary preoccupation was with states and governments, constitutions and their amendment, rights and their guarantees, unitary and federal systems, centralization and decentralization, regionalism and localism, questions of majority and minority representation, cabinet government or cabinet dictatorship, multi-party versus two-party systems, constituencies, electorates, first and second chambers, legislative committees, and electorates, procedures, the readings of bills and their debate, voting and closure, the role of committees, and increasingly, the role of public opinion and the press.

In these terms comparative politics is virtually coterminous with the origins of political science. One might say that the relation between political philosophy and comparative politics has been reciprocal. Each has contributed to the other in terms of the analysis of power as well as perfectible ideals of justice. Classical concerns were with the best state as an embodiment of reason, wisdom, and rationality, and how well it nurtured the civic virtue of citizens.[24]

Institutionalism, deriving its original examples from both republican and imperial Rome, might be said to have evolved out of antique concerns plus enlightenment doctrines of natural and positive law. Law represented an organic relationship between superordinate and subordinate magistrates and jurisdictions. Scholars of comparative institutions were mainly lawyers. They examined for example Justinian's Institutes, the contributions of the Commentators and Glossators (not to speak of the Code of Hammurabi, Gaius' Institutes, Salic and Germanic law, and so on). For some Roman law was a source of inspiration. Others were influenced by social compact theories which focused attention on legitimacy in terms of representation, the relationship between the individual and the community, the citizen and the state defined the nature of constitutionalism. In these terms political philosophy and law became the foundations for the institutional study of comparative politics (Strauss 1959).

A third ingredient, as the above discussion implies, was history. Here too the emphasis was on the evolution of the state out of the polis and the origins of conciliarism, but in terms of specific benchmark events, struggles between church and state, between ecclesiastical and secular authority, over kingship and feudal barons, and the civil wars and revolutions which transformed the matter of individualism and social compact theories of authority from abstract principles to matters of life and death (Gough 1957).[25]

[24.] As has been pointed out elsewhere in this volume (Almond above: chap. 2), the original typologies of political system in Plato's Republic or the Laws, or Aristotle's Politics, drew inspiration from concrete comparisons between Sparta, Athens, Persia and other states, and ascribed differences between people (classes and "races"). So, for example, within the polis barbarians were distinguished from Greeks, slaves from citizens, aristocrats from plebeians – with such distinctions prescriptively validating the concentration and dispersal of power according to typologies of political systems based on the one, the few, and the many. These political-system types were better or worse according to how well they sponsored virtue, prudence, moderation, prowess in war, individual and civic discipline within the good state, as well as specifying the circumstances under which the good state might decay. Indeed, moral improvement and the prevention of decay was principal concern in comparative politics from Plato and Aristotle on, and according to which one could compare typologies not only for "best" systems but most feasible alternative, including in that the state which provided the best nurture for its citizens.

[25.] The institutionalist paradigm really took shape however during the Enlightenment period. The earlier emphasis on categories of people and their differing "natures" was transformed to a universe of individuals whose differences were relatively minor. It mattered, of course, whether one's view of man in a state of nature as compared to a civic community was or was not benign. For Hobbes, for whom it was not, there was no question of democracy. But most other theorists emphasize more benign properties such as Adam's Smith's propensity to truck, barter and exchange (i.e. identifying a universe of interests), the problem how best to reconcile individual liberty with community rules. For Rousseau this was the general will; for Locke, the exercise of civil responsibility, a matter of parliamentary representation and sovereignty.

These intimate and intricate connections between political philosophy, law, and history took the form of two different but overlapping traditions, Continental and Anglo-Saxon. For the discipline of comparative politics, it was the latter which became more important. With a pedigree which can be traced to Bracton in the 13th century, it includes such figures as Blackstone, Anson, Stubbs, Dicey, Vinogradoff and Maitland. Institutionalism, then, has a history of constitutionalism marked by the transfer of general and specific powers from monarchs to assemblies, by means of rights represented in charters with democracy a function of parliamentary supremacy. In turn institutionalism included the examination of procedures and instruments by means of which freedom could be made to serve as a precondition for obligation.[26] In short, if comparative politics was about the evolution of democracy, democracy was considered an instrument for the moral perfection of man "to which his own nature moves" (*Barker* 1946), the evidence of such "movement" being the great democratic revolutions—the English, the American and the French, the latter exhibiting two powerful and competing alternatives, liberal constitutionalism of 1789 and radical Jacobinism of 1792 (Furet and Ozouf 1989).

How to realize the ideas of these revolutions constitutionally was one way in which history-as-events became embodied in modern principles of government. If each revolution is represented as a system of government best suited to man's nature, what were the most appropriate institutional arrangements for each? What, in each case, would maximize the configuring power of democratic and libertarian constitutions?

Above all institutionalism was concerned with democracy as a system of order with open ends. That emphasized the centrality of choice. If order was one priority, choice was another. Both became standards for evaluating governments. Comparing in these terms the governments of England, the U.S. and France after their revolutions: British parliamentarianism was represented as the model parliamentary system because of its superior stability, the American was the model presidential system because of its choice (and localism), while the French was the unstable version of the first. In this sense governments and states could be judged by their distance from the first two, with on the whole the first being preferred to the second.[27]

In these terms institutionalism was concerned with defining those political arrangements best able to square the circle—between order and choice, individual and community, citizen rights and obligations, according to accountability and consent, executive and legislative authority, electoral arrangements, the jurisdictions of courts and magistrates, and the relative virtues of unwritten versus written constitutions (a

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[26]   The Continental tradition of institutionalism was also concerned with social contract theory. It retained a more robust connection to the natural rights tradition as embodied in Roman law, ecclesiastical conciliarism, in a context of evolving nationalism. The latter took the form of an evolutionary historicism, a teleology, i.e. the ineluctable emergence of democratic institutions out of specific conflicts, such as between papal conciliarism and monarchy, the medieval cooperation and the secular state (Gierke 1950).

[27]   England was the prototype of the stable, unitary, parliamentary democracy; France, the unstable one; and America an example of the virtues of federalism and localism. A number of Americans scholars, including Woodrow Wilson, favored a parliamentary system for the United States.

debate still going on in England), the virtues of unitary versus federal systems, parliamentary versus presidential systems, the workings of cabinet government (Jennings, 1936/1947), the role of a Privy Council and the significance of its absence, the transformation of imperial household establishments into administrative organizations (Robson 1956), the evolution of local government, the procedural rules of parliamentary behavior (Campion 1950), judicial review, the role of magistrates, committees and committee systems (Wheare 1955), electoral systems (Mackenzie 1958; Lakeman and Lambert 1959) and, above all, political parties (Ostrogorski 1964; Michels 1915/1958; Duverger 1954).

A formidable array of figures personify such concerns, including Carl Schmitt in Germany, Ivor Jennings, Ernest Barker and Harold Laski in England, Leon Deguit and Andre Siegfried in France, Carl Friedrich and Herman Finer in the United States, to name only a few. What they had in common was not only an extraordinary empirical knowledge of how such institutions worked, including specialized instruments like political parties or parliamentary committees, but a common knowledge of classical, medieval and social contract history and law.

Institutionalists did not only study the workings of democracies or authoritarian alternatives in configural terms. They recognized that institutions "work" only insofar as they embody the values, norms, and principles of democracy itself. Hence institutionalism was never simply about mechanisms of governing but was also about how democratic principles were "institutionalized." That suggested that only some societies were "fit" for democracy, while others would become so when they had evolved accordingly. Hence, for example, tutelary colonialism as an appropriate way to nurture and encourage democracy by means of legislative devolution, recapitulating metropolitan experience in colonial territories (Hancock 1940; Wight 1957).

One might say that institutionalism was and remains the centerpiece of comparative politics. Reformist and prescriptive it evolved first in an age of European nationalism when the central problem was how to secure and make viable the connections between nations divided by language, culture, religion, and local nationalisms.[28] Economic factors came to play an increasingly important role as what Arendt (1963) called the "social question" became more and more preoccupying, trade unions became better organized and, together with political movements of many varieties, pressed for greater political participation, greater equality, a redefinition of equity and challenged liberal principles with socialist and other ideological alternatives. Institutionalism had to address the question of how government could deal with unemployment, the business cycle, negative social conditions, the emergence of class politics, political movements, and protest movements extra-institutional in methods if not in principles. And the more institutionalism became concerned with political economy, the more attention it paid to fiscal and monetary institutions and policies in a context of Keynesianism, especially as protection against radicalized party politics. Challenges to the principle of private property from leftist parties using

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[28.] German scholars, in particular, were preoccupied with how to elevate a shared and common national jurisdiction and citizenship.

Marxist or socialist theories, not to speak of the spread of socialist and communist parties in Europe with their claims to social as well as civil rights, raised the question not only of totalitarian alternatives like communism or fascism but also of whether parliamentary socialism was a likely next step in the evolution of democracy (Schumpeter 1947), the social welfare state and social or "industrial democracy" (Clegg 1951; Panitch 1976) coming to be seen as an alternative to totalitarianism, and a means of preventing citizens from voting democracy out and totalitarianism in.[29] That of course turned attention both to political parties and voting patterns, as well as to the potential attractions of single-party bureaucratic and authoritarian rule in different totalitarian systems (Friedrich and Brzezinski 1962).

Perhaps institutionalists had too much confidence in the configuring power of democratic political systems. They were unable to deal "theoretically" with the indisputable and marked discrepancies between institutionalist theory and practice, when it came to establishing democratic constitutions in newly independent countries after the First and Second World Wars (Huntington 1992).[30] Institutionalists regarded the mostly unanticipated emergence of totalitarian governments in Russia and Italy, and the failure of the Weimar constitution and the rise of Nazism as deviant forms of political behavior. Moreover, as radical Marxist communist parties and other extremist groups grew in strength, especially in Europe, and began challenging not only the way democracy worked but democracy itself, it became obvious that more attention had to be paid to psychological, economic, social and organizational factors in ways outside the conventions of institutional analysis. If even the best democratic constitution (Weimar) could not guarantee that democracy would work, there was also a plethora of examples of countries with good constitutions and bad governments (the Soviet constitution of 1936).[31] Institutionalism was inadequate to the test imposed by constitutional engineering. It assumed that countries without democracy were frustrated democracies waiting only to be liberated. Nor was the record better where democracy was made a condition of transition to independence after the Second World War (Huntington 1992).

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[29].   "The welfare state is the institutional outcome of the assumption by a society of legal and therefore formal and explicit responsibility for the basic well-being of all of its members" (Girvetz 1968: 512). Examples include the New Deal in the U.S., Beveridge in the U.K., the Polpular Front in France, and the emergence of the social democraticstate, as in Sweden.

[30].   With the exception of such cases where colonial territories evolved towards dominion status under the Statute of Westminster of 1931 and within the British Commonwealth, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, and, a striking departure, India, most efforts to establish democratic institutions in a hot-house way have been unsuccessful.

[31].   The first widespread efforts at democracy by means of "institutionalist social engineering" were in countries emerging from the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Russian empires. With few exceptions, such as Czechoslavakia and Finland, such efforts gailed (Headlam-Morley 1929). The second, including the decolonisation process after the second World War, has hardly been a success. Today the efforts to establish democracy in Eastern Europe and Russia remain more hope than realiszation.

10.3 THE "NEW" COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The "new" comparative politics, with its emphasis on growth and development, was part of the more general optimism of the period after World War II. But if the premise and promise of development represented the good, the evil was communism and the Cold War. In the west, every move to the left was a gain for the Soviet Union. Every move towards democracy was a gain for the United States and its allies. The result of such Manicheanism was that, no matter how virtuous the policies undertaken to promote the first, they were to some degree morally diluted (if not contaminated) by the pervasiveness of the second. That gave developmentalism a certain ambiguity, quickly exploited by so-called Third World" countries. Such ambiguity extended to efforts at institution-building, not so much in terms of Europe (in the post-war recovery period including the Marshall Plan), but "decolonization" in colonial territories.[32] Even more ambiguity characterized the developmentalism practiced by the U.S. in Latin America, under the Alliance for Progress, which to many was simply "neo-imperialism"—with much of the "Third World," with a self-proclaimed but ambiguously practiced "neutralism" between the "first" world (the west) and the "second" (the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries), rejecting democracy in favor of one-party states and personal rule, with more or less explicit genuflections to socialism (vaguely defined). Indeed, so morally clouded were the politics of development that the main metropolitan countries allowed themselves to be almost as much manipulated as manipulating.

In effect, the political problem was how to combine decolonization with devolution of powers democratically, by redirecting nationalism—that is, by changing its venue away from the state towards it—within a context of "new nations." Colonialism then became tutelary rather than hegemonic. By so doing, it was hoped, democratic institutions would become the instruments of the state-in-becoming, a positive, developmental state. By the same token, this would prevent "stage-skipping"—the communist alternative of the one-party state, "skipping" the "bourgeois phase" and proceeding directly to socialism. What was at stake were two very different conceptions of "underlying reality." For the first, the market plus democracy (a double market, economic and political), would constitute a moving equilibrium given expertise and outside aid. For the other, such a stage was by its very nature neo-imperialist, hegemonic, substituting economic control for political. In this sense devolution for one was the substitute for revolution while revolution for the other was the alternative to devolution (Algeria becoming one of the examples of the latter for France, Vietnam for the U.S., etc.).

Competing pulls between left and right also had consequences in western countries. In Europe the equivalent of devolution was social welfarism and social democracy, not least of all (as in France or Italy) where there were large, legal and well-organized and financed communist parties. It spawned a huge literature on worker participation (the "Yugoslav model") and participatory democracy (Pateman

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32.   It suited would-be dictators to charge that democratic constitutions which marked the transition to independence in many formerly colonial countries represented a neo-colonial inheritance.

1970). Modest doses of socialism became appropriate modifiers of liberal capitalism. A great deal of comparative analysis was devoted to the evolution and the problems of the social welfare state (Offe 1984).

Such differences manifested themselves in two alternative approaches to developmentalism: modernization theories and dependency theories. Modernization theorists included a very diverse and loosely clustered group of comparative studies specialists such as Gabriel Almond, Samuel Huntington, David E. Apter, Lucian Pye, Myron Weiner, Leonard Binder, Edward Shils and Talcott Parsons, as well as a variety of others, some of whom combined case materials with broadly analytical books on comparative development. If they shared an ancestral figure, it was Max Weber. Dependency theory—whose putative ancestor was Marx—was even more diverse, including economists like Paul Baran and Andre Gundar Frank, historians like Perry Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm and political scientists like Gavin Kitching, Colin Leys and Benedict Anderson.

For a good many of the first group, "decolonization plus growth plus democratization" appeared to be a legitimacy formula for independence, especially under the patronage of tutelary colonialism (Shils 1962). For members of the second group, that was a strategy of hegemony and domination, and one had to attack such a formula in principle as well as practice. As a result scholars using much the same material and data drawn from the same country or samples could come to quite opposite conclusions, Kenya being a good example (cf. Leys 1974; Kitching 1980; and Bienen 1974).

Whatever the effects of such politicization on comparative politics as a field, the result was to make the comparative politics less Euro-centered and more concerned with how to build democracy in countries to which it was not indigenous. There was less faith in the configuring powers of constitution and government, and more in the need for a simultaneous and mutual process of institution-building from the bottom up and the top down. The developmental state had to assume responsibilities for sponsoring and stimulating development and, in effect, controlling the consequences (Apter 1965). Within the broad framework of development theory, there was the explicit assumption that, sooner or later, development would eventually result in replication of the same key social and cultural values and institutions as those in industrial societies—especially since it was assumed that with growth there would come a division of labor, the evolution of a middle class, private as well as public enterprise and so on. Successful development would sweep away "traditional" parochialisms and "primordialisms" (Geertz 1963) and establish pre-conditions for democracy. In turn, democracy would optimize the conditions for development. So, as the state was better able to benefit from, mediate, and control the consequences of growth, growth would generate new opportunities within societies, making for stable transitions.

That all required more understanding of little known cultures and practices. Where previous institutionalists dealt with political economy in connection with unemployment, fiscal policy, controlling the business cycle and so on, the new emphasis was on continuities between the "great transformation" from pre-industrial to industrial societies in the west and its recapitulation within what was increasingly

called the "Third World" (Polanyi 1944).[33] The analytical emphasis shifted away from state to societal structures—as well as to how best to introduce the values and cultural principles of democracy, how to socialize and motivate people in terms of these values, or how best to internalize them. In these terms one could examine problems such as how to ensure that nationalism, the driving and mobilizing force for independence and autonomy, would come to incorporate democratic norms and political values.

In general, then, developmentalism led to the comparison of societies with widely different social and political institutions and cultural practices. The central hypotheses were drawn from how "modern" institutions evolved in the west: the shift from theocratic to secular; from status to contract; pre-capitalist to capitalist; static to evolutionary notions of societal change, organic and mechanical solidarity; traditional to legal rational authority; Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft; and for those of a more radical persuasion, transformation from pre-capitalism to bourgeois democracy and the prospects of socialism. These large-scale distinctions, refined in field studies, formed the basis for comparisons centering on the problems of social change and how these favored or undermined democratic potentialities. Controlling and rectifying social strains incurred in the process came to define the primary role of the state, with politics being seen as a matter of maintaining political balance, stability and viability. Where such strains could not be mediated and governments fail to become institutionalized, the propensities grow for authoritarian regimes and "praetorianism" (Huntington 1968).

It would be wrong to say that the more the "new comparative politics" emphasized social change, the less concerned it was with specific political institutions. But in its attempts to apply, in the form of hypotheses, what had been learned from the transition from pre-industrial to industrial society in the west, it attached as much importance to society as the state, with power being generated by diverse sources, not all of them conventionally political.[34] Indeed, what came to be called the "tradition vs modernity" distinction attempted to derive salient values and norms which, internalized and socialized, would make for successful transitions to both modernity and democracy (as well as identifying those which were less receptive or more resistant). For this comparative theorists could draw on a virtual pantheon of social historians, historical sociologists and anthropologists—Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Ferdinand Toennies, George Simmel, Vilfredo Pareto, George Ostrogorski, Roberto Michels, Robert Redfield, B. Malinowski, A. R. Radcliffe Brown, E. E. Evans-Pritchard,

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[33].   It would be hard to overestimate the impact of this work on a whole generation of comparativists.

[34].   Emphasizing qualitative rather than quantitative methods and functional frameworks social change theorists were oriented towards the problem of how to "equilibrate" norms appropriate to development and democracy, internalize them in the form of appropriate behavior, socialized in terms of roles and role networks, which in turn would reinforce and institutionalize norms. It is lack of "fit" between these that produces "strains," the rectification of which constitutes the "political" problem.

Claude Levi-Strauss and so on—posing questions of the connections between belief and social practices.[35]

Emphasis on the institutionalization, internalization and socialization of norms drew particularly on learning theory imported from social psychology and on value theory imported from political anthropology. How different cultures and ethnic groups responded to innovation was another central concern, incorporating theories of Erik H. Erikson (1968) on identity, David McClellend (1961) on "achievement motivation," and John Dollard (1939) on frustration-aggression theory; these foci were represented in a wide variety of case materials, from the very comparisons between "traditionalism" versus "modernity" (Eisenstadt 1973; Rudolph and Rudolph 1967) to theories of political violence (Gurr 1971), conditions of political integration (Geertz 1963) and analyses of ethnic conflict (Horowitz 1985).[36]

A good many studies of modernization were strongly influenced by sociologists, perhaps the most influential being Talcott Parsons. But the systematic comparison of societies as well as state systems, and in terms of political outcomes, was reflected in the work of many others, including Seymour Martin Lipset, Philip Selznick, Daniel Bell, Arthur Kornhauser, Philip Converse, Ralf Dahrendorf, Morris Janowitz, Edward Shils and Alain Touraine. Among their concerns were problems of ethnicity, primordialism, and the need to understand a society's "central values" and the variable responses of political cultures to change (Apter 1963/1971).[37]

Political economy, which for institutionalists was a matter of financial institutions, the role of treasury and central banks and of course the problems of the business cycle or the significance of unemployment for the evolution of democracy (Schumpeter 1947: 47), shifted to "development." Major figures of a liberal persuasion and influential in comparative politics using market theory included W. W. Rostow, W. Arthur Lewis (1957) and Albert Hirschman— the first concerned with what might be called "the American century," the second with Africa and the Caribbean, the last with Latin America.

It was in terms of "alternative" political economy theories that comparativists using "modernization" theory became separated from those who were to become "dependency" theorists. The latter represented both critical theories of capitalism and imperialism, and offered alternative prescriptions for socialism to be realized from above, through the one-party state, thus "skipping" a phase of bourgeois democracy. Such concerns were best represented by Paul Baran's The Political Economy of Growth (1962), which influenced several generations of dependistas in Latin America and

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[35]   The political interest in cultures might be said to begin with national character studies. See for example, Inkeles (1972).

[36]   One should also note the significance of "psychological" emphases applied to the analysis of political violence (Gurr) and more psychoanalytical approaches by Ivo K. Feierabend and Rosalind L. Feierabend.

[37]   The concern here was with "political institutional transfer," for example how and to what extent it would be possible to "institutionalize" western parliamentary structures in an African setting. See Apter (1963 / 1971b).

contributed heavily to what became a corpus of radical developmental comparisons, from case materials (Leys 1974) to the more comparative studies of Frank, Cardozo, Suret Canale and Amin, drawing not least of all on work of Althusser, E. P. Thompson and Poulantzas but also incorporating work of many others.

If development theory, whether in the form of modernization studies or dependency theory, was caught up in Cold War conflicts as these manifested themselves in the Third World, such conflicts were also reflected in differences between comparative methodologies like functionalism versus dialectical analysis.[38] The first favored equilibrium theory in a context of liberal capitalism as the foundation of democracy. The other favored conflict theory en route to socialism.

Depending upon which perspective one took, nationalism could take various forms: absolutist (Anderson 1986); as the vehicle for integration (Apter 1963/1971b; Coleman 1958); praetorianism (Huntington 1968); mobilizing support by creating a national discourse (Anderson 1991); a force for transformation, using political parties and the party-state as the instrument (Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1990); a disintegrative force (Migdal 1988); or, in their different contexts, virtually all of these things (Almond, Flanagan and Mundt 1973).

Such matters were incorporated in broad comparisons as well as case studies which examined in depth large themes of change, development, hegemony, power.[39] Out of these very diverse components and persuasions came a wide variety of broad comparisons and political ethnographies. They dealt with comparisons within and between Third World countries, one-party states more generally, authoritarianism and the problems posed by reinforcing social cleavages for stable democratic rule. Virtually all aspects of society were examined for the implications for political life, including the effects and consequences of education and educational systems, the role and place of elites, civic culture and its socialization in civic communities (Almond and Coleman 1960; Coleman 1965; Almond and Verba 1963).[40] A crucial emphasis on all sides was the matter of ideology, particularly nationalism as an alternative to or in conjunction with radicalization. Nationalism became the basis for examination of legitimacy, party

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[38]   Modernization and dependency theory became mutually adversarial. The first emphasized institution-building in a context of economic growth. The other emphasized the contradictions of growth under capitalism, with its neo-colonial past, and pointed out "necessary" neo-imperialist political consequences. Each constituted a "critical theory" of the other. Each sponsored an extensive program of comparative and case materials. Both have been applied to developmental principles of political economy both within industrial countries (metropoles), and third world countries (peripheries). In hindsight, modernization studies gave too little emphasis to the state as an actor in itself while dependency theories treated it as an agency of hegemonic classes and powers.

[39]   Within the confines of the single case, comparison tended to be diachronic, i.e. showing internal changes over time. Broader comparisons tended to be synchronic.

[40]   Indeed, a genuine corpus of materials emerged—including the work of LaPalombara, Weiner, Pye, Coleman and Binder on bureaucracy, the penetration of western institutions in non-western settings, and a host of similar issues—mainly under, the auspices of the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council.

mobilization, mass movements, populism and leadership, particularly as these related to authoritarianism and the rejection of democracy (Ionescu and Gellner 1969; Linz and Stepan 1978; O'Donnell 1973).

One of the more *general criticisms of both modernization and dependency theory* (that is, of developmentalism generally) was that politics seemed to be reduced to reflexes of economics or to societal processes. If the developmentalists criticized the institutionalists for their inability to deal in a satisfactory theoretical way with discrepancies between the configuring power of the state and the complexities of social life which confounded the best laid constitutions, they also sinned in the opposite direction with their broad theories (Tilly, 1984).

Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define Institutionalism.

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2.   Define Neo-Institutionalism?

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10.4 NEO-INSTITUTIONALISM

What we will call "neo-institutionalism" combines older institutionalist concerns with developmentalism. Restoring "political system" to center-stage, it combines an interest in what are now called "less developed countries" with interest in Europe. Neo-institutionalism can be said to have evolved out of a general concern with pluralist democracy (Dahl 1982; Dogan 1988). It incorporates political behavior, including voting behavior and the analysis of changing fortunes of political parties and the significance of these changes for the state (Lipset and Rokkan 1967; Rokkan 1970) and problems of elites and democratization (Linz and Stepan 1978). Particularly concerned with social welfare and social democratic alternatives to authoritarianism, neo-institutionalists shifted away from the old institutionalist preoccupation with the Great Depression and towards the generalization of the social welfare state, of which Scandinavian and Dutch experiments with social democracy as well as Labour Party Britain represented significant examples.[41] Everywhere in Europe, too, there was political movement towards greater intervention of the state on behalf of its more disadvantaged citizens.

[41.]   The latter a result of a general sense of obligation by a grateful government to their returning veterans and citizens after the Second World War.

The comparative emphasis was on political parties, how they work, how coalitions form, public attitudes change, and the role of elites, bureaucracies, and politicians within different types of regimes. Where developmentalism stressed the need for growth as a way of contributing to democracy, neo-institutionalism examines the way governments confronting the negative consequences of growth, including environmental and pollution problems and the absorption of immigrants, where marginalization of industrial workers and polarization between a functional elite and a growing underclass of the functionally superfluous exacerbates tensions and promotes extremism. It includes, too, explanations for the reversal of the social welfare and social democratic state, and a return to the liberal state which was the main concern of insitutionalists—not least in terms of questions of governability under conditions in which the most efficacious policies are not politically feasible, and the most politically feasible policies are not efficacious (Leca and Papini 1985). Finally, such matters are being evaluated against the backdrop and fallout from the implosion of the Soviet Union. If the end of the Cold War has provided a third round of democratic opportunity, so too there are new opportunities for religious and ethnic sectarianism and fundamentalism—neither of which were anticipated or fitted with "social change" theories.[42]

Where developmentalists and neo-institutionalists come closest together is in their concern with "transitions" to democracy. The latter employ somewhat different strategies for analyzing that problem. The most conventional is the broad comparison based on historical cases, using class and state formation within what might be called a "post-Weberian" framework. Early examples include the work of Reinhard Bendix (1964) and Barrington Moore (1966). Later examples include Skocpol (1979) and O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead (1986)—the first three using comparisons from France and England, India and Japan, Russia and China, both in terms of classes and in terms of the role of bureaucracy and the state; and the latter using Latin American examples. All draw general inferences about state formation in terms of democracy and totalitarianism.

Other analysts have emphasized the link between industrial capitalism and parliamentary democracy, the critical historical role of labor (Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens 1992), and the significance of social protest and antistate activism generally (Tilly 1978; Tarrow 1994).[43] Here one might argue that if capitalism appears to be a necessary condition for democracy it is certainly not a sufficient one (Lipset 1994).

There has also been a renewed emphasis on statistical studies comparing such factors as education, growth rates and urbanization. Inkeles and Smith's Becoming Modern (1974)— using a multiplicity of variables to measure hierarchy, stratification,

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42.   Eastern Europe has to some extent replaced the Third World as the focus for "constitutional engineering," as well as the transformation of former socialist systems to capitalism. By the same token there has been growing interest in the breakdown in democratic regimes. See Linz and Stepan (1978).

43.   The latter, a growing field, includes comparative work on social movements in Poland, Chile, Prance and elsewhere by Alain Touraine, Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow.

stability, and so on, in six countries—was perhaps a forerunner. And, in a more opposite direction, comparative political economy is now being applied to particular cases like France. Among the concerns growing out of such studies is the concentration and dispersal of power in parliamentary regimes, and the centrality of electoral systems and voting behavior. Variations on such themes include the possibilities of "consociationalism"—with its emphasis on how to establish viable democratic institutions in the face of deep-seated social cleavages—originally developed in a case study of cleavage politics in Uganda (Apter 1961) and was extended first to the Netherlands and then to a variety of other contexts from Austria to South Africa by Lijphart (1977; 1984) and others, using "grand coalition" theories and mutual veto mechanisms to establish tendencies towards or against democracy. Still another emphasis is on the interplay of political sub-systems, how opportunities are created for "negotiated agreements" (Di Palma 1990).

Another important strand in neo-institutionalism is the use of rational choice theory, which is more and more frequently being applied to the question of democracy in terms of what might be called the "double market" the intersection between the economic marketplace and the political—an approach pioneered by Downs (1957) and Olson (1965; 1982) and developed in a variety of contexts by Hechter, Bates, Laitin, Rosenbluth and others. For Przeworski (1991) the crucial element in the survival of democratic regimes lies in their capacity to generate incentives such that political groups that lose still have more to gain from competing within a democratic framework than they do from overturning it. In contrast to both the old institutionalists and modernity theorists (like Huntington, for example), this would assume that it is not necessary to believe in democracy in order to support it. What counts more for Przeworski is whether economic needs are being met, and the degree to which reforms result in unemployment, poverty and reduced inequality. With these changing concerns, not only institutions of government have become central again, but so too have the problems in western social welfare and social democratic states, including how to pay for compensatory programs and entitlements—raising questions about the proper role and scope of government and the limits of state intervention.

Nor is political culture forgotten. Using Italy as a case study in a context of regional politics, Putnam (1993) argues quite convincingly that it is the presence or absence of civic traditions, the civic community, which constitutes the key variable. His approach combines some of the work of the modernization theorists with a concern with particular institutional arrangements, relying on both analytical and quantitative forms of analysis within the configurative tradition of institutionalism.

Finally, political economy has combined with institutional comparisons in Europe, including responses by political parties to changes in the economy, European integration, and of course the disappearance of socialism not only in Eastern Europe and Russia but also the decline of socialism and social democracy in the west. Among the present concerns are how to pay for the social welfare and social democratic state, the impact on party alignments of the decline of the left generally, and such specific concerns as the transformation of the British Labour Party towards an acceptance of market principles as against nationalization, the denationalization phase of

Mitterrandism and the fractionalization of the Socialist Party in France, and so on. There is debate between how much democracy is a function of its procedures and efficacy, and how much on prior cultural traditions or culture shifts (see, e.g., Inglehart 1990; Abramson and Inglehart 1995).

These more specific concerns fit into larger comparisons between, for example, Scandinavian and other social democratic countries like the Netherlands or France, "strong" or interventionist states which have high social overhead costs and elaborate welfare programs. Among recent and significant treatment of such matters one can include work by Peter Hall (1986), John Zysman (1983) and Peter Katzenstein (1978). [44]

Neo-institutionalism then, is less constitutional than the old, and more prone to economic analysis insofar as it deals with fiscal and monetary policy, banks, markets and globalization. But it is also concerned with locating changes in the legislative process, shifts in long established party politics (such as the impact of Mitterrandism, Thatcherism or Reaganism on the principles and practices of government), not to speak of new social formations, coalitions, and so on, as these impinge on the state. Like the old, it is concerned with the state as an instrumentality in its own right, with its own tendencies and needs, and, as a configuring power, how it determines the nature of civil society. In general one can say that neo-institutionalism is more connected to social and political theory, and less to political philosophy, than its predecessor, and also more engaged in political economy.

There is renewed attention paid to the importance of legal structures, the significance of their presence or absence in, say, Russia or China—not to speak of the specific instrumentalities by means of which representative institutions derive their legitimacy from the consent of the governed. Above all, neo-institutionalism brings us back to the eternal question of the significance of proportionality in political systems, the original question of Plato as well as Rousseau, who was explicit about the need for government as a system of mutual proportionalities between wealth and power, rulers and ruled. [45]

10.5 AN EVALUATION

This very brief overview of some of the newer tendencies in comparative analysis cannot, of course, do justice to the varieties of comparative politics being undertaken today. What should also be understood is that with each change in the analytical focus of comparison, different intellectual pedigrees are invoked; and with each turn of the methodological screw comes a shift in comparative methods and operational strategies (quantitative and statistical, stochastic processes, path analysis, network analysis, as well as functionalism, structuralism, coalitional and vector analysis, social ecology, and so on) (Golembiewski, Welsh, and Crotty 1968/1969). There have also been good collections on these matters: early ones like Eckstein and Apter's Comparative Politics (1963) and cyclopedic efforts to cover the range of the field such as with Grawitz and *Leca's Traite de science politique* (1985), as well as more modest efforts such as Badie's

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44.   See also Sen (1984), Lipton (1980) and Lindblom (1977).

45.   See the discussion of proportionality in Masters (1968: 340-50).

Le developpement politique (1980), Dogan and Pelassy, *How to Compare Nations* (1984), Wiarda's *New Directions in Comparative Politics* (1985), Andrain's *Comparative Political Systems* (1994). As originally suggested, these different styles of analysis have been accompanied by a steady interest in the use of methods, the appropriate units for comparison, what theoretical principles and ideas to use for hypotheses, what techniques will provide covariance, and what constitutes the basis of valid explanation. Issues range from "the N problem" versus the case study to the virtues and deficiencies of grand theories (Skinner 1985), and what Tilly (1984), attacking theories of the latter sort, has called "big structures, large processes, and huge comparisons." Whatever the emphasis, the newer comparative political analysis has tended to employ a variety of empirical methods, functional, analytical, quantitative, statistical, as against descriptive comparisons (country-by-country, institution-by-institution).

There is always a problem with how best to incorporate theoretical questions and hypotheses in case materials so that they do not simply illustrate what is already known (a reinforcement effect), or simply add to details without substantively increasing general knowledge (a trivialization problem). The advantage of case studies is their depth, their preoccupation with internal characteristics of social and political life. The problem is how to strike the right balance. Few case studies involving detailed description of politics have had much impact on comparative politics, except for illustrative purposes. Those who do fieldwork are often parochialized by area or country studies and, because detailed knowledge tends to make generalization difficult, anti-theoretical. This is not always the case: field studies like those of Geertz, Coleman, Apter, Ashford, LeRoy Ladurie, Furet, Lewin, Tucker, Scalapino, in contexts as varied as Indonesia and Morocco, Africa, Japan, China, France, Russia (to take some more or less at random), all bring broad theory to bear in specific situations. Major themes are embodied in case studies such as Coleman's *Nigeria, Background to Nationalism* (1958), Apter's *Ghana in Transition* (1963/1971b) and *Political Kingdom in Uganda* (1961/1996), Kitching's *Class and Economic Change in Kenya* (1980), Stepan's *The State and Society* (1977), Fagen's *The Transformation of Political Culture in Cuba* (1969), Schmitter's *Interest Conflict and Political Change in Brazil* (1971) and Friedman, Pickowicz and Selden's, *Chinese Village, Socialist State* (1991), to mention only a few. None of these studies is simply an exercise in detailed knowledge, nor simply applies what is already known theoretically to particular countries. All have contributed to the body of theoretical knowledge to provide both a richness to comparative politics and, on occasion, a more phenomenological understanding as with Geertz's (1973) emphasis on "reading" politics as a social text. Moreover, a significant proportion of the studies which had major impact on comparative politics by means of case materials are done not by area specialists but by outsiders—sometimes causing great debate between comparativists and area studies specialists.[46]

[46.]   One only has to think of the controversies aroused by Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* (1979).

However, there is nothing like a good case study to reveal the shortcomings of overgeneralized comparative theories, one which deals with the interconnections between sub-systems, introduces valences and variables which a national or central governmental perspective may obscure. It can serve as an antidote as well to rational choice theories which push the level of rationality to the level of the political system as a whole system, when a variety of other rationalities may be involved in sub-systems and sub-sets which prejudice the center but make sense to those involved.

The need for close analysis of the case varies according to the questions being posed, of course. Much depends on both the requirements of knowledge in depth where such knowledge is available, as with China, or as with Japan where it is difficult to work without knowledge of language, history, culture, art and so on. Such knowledge may be lacking in countries such as those in Africa, where there were few written materials prior to colonialism except perhaps in Arabic, and where the recuperation of the past may require the use of oral history. But one of the best reasons for case work, in addition to these more obvious requirements, is that a good case can temper broadly comparative theories which tend to become obvious and overkill rather quickly. Moreover, comparative theories are too often "surprised" by events which their theories not only could not predict but insulated them against, the implosion of the Soviet Union being a good example.

If one applies a tough standard like predictability to the study of comparative politics it is clearly no better or worse than any of the other sub-fields of political science, or the social sciences more generally. There are simply too many variables, and it is difficult to know which are the most salient. How much does democracy depend on "pre-requisites" of culture, or education, or specific civic elites? How much will it depend on perceived negative experiences with authoritarian rule? None of these questions can be answered in any decisive way. Nor can one establish some minimal level of social conditions. Concluding his overview of the comparative analysis of democracy, Lipset (1994) argues that while it is possible to draw conclusions from the experiences and characteristics of democratizing countries by correlations between democracy and economic growth and changes in stratification, there are too many other significant relationships for these to be conclusive. More generally we can agree that "given the multivariate nature of whatever causal nexus is suggested, it is inevitable that any given variable or policy will be associated with contradictory outcomes."

If so, what can be said in favor of comparative political analysis? For one thing it sensitizes observers to the differences between their own societies and others, and some of the consequences of difference. It makes one alive to the complexities and multiplicities of interaction between norms, values, institutions and social structures, and the varied forms of political behavior which, even when they appear similar to our own, might nevertheless mean quite other things to those who engage in it.

For the big questions—developmental change, changing notions of equity and justice, the proportions and balances between equity and allocation, choice and order—one can make projections, anticipate, become aware of consequences (Apter 1971a). One can distinguish how the same behavior in one setting leads to different

outcomes in another. For example, risk-taking, which is essential to entrepreneurial innovation, can also produce and feed off violence (Apter 1996). One can also anticipate significant problems (problems of single-issue politics, parochial forms of nationalism, localism, sectarianism, and the revival of ethnic, religious, racial, and other boundaries) leading to less tolerance rather than more, and with it dangers of a negative rather than a positive pluralism. In these terms, the decline of the left has left a "space" for primordial revivalism in which democracy as understood is a last not a first consideration. Another critical question is how democratic political systems will deal with connections between innovation and growth, on the one hand, and marginalities (economic, social, ethnic, religious), on the other. Finally, one can ask whether or not there can be an "excess" of democracy, which will overload its capacities and result in too much fine tuning of moral sensibilities. In the name of democracy, interests can become elevated to the level of rights, reducing the prospects of negotiable solutions and generating hostility and mutual antagonism, less rather than more tolerance, and fewer rather than more political options.

Of course even if democracy is a universal system, there remains the question of how best to adapt it to the varieties of circumstance, old and new, which it will have to confront— not least of all extra-territorial associations, regionalism, globalism, and a variety of functional and political associations, private and public, which may alter the character of sovereignty and cast doubt on the sanctity of territorial boundaries. But despite the need for adaptive variation, what does suggest itself, tentatively, is a controversial conclusion. Examining these different approaches—institutional, developmental, neo-institutional—their different emphases and strategies of research and the large corpus of empirical studies, one is forced to conclude that there seems to be a relatively limited and specific ensemble of institutions which enable democracy to work in any meaningful sense. Despite "experiments" to the contrary, there are only a limited number of structural possibilities for the democratic state. No dramatically new alternative democratic formula has replaced what socialists once derided as "bourgeois" democracy. Nor has some formula for a culturally-specific democratic design, uniquely fitted to the particularities of a single country, emerged in any strong sense of the term. Democracy may have "vernacular" forms, but by and large these are not very satisfactory in dealing with problems of contemporary political life.

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RECENT DEBATES : ROLE OF CLASS, ETHNICITY AND GENDER

Structure

11.0 Objectives

11.1 Role of Class

11.2 Characteristics

11.3 Agents of Modernisation

11.4 Summary

11.5 Further Readings

11.6 Model Questions

11.0 OBJECTIVES

- To study and analyse the debates on class, ethnicity and gender.

11.1 ROLE OF CLASS

Class societies are characterised by the horizontal division of society into strata. In Marxist terms, classes are defined by their differential access to the means of production. The dominant classes appropriate the 'surplus' produced by other classes through their control of means of production, and thus exploit their labour. The actual configuration of social classes varies from one society to another. The rise and growth of Indian social classes was organically linked to the basic structure of colonialism and bore the imprint of that association.

What constitutes the dominant proprietary class in the urban-areas is marked by plurality and heterogeneity in its composition. A clear-cut demarcation along the lines of merchant, industrial and finance capital is not possible in case of India. The Indian business classes exhibit a complex intertwining of functions. Under the colonial rule, the Indian businessmen were initially relegated to small private trade, money lending and acted as agents of foreign British Capital. The British capitalists and merchants controlled the upper layer of Indian economy represented by the big joint stock companies, managing houses, banking and insurance and major export-import firms. Despite obstacles and constraints, the Indian capitalist class grew slowly and steadily and breached white 'collective monopoly'. With all structural constraints, colonialism also guaranteed the security of private property and sanctity of contract, the basic legal elements required for a market-led growth. The expansion of foreign trade and commercialization eased the capital shortage and accelerated the growth of sectors where cost of raw-materials was low such as cotton textiles, sugar, leather, cement, tobacco and steel. Certain groups of Parsis, Marwaris, the Khojas, the Bhatias and Gujarati traders benefited from their collaboration with the European companies and pumped their resources into the manufacturing sector. This Indian capitalist class

grew, diversified to some extent and acquired important position by 1940s. This class thrived during Independence under the government's policy of import substitution and quantitative controls. The 'Public-Sector' units provided the infrastructure and the intermediate and capital goods to this 'protected' class while the public lending institutions provided it with cheap sources of finances. The assets of the biggest 20 industrial houses increased from Rs. 500 crores in 1851 to Rs 23,200 crores in 1986. This was the result of benefits derived from state-developed infrastructural facilities, subsidised energy inputs, cheap capital goods and long-term finance made available to these by big monopoly industrial houses under the planning. On the other hand, almost 70% of the people exist on merely subsistence level and 76.6 million agricultural labourers earn only one-tenth of what an organized sector worker in the city earns. In the 1980s, unemployment reached about 10% of total active population. In the urban centres, the bulk of labourers are working in unorganized informal sectors. The varying levels of political development induced the ruling elite, first of these countries and then of the western countries to undertake a programme for the all round development. Side by side the western scholars in particular, evinced an increasing interest to study the problems of under-development and to devise ways and means to eradicate their backwardness. The emergence of the new states and accompanying issue for their development was thus, one important reason why modernization and political development became so popular subject of study. The other contributory factor was the rise of behaviouralism. When the focus, of political research shifted from structures to the actual behaviour of political actors, the students and researchers began to look for those factors and forces that conditioned the actual behaviour in politics and then came across the variation in the political phenomenon of the developed and the developing countries. This was thus an added reason which hightened the interest of academicians in the problems of modernization and political development.

Meaning: Let us now try to understand the meaning and implications of the term modernization, in doing so, we would preferably adopt the reductionist method. You must have heard of a number of other parallel concepts which, in their connotation, badly overlap one another. To name a few of them : *Anglicization, Galicization, Europeanization, Industrialization, Urbanization, Modernization and Development*. Let us go on eliminating one term after another, that way, we will be able to deduce the exact meaning and implications of the terms modernization and development.

In this world of ours, the rich and the powerful occupy the prominent positions and as such, they have acted as the pace-setters for the society in every walk of life, may it be fashion or social custom. More often than not, the society, itself follows them. But if sometimes they come across any resistance on the part of the society, then they do not even hesitate to thrust themselves and their life style on them. Their endeavour has always been to shape the society in the image of their own thinking and mode of living. Precisely such has been the case of the imperial rulers in so far as their behaviour towards their colonies was concerned. When for instance the British came to India they initiated a systematic policy of reshaping the thinking and living of the Indians in their own distinct way. They radically reshaped the indigenous institutional fabric of the country. A process called *Anglicization* thus ensued. A similar campaign

was also undertaken by the Dutch in Indonesia and People described that process as *Galicizatin* Gradually this process came to spread in the other colonies of Asia and Africa, These two terms Anglicization and Galicizatin were obviously found inadequate and it was in that context that the term Europeanization was coined. The harbingers of the movement were still the Europeans. Later on, Americana also entered the field and then the, terms Europeanization was replaced with a still broader term; Westernization; of late the term that has been, very much in vogue is Modernization. It is so comprehensive a term that it includes not only all the harbingers of change European, Americans and Asians, western and eastern but also all the allied processes and areas of change. There is still another term perhaps in greater currency these days and that is political development. Through frequently interchangeably used with modernization, it has some what different connotations. Let us now analyse the meaning and implications of these terms.

Before we enter into the definitional muddle. We may point out to you that both these concepts-modernization and political development are western concepts coined by them to describe the modes of development of their own societies and underdevelopment, or backwardness of the newly liberated societies Judging the latter by their own standards, they club them as under developed or backward; and as pointed out in the beginning of this script they expect these societies to follow them in every possible way. How far these societies have copied their way of life and how far they have succeeded in modifying their basic pattern of life, are some of the interesting and meaningful issue over which many scholars have seriously deliberated.

Considering the term "modernization" first, it means (to quete Kautsky) a "process by which a society becomes modern". The term modern, though pretty vague and imprecise, broadly implies society-wide inculcation of a scientific temper. That is, the old value pattern and the general mode of functioning, based on faith in the tradition, religion, magic, superstition and the sort, must yield place to science and technology. People should develop a sense of self-confidence. Instead of resigning themselves to fate and destiny, they should try to control their environment with the help of science and technology. When a new civic culture characterized by urbanization, industrialisation, mass education, mass participation, competitive politics, secularization and equality springs, we describe that society to be a modern society.

Modernization, thus implies fundamental reshaping of the whole social let-up a society. This is the reason why it is also described as a process of social change. It is in fact a long process spread over decades. If not over centuries in the course of which innumerable social operations are carried out and most of them might have to be endlessly repeated.

At this juncture, we may point out that the concept of modernization, is quite comprehensive. You might have concluded from the foregoing description that modernization implies changes in the social, economic and cultural spheres, and not in the political sphere. Such is not the case Modernization process brings about fundamental changes in all walks of life, including the political. However, in the general usage of the term modernization, the political aspect is not so much

emphasised, The writers while highlighting political change, prefix the word 'political' with modernization and when they do so, they draw nearer to the concept of political development. Quite often, the two terms, political modernization and political development, are used inter-changeably. The process of modernization took place in Europe and America quite at its own, without the conscious effort on the part, of any one. In fact, the western societies automatically came to be transformed from their state of backwardness and traditionalism to the modern state. No one could ever imagine where they were heading to. But today the traditional societies of Asia, Africa (and earlier than them, Japan, Turkey, and the Former USSR) have been making conscious and planned efforts to achieve modernization. They are seized with the desire to achieve by hard effort that level of modernity which their western brethern had achieved long ago. Getting a clue from the western experience, they want to cut down the time span from centuries to decades.

The process of modernization is seldom goal-oriented, in other words, those who plan the path or modernization do not know exactly where they are going to. If at all they have an objective, it is to acquire and inculcate a scientific temper and faith in modern science and technology. This type of goal is to elusive and imprecise. Moreover, the process of modernization is an on-going process and hence never comes too an end. There is over widening scope for change and improvement. Generally we describe the U.S.A. or Great Britain as modernized societies. Modernization is thus (to quote Dodd) an open ended concept[47] whereas political development, is a goal-oriented concept. The societies which embark on the process of development know their goal, enunciated for them either by someone else or by themselves. That way, the concept of political, development more precise in nature, Alfred Dlamont says: that political development is not that process which aims at achieving a particular political condition, but it is that process which helps in creating an institutional framework for solving an ever widening range of social problems.[48] To elucidate, this means that a political system continuously goes on facing challenges, or to use Almond's phrase, 'stress' from its environment (extra-societal and Intra-societies). To effectively and successfully meet these challenges (stressful conditions), the system must enhance its capacity as well as capability by rearranging its institutions and by reshaping its political culture. This is how Almond defines the terms political development Speaking almost in the same strain, Eisenstadt says, "Political development is the ability of a political system to, sustain continuously new types of political demands and organisation."[49] (We will explain this concept at length later.)

Conceived thus, modernization, which basically aims at transforming the society's value pattern, society cultural system and society's socio-economic structure, provides a syndrome of political development. You would obviously like to ask the meaning of the term *Syndrome*, (This term is explained in more detail in the next

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47.   C II. Dodd Political Development. MacMillan, London. 1972. p. 12

48.   Alfred Diamont, in John D. Montgomery and William H. Stiffins, 'Approaches to Development'.

49.   Ibid, p. 23.

lecture script). It simply means a characteristic feature or an essential requisite of something else. When we say that modernization is a syndrome of political development, we mean that modernization brings about so fundamental a change in the society that political development must necessarily be effected. In other, words, when the value system, or the cultural pattern or the socio-economic structure of the society gets radically transformed, obviously new and unusual nature of demands will be mounted on the system. It must either improve its political capacity by refining its input and Output structures and by refining its various types of capabilities, and hereby successfully overcome the stress or else it must breakdown. Thus, modernization paves the way for political development. Quite often as the experience of most of the third world countries provides an indication, modernization, instead of bringing about political development, leads to political breakdown and decay. We shall explain this phenomenon also in the next lesson.

Summing up our discussion on the definition of modernization, we may point out, first, that modernization presupposes the existence of a traditional society which is to be modernized: second, modernization is a long and perhaps an unending process and, third that it involve fundamental changes in all aspects of a society's life. Let us now review the features of traditional society and then switch over to the areas in which changes are effected by the drive to modernization.

11.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF A TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

Millikan and Blackmer sketch the features of traditional societies: "These were societies with hereditary hierarchical rule, living under the away of customs, rather than of law. Their economics were static and remained at the same level of limited technology and low income from one generation to the next....... Typically, at least 75 per cent, and often more, of the working force in traditional societies was in agriculture."[50] The traditional societies as the foregoing description indicates are characterized, in the first place by a high degree of social stratification, that is, the society is socially spilt up into numerous small groups, each having little to do with others and one is to confine to the group to which one has been consigned by birth. To Illustrate, the old Hindu society had been compartmentalised into narrow caste groups. Persons born in a particular caste group remained confined to that group throughout their lives. Mobility from one caste to another was practically non-existent, with the result that one must content oneself with the occupation that caste group has been performing since by-gone days. One must marry within it, and one must also respect the social customs, taboos and norms, prescribed by the society for that group. Thus traditional societies were highly stratified and they miserably lack social mobility.

As regards the political system of those society, It was structured in an authoritarian hierarchy. Highlighting this feature, Everett E. Hagen says, 'The existence of authoritarian hierarchy does not refer merely to a large mass who were submissive to a small class who rule...... Rather, every individual in a traditional

50.   Max F Millkan and Donald L. M. Blackmer. "The Emerging Nations". In Harvey G Kebschull. Politics in Traditional Societies. New York. Appleton Century Crafts School Edition. Pp. 72-73.

hierarchy is submissive to authoritarian decisions above them, and in turn exercise authority on persons below him. And this is true even of the lowliest present who, as he grows older, becomes increasingly authoritative in some aspects of social relations" [51]

The second feature of the traditional society is that one's status and official positions are inherited rather than earned. The son of a feudal chief must be a feudal lord and the son or a serf must always be a serf. In India, even to-day, the 'lambardarship' of the village or office of the sarpanch must be held by the richest families of the high caste people. Besides the so-called Marshall races must enjoy preferential treatment in matters of recruitment in the armed forces. Elaborating this feature, Everett Hagen says, "One status in the society is inherited. One does not earn it, one is born to it. The families of the politically dominating groups 'who also are economically powerful landed groups' provide officers of the armed forces and the professional classes as well as the political leaders. Lesser elites perpetuate status, with somewhat greater mobility." [52]

Thirdly, the political structures are mostly diffused and little differentiated. A village chief or a tribal leader performs all relevant roles of the locality, if a boy and a girl are to be engaged, he must not only be consulted but all proposals must meet his consent. If a husband beats his wife, the case must be referred to him. If someone violates a social custom, he must be produced before him. If some outside government official visits the village, he must pay a courtesy call on the chief. In short village, chief acts as a priest family adviser, law giver, judge and sometimes even as a doctor or a divine leader.

Fourthly, people's attitudes and behavior are governed more by religion and superstition, then by reason. They lack rationality of approach. Hence they resign themselves to their fate and are thus contented with their lot (what it is) and being least innovative they love peace and stability.

Fifthly the traditional society lives, in small rural villages and depends upon agriculture and that too is generally quite under-developed. Rampant poverty grips every hamlet. Explaining the economic aspect of traditional society, J.J. Spangler says, "Society is traditionally bound, stable and disposed to preserve stability. The family is of the extended nature, Land may be commonly owned and operated, educational attainment together with literacy is low. Much economic activity may remain unmonetized and free of regulative influences of markets. The middle class is unimportant and social-legal system in effect usually unduly restricts the enterprising. The values stressed may not encourage economic development and incentives favourable to work and enterprise may be weak." [53]

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51.   Everett E. Hegen, "How Economic Growth Begins : A Theory of Social Change" In Jason L. Finkly & Ricard W. Gable, Political Development and Social Change. John Wciley. 1971, p.73.

52.   Ibid

53.   J.J. Spangler "Economic Development: Political Preconditions and Political Consequences" in Finkle & Gable, op. cit p.162

To conclude, traditional societies are characterised by stratified social structure hierarchically organised, authoritative political system: agricultural economy; barter trade diffused socio-political roles: low literacy; poor educational and health facilities; large scale ruralisation; peace, stability, superstition and lack of rationality, under-developed industrialisation, poor science and technology.

Characteristics of Modernity and Social Change

Kuppuswamy says, "The process of modernisation is most commonly approached in terms of economic development"[54]. This view has also been expressed by a number of other writers and they may be right to some extent, for economic growth is the key to the problem of development. But economic development does not take place in a vacuum or in isolation of other factors. Everett Hagen rightly points out, "Economic growth every-where occurred interwoven with political and social change. Whatever the forces for change may be, they impinge on every aspect of human behaviour. A theory of transition to economic growth which does not simultaneously explain political change; or explain it merely as a consequence of economic change, is thus suspect"[55]. The whole society is a vast intricate network of numerous institutions and forces, all of which continuously interact with one another in countless ways. Development in one sector of life must have its impact all around. Modernization cannot therefore, be associated with one single aspect. As said earlier, it is a process of complete transformation of a traditional society. Obviously, it must bring about fundamental changes in all facets of the national life: its cultural pattern, its social fabric, its economy, its politics and its administrative machinery. That is the reason why modernization is also sometimes described as a process of social change. Let us now closely look at these various sectors and find out what and how changes are effected therein.

Cultural Pattern

The cultural pattern of a society though not directly to its politics forms a matrix wherein its value, social institutions, economy and politics are shaped. It is something fundamental in character which conditions the form and functions of all social institutions and social forces: Lucian Pye aptly remarks, "modernization is a state of mind and a modern political system can be operated effectively by people who share the, lively and rational ingredients of the modern outlook. The task of development thus boils down to the blunt need to change attitudes and feelings of people"[56]. The cultural pattern of a society consists of the '*individuals*' as well as the community's values, beliefs, opinions attitudes and symbols. In a traditional society, these components of the cultural pattern, as you know are conditioned with the help of science and technology, their environment social, ecological and natural. Accordingly, their values, attitudes, opinions and their total approach to life undergoes a racial

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54. B. Kuppuswamy: Social change in India. Delhi Vikas, 1675 p.54

55. Everett E. Hagen. Op. Cit p. 75

56. Lucian W. Pye, Aspect of Development. Delhi, Amrind. 1979, p. 89-90.

change and that, In its by religion divine revelation supernaturalism prejudice, fear and such other factors are the little based on reason. When that society undergoes the process of transformation, the conditioning factors also likewise change. Religion yields place to rationality, blind faith to critical appreciation, superstition to search for reality, Individuals develop the faculty of reason and a scientific approach, instead of pining faith in nature and feeling helpless at its vagaries they inculcate faith in themselves and try to control turn, creates an impact over the cultural pattern of the society, once individual thinking and approach is channelled in right directions ground prepared for any type of change and progress. Nehru used to emphasise this aspect of development by saying that the first task nation should do is to 'build man'. Mao, also brought about the famous cultural revolution in China with a view to radically reshaping the idea and attitudes of the whole society so that a compactly new socio-economic, political order, may emerge. Culturally, modern society is characterised by Individuals rational, scientific and progressive outlook and above all by their innovatory styles of working. The modern man seldom remains content, with what he, has, but instead is seized with an unending desire to acquire more and more and to achieve high standard of living. Having faith in science and technology, he tries to overcome all hurdles that come in his way. His mind is open and ever welcomes changes and innovation. He believes in equality and rebels against hierarchy regimentation and everything else that smacks authoritarianism. In this egalitarian society all social gains are distributed and acquired according to the democratic principle of competitiveness and fairplay. We may conclude the cultural aspect of the modern society by a quotation from Kautrky, "A modern society is characterized by a belief in the rational and scientific control of man" physical and social environment and the application of technology to that end. One could thus define the process of modernization as one of sacularisation, but it also involves great number of other Inter-related factors."[57]

Economy:

Economy is that vital sector of national life, the state of which indicates the degree of traditionalism or modernity of a society. To many a writer, as said earlier, economy forms the exclusive focus of the process of modernization. To some extent they are right because changes in this sensitive sector, pave the ground for changes in the whole spectrum of life.

Economy is a vary comprehensive multifaceted concept. It includes a vast multitude of things. To touch upon a few of them: economy of a modern society, in the first place, implies industrialisation and urbanisation. The basic economic pattern of a traditional society is conditioned by subsistent agriculture, barter, trade under - developed, marketing and banking feudal-based master servant relationship, stagnant economic growth, low literacy and low- per-capita income and expenditure, so on and so forth. Contrary to this agriculture, which does play an important role in a modern society is mechanised and progressive. The farmers grow cash crops and sell them in markets which are scientifically managed. A larger percentage of the population

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[57.]   John H. Kautsky. Op. Cit, pp 19-20

diverts, itself from agriculture to industry. The latter is ramified in multi-directions and thus plays a dominant role in the economy of a modernised society. With the growth and sophistication of industry the basic-pattern of other things also undergoes a fundamental change. The hitherto feudal-based master-servant relationship transforms into contractual employer-employee relationship. The whole social pattern comes to be modelled on the principle of egalitarianism. Trade unions/voluntary associations, pressure groups, political parties emerge into existence. Social mobilisation from one occupation to another gets remarkably facilitated. Banking marketing, trade and commerce, all come to be developed, in modern ways. Urbanisation acquires speed and a new civic culture gradually emerges. In this way, the transformation of economy on modern lines brings about changes on a wide spectrum.

Social System :-

Far more significant than economic changes are the changes that take place in the social fabric of society. For social values and social institutions furnish foundations upon which the whole super-structure of a modern society is to come up. It is due to the vital importance of change in the social sector that the process of modernisation is also frequently described as a process of social change a generic sort of terms coined to indicate the whole process of all-round transformation.

Social change in the first place is a high degree of social mobilization. As pointed out earlier the social system of traditional society is compartmentalized into innumerable small groups, which are generally based on familial, caste, tribal and material considerations. Traditional Hindu society and its pigeon-holed cast considerations furnish; perhaps, the best Illustration of this type of society. The walls separating one group from another are so strong that the members once allotted a group at the time of their birth cannot scale them throughout the whole span of their life. They must remain content with the traditional profession and social status that 'Manu' once allocated to it. Change over is just unimaginable. As a result, social mobilization from one horizontal group to another is neither possible nor desirable. Another feature of this structure is that the society is not only compartmentalized but also stratified, i.e. the groups into which it has been split up, do not lie horizontally with one another. Rather, they are put one over the other, in a rising scale of social hierarchy, as in the Hindu society, with Brahmins at the top and Shudhar at the bottom with Kshatriyas and Vaish in between, Mobilization is also not possible or allowed, from a lower group to a higher group. Traditional society is therefore, characterized by a high degree of compartmentalization and a poor degree of horizon and vertical mobility.

Self Assessment Questions
1. Define Gender.
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_____

2.   Define Ethnicity.

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Modern society is also compartmentalized as well as stratified. But the basis of both compartmentalization and stratification are quite different from those of a traditional society. They are also ; at the same time, far less rigid. In a modern society groups are formed not on caste or familial basis, but on occupational basis. Moreover, these occupational roles are not allocated right at the time of one's birth. On the, contrary, these are voluntarily assumed by the individual themselves, on the basis or their aptitude, attitude, educational attainment professional training etc. Above all, one can frequently shift oneself from one occupational group to another. Thus there is complete social mobility in a modern society. As regards stratification, its bases too are economic in character and can be explained in terms of social justice. Again, unlike the position obtaining in a traditional society, one can move vertically from one social position to another all depending upon his personal ability and effort.

The second sub area of the society social system wherein change is effected by the process modernization is its role structure. In a traditional society, roles are diffuse, i.e. one person may be performing a number of roles at one and the same time. It may be pointed out here that diffusion of is not to be confused with the phenomenon of the multi-functionality of roles. Even in modern society, one-structure generally performs more than one role. But here the roles are clearly differentiated from one from another, which is seldom the case in a traditional society. As we know, the President in our country often acts, but in different situation, as an executive, as a lawmaker and as a judge. But whenever he shifts himself from one role to another, from the executive to that of the judge, he know that he has stepped out of one role and entered into another. But when a village chief of a traditional society performs the role of a priest and then of a magistrate, he hardly know that he is performing two different roles. He does not make out distinction between these two role situations. In a traditional society the roles are quite diffused.

When a society modernizes itself, it develops a clear differentiation of roles. Not only the roles some to be specified but those who perform these roles acquire specialization. We know that lawyers, teachers, doctors, civil servants, legislators-all specialise in their respective roles. Innumerable type of new roles emerge into existence because, the society's span of activities unimaginatively expands hence proliferation of roles.

Another feature of the role structure is that in a modernized, society roles are acquired by performance and hard work, whereas in a traditional society these are inherited. A Brahmin's son must be a priest, for his father was priest. But today he can be a civil servant, military officer, a doctor or even a load carrier - all depending

upon his capability and training. In a modern society roles are earned and not inherited.

Another dominant feature of the social system of a modern society is that, there prevails complete social equality. Commenting upon this fact, James Coleman remarks, "Equality is the ethos of modernity. The quest for it and its realization are at the core of the politics of modernization."[58] All such traditional distinctions as based on caste, colour, creed, domicile, material status etc. which create undue discrimination between one set of people against another must tend to disappear and the whole society should present an integrated, homogeneous whole. Everyone's, social status and place must be determined by his work and achievements in life and by the contribution that he makes towards the well being of the society and not by his heredity and ascription. When this type of general attitude comes to prevail, the society is said to have become modernized. The new social value pattern gradually makes its impact known in other sectors of life. The politics of the society, as also its economy comes, to be patterned on competitiveness. Political parties, pressure groups and trade unions are organised on a vast and they vigorously contest their claims against one another. The elite recruitment system comes to be moderned on the merit system and open competition. The particularistic criteria of selections, are replaced by universalistic criteria. In this way the spirit of equality envelopes the whole social set-up and herein lies the hall mark of modernity.

Tradition and Modernity

The foregoing discussion is likely to give you an impression that tradition and modernity are two solar points and it is the long process of modernization which leads a society from one position (tradition) to another (modernity). All societies, particularly the western societies of Europe and North America have traversed over a long period of time spreading over a couple of centuries, from the stage of tradition to modernity. In one sense, therefore, tradition and modernity constitute two polar points of the long process. But that does not mean that when a society becomes modernized, it completely forgets its past and does not carry forward anything from its past traditions. Our global experience tells us that every society, however, modernized it may become continues to derive inspiration from the past traditions and its members often take pride in their past achievements and traditional glories. Not only that even deliberate efforts are made by the society to retain the memory of events and institutions. The British society furnishes an excellent example of that type of society if we go deep into details of their social and political life, we would find that there are numerous institutions and practices which are still maintained and observed while, their origin or their utility cannot be explained

This general social psychology notwithstanding, tradition also moulds itself to the changing environment. When the process of modernization starts, most of the traditional institutions modify themselves and thereby effectively answer the needs of changed conditions. To illustrate, the caste system of the traditional Hindu society,

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58.   Coleman. "Modernization: political aspect" in international Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences. Vol 10. p.397

was regarded as one of the most obstructive factors, hindering the progress and modernization of the society. But today we find that caste has been politicised and as such it has turned out to be very effective and potent forum of political organisation. It is thus playing a very important role in the process of modernization and political development.

We may therefore, conclude that tradition and modernity are not two extremes in the sense that one does not contribute to the other. On the contrary modernity is built on the foundations provided by tradition and the latter continues providing it not only the raw material but considerable cementing force.

We may conclude our discussion on modernity and tradition with a quotation from Finkle and Grable. "The capacity of old and new cultures and structures to exist without conflict and even with mutual adaptations is a frequent phenomenon of social change; the old is not necessarily replaced by the new. The acceptance of the new product, a new mode of decision-making does not necessarily-lead to the disappearance of the older form ... Both magic and medicine can exist side by side, used alternatively by the same people."[59]

11.3 AGENTS OF MODERNIZATION

Now we proceed to examine the agents by which modernization is brought about. Though modernization has to day, become a deliberate exercise with the developing countries, It had all along been an unguided and unplanned process. The Chain of events starting with the dawn of industrial revolution in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries automatically led these societies to the present stages of modernity. No one ever thought or knew that they were heading to such an advanced stage of science and technology. But, today it has become a cherished goal with us to attain as early as possible those high standards of living as obtained by west long time ago. We are caught in a revolution of rising expectations and we are, therefore striving hard to achieve our goal. There are a number of agencies which are helping us to achieve our goal. Important amongst them may be identified, as under:

1. Colonialism :- The earliest political agency that sowed the seeds of modernisation in almost all the developing societies of today was colonialism. Motivated with the desire of governing the colonies for their own benefit and to extract as much raw materiel for their home industries as was possible, the colonial rulers took keen interest to build a sound system of law and order, administration and an efficient bureaucracy. They also built up road and rail system, telegraph and telephone service, established some banking facilities also, erected a few power houses and few processing plants all with a view to transport raw material from the remote corners of the country to the seaports. Since the staffing of the lower-level bureaucratic position by their own countrymen was a costly affair, they also established schools and colleges so that properly educated '*baboos*' could be manufactured for their services. Whatever might have been the objective of these rules the fact remains that colonisation did play an important role in ushering in the process of modernization.

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59.   Op. cit. p. 19

2.   Elites :- The second important agent of modernization is the local-elite. The schools and colleges that are established by colonial rulers considerably help, boost the educational level among the traditional elites of the society. Some of their young men also go abroad to receive a still higher education, primarily with a view to successfully competing against the aspirant youngmen of the colonial-folk for the higher civil services These youngmen exposed to the environments of different societies when return home undertake a campaign against cramping traditional institutions and practices. Thus, they assume the role of crusaders. If we look back upon history of the 19th century and earlier 20th century of our own country, we find that it was this type of elite which had become instrumental in pushing up the process of modernization. The role played by men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Gopal Krishan Gokhale, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak, Gandhi, Nehru and innumerable such other youngmen, is highly significant in this respect. The elite first leads a movement for the political emancipation of their country and when that, goal is achieved it undertakes a planned programme for the all-round development of their society. In this way, indigenous elite acts as one of the principal agencies of modernization.

3.   Revolutionary Leaders :- Sometimes leaders who suddenly emerge to importance as a result of some social crisis, also come to play a significant role in modernization process. Having risen out of a crisis, they hold a great degree of respect among their people. The latter not only look to them as their saviour but also as one who would further protect and safeguard their interests. Further, they being the sole possessor of authority are not cramped by other influence, hence better placed to bring about any change or reform in the system. This type of leaders have been successful in modernizing many a society. If to-day Turkey can boost of a modernized society, much credit goes to Kamal Ataturk who laid sound foundations of such a society. Nearer home, we know that General Ayub who emerged a hero. In Pakistan in 1958 had been responsible for affecting, far reaching reforms in the system of his country. Many such names can be counted.

4   Political Parties :- The contribution that political parties make toward, the modernizing process is not only lasting but also of a highly ramifying nature. Political parties when properly organised channel the politics of a country on competitive lines, which in its turn makes the leadership broad-based, infuse consciousness among all sections of the people the bases of organisation undergo radical changes, the social pattern comes to be restructured on secular lines, the political culture acquires new orientation. Thus, all round change tends to sweep the country. But one thing must be kept in view and that is that political parties should be allowed to have a free play and should not be cramped in any way. If the society's elite begin to apprehend danger to their authority, it scuttles the freedom of the parties and this action makes the parties (whatever is left of them) an instrument of indoctrination. Modernization still takes place, as we have seen in the case of former USSR and China, but it is not that ramifying in nature as has been the case in a contrary situation.

5.   Military :- Another effective agency of modernization is the military. Military is perhaps the most modern segment of society and it generally emerges to power at a time when the existing regime makes society stagnant by its internecine strife or by its

utter weakness to control the forces of rebellion or by its incapacity to effectively and promptly answer the mounting demands on the system. Emerging in the face of such national crisis, its principal objective is to modernize the structure of government and thereby make it an effective instrument for social action. With this commitment in view, it tries to speed up the process of modernization. The recent developing countries Pakistan, Burma, Turkey, Egypt, Ethiopia etc. - tells us that military regime has contributed considerably toward modernization of these societies. These regimes have been particularly helpful in speeding up the process of land reforms, industrialisation and even in institution building specially at the grass-root level Military has, thus, proven to be quite an effective agency of modernization.

6. **Bureaucracy :-** Another very important, agency of modernization is the bureaucracy. The experience of the developing countries reveals that with the exit of the alien rulers the higher level bureaucratic positions are also vacated and then in due course of time, a new indigenous branch of bureaucracy is built up. Its incumbents who being the sons of soil and also constituting the intelligentia of the society, possess dedication for the social cause. Their positions of authority further reinforce their will as well as their competence to work more vigorously. They, thus, seek to enthusiastically implement the national politics, on the one hand, and to suitably articulate and aggregate the demands of various sections of the community, on the other. They also help socialise their brethren in new values and roles. When, for instance, they go from their places of posting to their remote villages, even on short casual visits, they vary with them, their new styles of fashions, living and thinking, which gradually cast a profound moulding influence on their rural brethren, In this way, bureaucracy helps bring about wide ranging modernization of the society.

Besides these six principal agencies of modernization, there may be a few more. Since they function in certain societies (and not in all) and their range is also comparatively restricted, their impact and role cannot be generalised in the manner as has been the case of the above mentioned agencies. In certain societies, as for instance, Iran, Nepal and Saudi Arabia, traditional monarchs, have played a very significant role in modernizing their societies. When they apprehended danger to their regime they modified their working style and assumed the role of modernizers.

11.4 SUMMARY

Modernization is a process by which social changes take place and a less developed societies acquire the features of developed societies. It thus implies fundamental re-shaping of the entire social set up including the value pattern, cultural, socio-economic structure and the political aspect. This however is not contribute to the other. There are a number of agencies by which modernization is brought about and chief among these are colonialism, elites, revolutionary leaders, political parties, military and bureaucracy.

11.5 FURTHER READINGS

1. Michael Curtis. *Comparative Government and Politics*. New York. Harper & Row, 2000.

2. O.P. Guaba. *An Introduction to Political Theory*. Palgrave, 2006.

11.6 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What do you mean by modernization?

2. What are the features of traditional society?

THEORIES OF MODERNIZATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Structure

12.0 Objectives

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Modernization Theories

12.3 Polity Development Theory

12.4 Historical stages of Modernization

12.5 Summary

12.6 Further Readings

12.7 Model Questions

12.0 OBJECTIVES

- Acquaint you with different modernization theories that have been put forward from the 17th Century onward

- Gain an insight into Apter's views on Modernization.

- Familiarize you with historical stages of growth as propounded by Rostow.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous lesson we discussed at length the concept of Modernization. In this lesson we propose to discuss various theories regarding Modernization. As you know the modernization theory is a description and explanation of the process of transformation from traditional or underdeveloped societies to modern societies. Historically modernization is a process of change towards those types of social economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from seventeenth century to the 20th century. However different scholars have approached modernization from different, angles. Some have emphasized the psychological and cultural aspect while other placed more emphasis on technological development, polity development or on social mobilization.

12.2 THEORIES

Though it is very difficult to identify theories of modernization in a clear cut manner, the discussion may however be converged around the following theories.

1. Psychological Theory.

2. Social mobilization Theory.

3. Technological Development Theory.

4.   Policy Development Theory.

1. Psychological Theory: Modernization as you know in involves a radical change in the basic psychological make up of the individuals. It is a common experience of the people all over the world that nationals of the under-developed countries constitute a contented lot even though they are afflicted with all types of ills. Centuries of long suppression has killed in them the very sensitiveness to suffering. Moreover they have deep faith in tradition, religion, magic and superstition. Modernization brings about a change in the thinking and outlook of the people. With growing modernization, people develop faith in science and technology. With modernization, there emerges a civic culture characterized by industrialization, urbanization, mass education, mass participation, competitive politics, secularization and equality. Defining modernization Lucian Pay say, "modernization is the process of profound social change in which tradition, bound villages of tribal based societies are compelled to react to the pressures and demands of the modern, industrialized and urban centred world."

Modernization thus implies fundamental reshaping of the whole social set-up of a society, that is the reason why it is also described as a process, of social change. It is a long process spread over decades, if not over centuries in the course of which innumerable social operations are carried out and most of them have to be endlessly repeated. The foregoing discussion makes it amply clear that modernization implies changes in the social, economic and cultural sphere. It is total transformation of the society.

As already explained the countries of the third world had to face number of problems at the time of their liberation. They had before them the gigantic task of building their nations and also achieve the goals of modernization and political development. In these countries all these three processes are taken up simultaneously. It has been suggested by many Western scholars that these new nations should go ahead with the modernization process, as modernization brings about change in the psychological make up of the individual. There comes greater awareness among the people. They develop participatory orientations. The spread of education widens their horizons and helps them come out of their shells. They give up their narrow loyalties and start thinking in terms of the nation. Once people identify themselves with their nation, the task of nation building becomes much easier.

There is no denying the feet that unless the basic thinking and attitudes of the people are radically changed and certain structural changes comes in the society, the nation building cannot even be though of. But undue emphasise on modernization sometimes creates chaos in the society. The Western societies did not have to face these problems as their nations were build much before the process of modernization.

2. Social Mobilization Theory: Social mobilization is a term associated with the overall process of change. It is the hypothesis of Karl Deutsche that an under-developed society is quite stagnant. There does not take place any change in it. Its members seldom go from one place to another. They do not change their occupations. Whatever occupation is assigned to a person at the time of his birth, he continues sticking to it till his death they have fixed habits and aspirations. No change whatsoever occurs in them. But when society begins to change itself, many new

avenues open before it. When for instance equality is established, people no longer believe in discriminations based on caste colour, religion and the like. They develop greater awareness about their surroundings. Now they are not condemned permanently to one occupation as has been assigned to them at the time of their birth no the basis of their caste. People frequently change their occupations. They get a chance to move out of their native places and mix up with people from different areas.

Their aspirations also go up. The growing pace of industrialization and urbanization that is also taken up simultaneously by the developing societies further induces the people to leave their ancestral rural hamlets and seek job in cities. Along with the change in their habitat, numerous other social, economic, cultural and psychological changes also occur by and by. All these changes which contribute to the development of society are described by Karl Deutsche as social mobilization. He defines social mobilization as "the process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour". Edward shills and Mannheim too uphold this view. They assert the same thesis that social mobilization first of all involves the stage of uprooting and breaking away from old setting habits and commitments and then the induction of mobilized persons into some relatively stable new patterns of group membership, organization and commitment. Thus the basic premise of this theory is that social mobilization by bringing about social change paves the way for modernization. But this again projects, the one side view of the problem.

3. **Technological Development Theory:** This theory highlights the importance of scientific and technological advance of a society. It is considered view of the some of the social scientists that so long as a society does not apply modern science and technology to such vital sectors of society as agriculture industry, communication, transport, mass media and the like, it is not going to strengthen itself. They tend to calculate the degree of development of a society by such indices as the quantity of steel coal, energy fertilizers and chemicals that it produces, per capita electricity or newspapers that it consumes, the network of roads, rails, telephones and telegraph lines it has spread and above all its gross national products (GNP).

The economic advancement with the help of science and technology no doubt strengthens the governmental apparatus. With greater advancement of transport and communication system mass media etc. It has become easy for the administration to reach every nook and corner of the country. If the government is in a position to penetrate throughout the length and breadth of the country, it definitely creates awareness among the people about the existence of the central government. It also helps break narrow loyalties of the people and change their attitude and orientations towards politics, these changes go a long way in building the nation on sound footing.

We may here refer to John Kantsky's views. John Kaustly, unlike both Almond and Apter approaches the concept of modernization from a psychological angle. To him, modernization implies an inculcation of a belief in science and technology in the common man. In other words, when the members of a society begin to realise that they can control and harness to their benefit their social and physical environments with

the help of modern science and technology- that society can conveniently be described as modern. For, it is an established feature of an under-developed society that its members take their environment as given and feel utterly helpless to modify it, much less control it, for their own advantage. In fact, such an idea can never strike to them at all. They are steeped in ignorance and thus develop a sense of utter helplessness. You must have observed that (some of us even to-day call in astrologers rather than doctors when fail sick. We still treat Sun, Moon, rain and other elements of nature as something beyond our reason and comprehension. We worship them, All these are the signs of under-development. When this faith is replaced by reason, helplessness by self-confidence and science and technology are adopted as a way of life, we will have modernized ourselves. To Kautsky, therefore, faith in science arid technology is the central feature of modernization.

It will be wrong on our part to think that Kautsky does not go beyond this. He also interprets modernization in terms of such changes of the socio-economic nature as "extensive social inter-dependence, trade and communication: urbanization widespread literacy and the availability of higher education; and a relatively high degree of social mobility and of placement according to merit. While speaking of urbanization, he emphasise that it is not essential that we have more and more of large cities for large cities also exit in under-developed societies. But what is important is that a significant portion of the population of the country lives in large urban areas and consequently depends upon non-agricultural occupations. He thus underlines the fact that a modernized society is not only quantitatively different from an under-developed society but also (and more importantly) qualitatively different. For, its way of living and its approach to the society's problems show an altogether a new orientation.

Kautsky distinguishes between the process of modernization from within and without. By the former he means that process of social change which grows gradually from within a society and "in a sense, organically and it brought about by natives of the society, Modernization from without, on the other hand, involves a rather sudden break with the hitherto traditional post and can be brought to a society either by foreigners or by some, of its own natives or by both." He further maintains, that "ideas, processes and material elements that initiate modernization are of native origin in the case of modernization from within and of foreign origins in the case of modernization from without."

This theory does try to project the importance of technological advance but it also explains the issue only partially. One main grouse against the Western theorists is that they attach too undue importance to economic development and technological advancement of the society. The result is that they make the developing societies to look to the developed societies for all types of assistance. So long as equally great emphasis is not put on the social and political development, economic development will not lead a society anywhere. Other apart, economic development unless suitably supplemented by the proper distribution method, is bound to create an ever widening gap between, the rich and the poor, making the latter lead a miserably sad life. They may develop a feeling of alienation from the system, which is a great hindrance in the way of nation-building.

12.3 POLITY DEVELOPMENT THEORY

All the above mentioned theories consider various ingredients of social change and nation-building in a disjoined and isolated way and tend to equate it with one or another. They overlook the fact that all of them just constitute various aspects of a larger concept called modernization and development, we must also not overlook the fact that without the development of the polity, modernization and development is not possible.

There are number of social scientists who interpret modernization and political development in terms of strengthening of the political structures of the society. They are of the firm view that ultimate goal of development and social change is the improvement in the polity's capability to cope with the crisis that political system faces at every juncture. It is with this end in view that serious efforts are made towards structural differentiation, role specialization, sub-system autonomy, cultural socialization and the like Alfred Diamont remarks…….” development is not a process which aims at achieving a particular political condition, but one which creates an institutional frame-work for solving an ever widening range of social problems. "It is a process which includes social and economic changes but the focus is the development of governmental capacity to direct the course and the rate of social arid economic change."

Lucian Pye attaches very great importance to the development of the system's capacity, to effectively meet the challenges that it receives both from within and from outside. He makes the system's capacity as one of the three elements of his development syndrome. He is of the view that as a political system begins to develop, the quantum of the inputs into it increase and their nature becomes more intricate unless the system's capacity to suitably cope with the demands in appreciably improved with the help of the differentiation of roles and secularization of its culture, it will break down. It is therefore highly imperative that development should involve the development of the system's capacity. Almond the Powell also make a parallel observation. The impulses development involve some significant change in the magnitude and content of the flow of inputs into the political system. The structure and culture of a political system has to cope with the problems and challenges which confront it. This requires greater structural differentiation and secularization of political culture.

To sum up, this theory underlines the centrality of the polity. It is polity alone which can suitably lake care of the various aspects of modernization and can bring about an all round and integrated growth of the whole society. Those days are gone when economic or cultural development could safely be left to the care of the private agencies. The policy of laissez-faire has long since been discarded. Now the polity has come to occupy the central hub of society. Every activity is regulated by it modernization-process cannot therefore be effected without taking the polity into confidence. In fact most of the things are initiated and managed by the policy.

Like Lucian Pie, David E Apter also attaches great importance to differentiation of roles and system's capability. Giving his exposition of views on modernization and political development in his book. *The Politics of Modernization*, David Apter ranks

political development, modernization and industrialization in this descending order in view of the breath of field that these concepts seeks to cover. According to him, political development is the most general concept and it implies "the proliferation and integration of functional roles in a community. "Modernization, on the other hand, is a comparatively more specific concept implying three condition, namely, "a social system that can constantly innovate without falling apart, differentiated and flexible social structures and a social framework to provide the skills, and knowledge necessary for living in a technologically advanced world." Industrialization is a still more specific concept. Being a special aspect of modernization, industrialization indicates a period in the life of a society when its strategic roles are related to manufacturing. [60]

Like Gabriel Almond, David Apter also attaches the highest importance to the differentiation or roles. He maintains that every society possesses a certain pattern of role structures. These structures are highly diffuse in so far as the traditional societies are concerned. As they embark upon the process of modernization, some of the existing role structures develop new orientations without changing their basic character (he describes these roles as accomodationist) while some others get differentiated and in course of time also as science and technology, urbanization and industrialization, educational spread and mass media development-further accelerate the process of the differentiation and specialization of roles.

When various types of roles impinge upon the life of an individual, he comes to develop varied types of relations with varied types of people. The web of social relationship also becomes more and more intricate. This in its turn leads to the modification of norms governing the social conduct of the individuals. Their aspirations and goals also undergo a radical change Highlighting importance of this change, Apter very rightly remarks that "today an analysis of society proceeds in terms of professionalization, skill, technology, rationality and functionality all terms that we associate with modern society. We identify these abstractions in terms of particular strategic roles in the society, for example, the civil servant, the hydraulic engineer, the community development expert, the university lecturer. How sharp is the contract to traditional roles of the chief the priest the queen mother, the bearer of the king's patrimory.

Speaking in the process of the differentiation of roles, Apter points out that one of the two important key sets of modernization indices is "career and entrepreneurship roles (numbers and persuasiveness)" Though difficult to analyse, the former term implies that role are keenly competed for and are held by way of a career. We may illustrate by referring to your attention how in the modern world such roles as those of civil service, teaching, law, medicine and so much so even, politics are openly sought and obtained through competition and afterwards they are held as a life long, implying that those who hold them try to perfect them step by step. As regards entrepreneurship, it implies that holders of various roles, function in a creative and innovative way, accepting and surmounting challenges at every step. They even devise ways of training those who after them may be recruited to those roles. Thus, we find

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60.   David E. Apter: The Politics of Modernization. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago 1969 p.67

that according to Apter, modernization in the first place implies differentiation and specialization of roles.

Apter further points out that the accomodationist, differentiated and new roles that emerge in the wake of the modernizing process are generally incompatible with one another. Efforts to adjust them by modification and rearrangement create further complications in the sense that they touch upon the basic stratification system of the society. For there is generated a spirit and urge for equality, on one side, and on the other. Those who enjoy superiority and status seek to extend and even perpetuate that existing stratification system. The result is that there arises social tension between equality and stratification which, if not checked in time, might jeopardize the very unity of the society. How the system copes with this type of challenge would reflect its degree of modernity. For modernization is the process of consciously directing and controlling the social consequences of increased role differentiation and organizational complexity in a society.

The efforts to settle or to avoid this social tension maintains Apter, induct an element of politics into the process of modernization. People expect their leadership to lead them, from the status of dependence to (political) independence, and later on; to "breaking dominance-submission relationship." Efforts to this end lead among other things to the introduction of science and technology and also to economic development which aims at a tremendous rise (as quickly as possible) in the gross national product (GNP) and in the per capita income. These efforts in their turn, unleash a variety of roles expectations and norms of conduct. The process goes on endlessly.

The commulative impact of all these changes is that we now need a social system which on the one hand, may be able 'to consistently innovative without falling apart' in the fact of growing challenges and on the other may be able to provide skills and knowledge necessary for living in a technologically advanced world. These conditions indirectly imply a new type of psychology on the part of society. People should develop a will to change. When that will is acquired the system will automatically get modernized.

To sum up, Apter approaches the concept of modernization and political development from three angles-psychological, structural and system's capability. Modernization first creates differentiation of roles which lead to varied types of changes in the value pattern of the society and finally system's capability to face challenges undergoes change.

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Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define Modernity.

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   _____
   _____

2.   Two features of Social Mobilisation Theory.

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12.4 HISTORICAL STAGES OF MODERNIZATION

W.W. Rostow in his book "Stages of Economic Growth" (1960) argued that in their economic dimensional, all societies lay within one of the five historical categories.

1.	Traditional societies had limited "production functions" (i.e. combinations of factors of production) based in pre-Newtonian science, Primitive technologies and spiritual attitudes toward the physical world. These placed a ceiling no productivity and limited economies to the agricultural level. A hierarchical social structure, in which political power was held by landowners, provided little scope for social mobility. The value system was derived from long-run fatalism. Rostow admitted that placing infinitely various, changing societies in a single category said little about them, but he justified such historical conflation as necessary for clearing the way to get at his main subject, the post traditional societies where each of the major characteristics of the traditional society was altered to permit regular growth (Rostow 1960 : 6)

2.	The second universal stage was the development of a set of preconditions for takeoff. These cohered in Western Europe in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the insights of modern science were translated into new production functions in agriculture and industry in a setting given dynamism by international expansion. Favored by geography, trading possibilities, and political structure, Britain was first to develop these preconditions. Elsewhere they arose not endogenously, but exogenously from intrusions originating in more advanced societies. These external influences shook traditional society and either began, or hastened, its undoing, Essentially this undoing involved the spread of the idea of progress, not just as a possibility but also as a necessary conditions for some other purpose judged to be good-for example, national dignity or private profit, Education expanded, new people came forward, banks appeared, investment increased, the scope of commerce broadened, manufacturing plants sprang up-all, however, within societies still characterized predominantly by traditional methods, structurers, and values.

3.	Takeoff was the "great watershed in the life of modern societies," when blockages and resistance to steady growth were finally over come. In Britain and the "well - endowed parts of the world populated substantially from Britain" the proximate stimulus for takeoff was mainly technological, but elsewhere a political context favorable to modernization was also necessary. During takeoff the rate of effective investment rose from 5% of national income to 10% or more, new industries expanded, profits were ploughed back, urban industrial employment increased, and the class of entrepreneurs expanded. New techniques spread to agriculture and, in just a decade or two, the social and political structures of society were transformed so that steady economic growth could be sustained. A question, immediately arose ; If the breakup of traditional societies came exogenously from demonstration effects from other societies how could the first takeoff in Britain be accounted for ? Rostow's answer (1960:31) was that a combination of necessary and sufficient conditions for takeoff in Britain was "the result of the convergence of the number of quite independent circumstances, a kind of statistical accident of history which, once having occurred, was irreversible, like the loss of innocence." The more exact answer to the question unfolded as a synthesis of two features of postmedieval Europe: external (geographic) discoveries and

the internal development of modern science. Rostow also found crucially significant Britain's toleration of religious nonconformists (i.e. Hoselitz's "social deviants"), the country's relatively open social structure, and the early achievement of a national consciousness in response to threats from abroad- this last, he said, placed the first instance back into the general case of societies modernization in response to intrusions from abroad.

4.   Following takeoff, a society drives toward maturity over a long interval of time as modern technology spreads over the whole front of its economic activity, 10-20% of the national income is invested, and growth outstrips any increase in population. Some 60 years after takeoff a society attains maturity, that is, a state in which there is sufficient entrepreneurial and technical skills to produce anything it chooses-machine tools, chemicals and, electrical equipment industries were examples.

5.   This led eventually to the final stage of high mass consumption, where the leading industrial sectors become durable consumer goods and services. Real income rises to a level permitting a large number of people, to consume at levels far in excess of their needs, and the structure of the work force changes toward the urban skilled and office types of employment. Western societies at this level might choose to allocate increased resources to social welfare and social security. Stage 5 was reached by the United States in the 1920s and, more fully, in the immediate postwar decade; Western Europe and Japan entered this state in the 1950s; the Soviet Union had the technical capacity to enter Stage 5 should its communist leaders allow (Rostow 1960 :12).

Such were the universal stages of growth lying between traditional and modern, undevelopment and development. Rostow's stage theory occupied a leading position in conventional development thinking in the 1960s, when liberal attitudes toward the Third World were being established : for example, these ideas formed the basis of the historical understanding in much of development economics (Meier 1984), while versions of Rostow can be found in the foreign policy sections of speeches by John F. Kennedy (his Inaugural Address, for instance; see Chapter 6). The policy implications of this stage theory were clear : traditional societies wishing to develop need only copy the already-proven example of the West, while generous Werstern governments should send armies of modernizers, like Peace Corps Volunteers or retired corporate executives, to the benighted people of the Third World awaiting the rational speak of business oriented thinking. In economic and geographical terms, given the initial development of modernity in the restricted space of Euro- America (and Japan), "backward" countries should encourage the diffusion of innovation from the advanced centre should adopt markets, as that mode of economic intergration, and should welcome U.S. aid, investment, coopration and direction.

12.5 SUMMARY

Modernization theories as "propounded by the Western Scholors describe as to how the transformation from traditional to modern societies take place. If some focus on attitudinal change or change brought about by technological advancement or transformation taking place in political systems or in economies. Some theories emphasize on comprehensive change that effects the entire society. There exists considerable overdeveloping in all the theories. An intergrated view of all the theories is necessary to understand the process of modernization.

12.6 FURTHER READINGS

1. Jean Blondel. *An Introduction to Comparative Government,* London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998.

2. O.P. Guaba. *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Palgrave, 2006.

12.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Explain After's view in Modernization.

2. What Rostow describes as stages of Modernization.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Structure

13.0 Objectives

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Political development and modernization

13.3 View of different writers on political development

13.4 The Development - Syndrome

13.5 History and Pattern of Development

13.6 Huntington's concept of Political decay

13.7 Summary

13.8 Further Readings

13.9 Model Questions

13.0 OBJECTIVES

Objectives of the lesson are to enable you to :

- understand the concept of political development,

- know its linkage with the concept of modernization,

- examine the concept of political decay,

13.1 INTRODUCTION

In this lecture script we shall study the concept of political development and political decay. Political development, like modernization, is also a vague concept and hence it defies attempts to put it in a straight definitional jacket. The confusion that it suffers from is illuminated by the fact that Lucian Pye, while writing about the various aspects of political development, comes across as many as ten different points of view on to the subject.[1] He wonders as to which one of them correctly explains the concept of political development. A brief reference to these points of view will give you an idea about the range of the conceptual variance of the subject. These are:

1. Political development is the political pre-requisite of economic development;

2. Political development is the politics typical of industrial societies;

3. Political development is political modernization:

4. Political development is the operation of nation state;

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[1]   Lucian W. Pye. 'Aspects of Political Development', Amrind, New Delhi, pp. 33-45.

5. Political development is administrative and legal development;

6. Political development is mass mobilization and participation;

7. Political development is the building of democracy;

8. Political development is stability the orderly change;

9. Political development is mobilization and power; and

10. Political development is one aspect of a multi-dimensional process of social change.

This list, thus, makes up clear as to how wide-ranging is the difference of opinion among the students of political development. From this jungle of confusion and controversy, Pye isolated the dominant conditions which characterise political development. These are: *equality, capacity and differentiation (ECD)*. He describes them as the *development syndrome*. Pya, this understands political development essentially in terms of fundamental structural functional and cultural changes in the Political system.

13.2 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND MODERNIZATION

Since political development, unlike modernization, is a goal-oriented process, its primary focus is not the development of what, but the development for what. It is H. Wriggins Almond, Eisenstadt and others who suitably answer this question. H. Wriggins says that political development is the "growth of Institutions and practices that allow a political system to deal with its own fundamental problems more effectively in the short run, while working towards more responsiveness of the regime to popular demands in the long run"[2]. He thus adds a problems solving bias to the system. Proceeding further we find that Almond interprets political development in terms of the enhanced capability of the system. He says that political development is " … the acquisition of a new capability in the sense of a specialised role and structure and differentiated orientations which together give a political system the possibility of responding efficiently and more or less autonomously to a new range of problems. Speaking almost in the same strain, Eisenstadt equates political development to the ability of the system to sustain continuously new types of political demands and organisation. To quote him, "political modernization creates in its wake problems of sustained political growth as its central problem………. the ability to deal with continuous changes in political demands is the crucial test…. and is the crucial focus of political modernization."[3]

The foregoing discussion leads us to conclude that political development, like modernization, is also progress through which all traditional societies must pass through in order to keep abreast with the advanced societies of the west and east. But where modernization vaguely aims at the inculcation of a new temper and attitude

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[2]   Quoted by Alfred Diamont in John D. Montgomery and William H. Siffin (ed.) Approaches to Development. Politics and Administration Mc Graw Hill. 1966. p.23

[3]   Ibid., pp. 23-26

based on modern science and technology, *political development is a deliberate attempt to restructure the whole political set up of a traditional society with A definite objective of enhancing its capacity as well as capability in order to effectively meet the challenge of new and more demands and thereby acquire stability and strength.* Emphasising these aspect of political development Karl Van Vorys says, "It is a process which includes social and economic changes,' but whose focus is the development of government capacity to direct the course of and the rate of social end economic changes."[4] All the writers named above, Pye; Almond, Wriggins, Elsehstadt view the concept of political development in quite comprehensive terms so as to include both the content and the focus of political changes.

13.3 VIEW OF DIFFERENT WRITERS ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Now we shall discuss in somewhat detail the views of different scholars.

One of the earliest persons to have undertaken a keen interest in the current process of political development is Gabrlal A. Almond. In 1959, he wrote *The Politics of Developing Areas* alongwith James Coleman. In 1966, he wrote another book, *Comparative Politics. A developmental Approach* in collaboration with Bingham G. Powell. In this latter book, he presents a more mature account of his concept of political development and comparative politics.

Almond, tries to interpret political development in terms of "three inter-related variables-role differentiation, sub-system autonomy and secularization;"[5] Being one of the exponents of the functional theory in politics, Almond approaches the whole concept of political development from the standpoint of the structures of the system. He is of the firm conviction that as a society begins to develop itself its structural pattern also undergoes a gradual but a radical change. He maintains that in an undeveloped system (he calls it an *intermittent political system*) like that an Eskimo tribe (which lives in icy land of Canada) there are so set political roles or structures. Occasionally, when need be (i.e. whenever a quarrel takes place among its members, say over a woman) the community meets and settles the issue. Gradually, when the society expands, it develops political roles and structures. This is the second stage of development no roles and structures appear. But they are still monopolised by one single individual or group, who/which takes all decisions. Further, the inter-role relationship is highly personal in character to substantiate his argument, he refers to Max Weber's three main type of traditional *authority-patriarchal* (In which membership of the society is based on kinship), *patrimonial* (In which there exists an administrative staff, specialized roles - but all controlled by the ruler) and *feudalism* (a system wherein relationship is based on purely personal ties between Lord and serf).

The third major step in the development of the political system arises when roles not only get differentiated but specialized also. At this stage, there also emerge,

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4. Wason Finkle and Richard W. Gable, Political Development and Social Change. John Wiley and Sons. Second edition, p.65.

5. Gabriel A. Almond, Comparative Politics, A developmental Aproach, Little Brown & Company, Boston, 1966 p. 306.

besides the formal structures of the government, numerous informal structures such as political parties, pressure groups and the media of mass communication with a view to processing and communicating to the political system growingly complex demand of the members. Almond describes these structures, as *specialized political Infrastructure* of the system.

Another point to be noted in this respect is that not only does a developing system develops differentiated structures, but these structures after having been separated from one another develop an element of autonomy. The sub-system autonomy is one of the three salient features of the developed system. Almond attaches great significance to this aspect of political development. He maintains that "that extent to which a political system is structurally differentiated and the relative autonomy of its roles and sub-system will affect the performance, or capability patterns of the political, system.[6] A political system which maintains a specialized role structure say for the collection of taxes, will have a high degree of extractive capability, Similarly, one which maintains an efficient and elaborate police force will do well on the regulative side of its capability.

The third important feature of political development is the secularization of political culture. An under-developed political system is characterized by a diffuse culture in which the members of system do not have the awareness of the political system as an independent entity. Their cognitive level is miserably limited to their immediate neighbourhood/tribe/village. Likewise their actions and thinking are also highly parochial in character. But as the system develops, and roles get differentiated and specialized, culture orientations also get secularized. "Secularization is the process whereby men become increasingly rational, analytical and empirical in their political action.[7] In other words this means that not only the members of the system become aware of the system's roles and structures, but also develop participant orientations. The emergence of participative orientations on the part of the members of the system further leads to the erosion, of rigid, ascribed and diffuse customs of social interaction," and in their place, there gradually arise "a set of codified specifically political and universalistic rules." In other words, it means that earlier people, believed that various roles are the preserve of a certain section of the people who filled them on the basis of their heredity and wealth. But now when everyone becomes conscious and keen to compete for various types of roles, he wishes to develop objective criteria of selection, based on universalist (rather than particuleristic standards. As a result, there ensures a healthy open competition for political (as also for other) roles.

Thus to Gabriel Almond, a politically developed society is one where there existed a wide-ranging and autonomous political infra-structure and where political culture is oriented to free and open competition.

Samuel Huntington another keen student of political development interprets this, concept in terms of political institutionalisation. In his famous article, "Political

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6.   Ibid p. 49

7.   Ibid p. 24

Development and Political Decay" written in the *World Politics* in 1965, he says that political development of a society is to be measured by the degree of its institutionalisation. Defining institutionalisation, he says that "it is the process by which organisations and procedures acquire value and stability. The level of institutionalisation of any political system can be defined by the adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence" of its organisation and procedures. So also the level of institutionalization of any particular organization or procedure can be measured by its adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence.[8] This definition of institutionalization mainly implies two things. First, that all organizations, practices and procedures of society must be properly put in the form of institution so that they attain an element of permanence and society-wide respect and adherence. When that level is attained the social life would be better organised and regulated. In the second place, institutionalization implies that these institutions possess a degree of complexity, coherence and adaptability. Complexity indicates what Pye means by differentiation, whereas adaptability implies both flexibility and capacity of the institutions to cope with the changing environments.

Huntington's concept of institutionalisation makes out a proper case for a distinction between political development and modernisation. The latter phenomenon, he maintains produces an unprecedented degree of social mobilisation, which if not suitably matched with proper institutionalisation, would lead to political decay rather than to: political development. To quote him, "For this purpose, it is useful to distinguish political development from modernisation and to identify political development with the institutionalization of political organisation and procedures. Rapid increases in mobilisation and participation, the principal political aspects of modernisation undermine political institution. Rapid modernisation, in brief precedes not political development but political decay."[9]

Another concept of political development which deserves and reference, is that of Roland Pennock which he elaborated in his essay, entitled "Political Development, Political Systems and Political Goods". Published in World Politics (April 1965). He interprets political development in terms of political goods. This is again a new term that you are coming across for the first time. By political goods, he refers to such essential needs of human beings as security, welfare, justice and liberty. Although some of these political goods involve an element of mutual conflict with one another, yet all of them need to be realised by every human being, with the help and assistance of the polity. How far a polity succeeds in making available to its citizens these goods, depends upon the level of its political development. Elucidating further, he says that the polity maintains a variety of formal and informal political institutions, as also governmental and constitutional arrangements. It is upon the mutual relationship of these institutions and also upon their operation, as determined and shaped by the political culture of a society that success of the system's efforts to make political goods available to its members depends.

[8.] Quoted by Harvey G. Hebschull (ed) Politics in Transitional Societies, New York, Appleton Century Grotfs, 1973, p. 55.

[9.] Ibid p. 54.

In sum, Pennok's concept of political goods, like that of Huntington, is institution based. Both of them are of the opinion that to develop a society politically we should take care of the institutions, and of legal and political apparatuses of the society, this is thus a legal-institutional approach. They do not pay much attention to the manner in which these institutions function and also (more importantly) to those factors and forces that shape their actual behavior. Viewed from this angle Pye and Coleman's ECD approach (equality, capacity and differentiation) is much broader and hence conveys more correct meaning of political development. We cannot describe that a system is politically developed which has established refined, modern political structures without taking adequate care to see that political culture is also similarly oriented so as to make these structures function efficiently. Where it is important to modernize structures on differentiated lines, it is equally important to create healthy environment so that they function effectively and thereby promote the capacity as well as capability of the system to successfully cope with the challenges that are generated sometimes from within and sometimes from the environment. Thus the touchstone of political development is the capacity of the system. Let us now focus our attention on Pye and Coleman's ECD theory.

13.4 THE DEVELOPMENT SYNDROME

The idea of development syndrome originally conceived by Lucian Pye and latter on accepted and elaborated among others by Coleman, aptly Illustrates areas in which the process of political development effects fundamental changes. A discussion of this syndrome, comprising equality, differentiation and capacity, will clearly bring out all the Implications of political development.

Equity:- Equalitarianism is the first and the foremost characteristic of a developed society. Equalitarianism means that equality should pervade "all aspects of modern political life and the culture and all forms of modern political ideology."[10] For purposes of political development, those areas have been identified wherein equality must be enforced both as a rule, and as a matter of attitude and approach these are national citizenship, legal order and role allocation :

In the first place, all citizens must be treated alike in so far as the enjoyment of their civil and other rights is concerned. None should be discriminated against another on the basis of one's, caste sex, material worth or anything of the sort. One must be entitled to all benefits that accrue to one's neighbour- simply because he is as good a citizen of his state as the latter is Equality in citizenship is the first basic condition which if satisfactorily fulfilled enables a person to freely participate in the social affairs of the community and thereby contribute the well-being of the political system.

In the second place equality should prevail in the realm of law. All rules and regulations that govern the conduct of the society should be based, not on particularistic norms but on universalistic norms. In other words, this implies equality

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[10]   James S. Coleman, in Leonard Binder, at all (ed) Crisis and Sequences in Political Development Princeton University.

before law or in older usage, rule of law. Talcott Parsan regards the development of a general legal system based on universalistic norms as a crucial aspect of social evolution. It ensures and upholds the dignity of man and further helps the development the central bureaucratic authority.

Finally, equality should also prevail in matters of distribution of roles. In traditional societies, roles are filled in on the basis of heredity and other ascriptive criteria. All these must yield place to the criterion of achievement which means that, whosoever wants to occupy a certain position must work for that. It should not come to him alongwith his father's property. The achievement criterion further presupposes the acceptance of the principle of merit. It may be added that simple acceptance of this principle would not lead a society nearer to its goal. The right to education must also be freely conceded to all. It is through education that an individual gets awareness about his rights liberties and responsibilities and ensures equality of initial opportunity to all. Let us conclude with James Coleman that "these three elements - universal adult citizenship, the predominance of universalistic norms in government, relations with the citizen .... and the predominance of achievement criteria in recruitment and allocation to political and bureaucratic roles are the main components in the drive for equality one of the three interacting elements in the development syndrome."[11]

Capacity:- The test of a political system lies in its capacity to deal with the challenges that it receives sometimes from within itself and sometimes from its environments. As you know that a political system is a part of a larger whole and it is embedded within a complex environment which comprises the cultural, social & economic aspects of the national system and also of the international system. When a political system develops, it comes to increasingly depend upon its environments. This development in its turn leads to the emergence of more and more demands from the surrounding components of other systems. The political system is thus pushed into a situation when it must either meet those demands, or failing which, it must break. It is the feature of a developed political system that it effectively and successfully meets all such challenges that are continually huried at by its environments. Quite sometimes challenges are posed to it by the functioning of its own structures and also by its own decisions or outputs. A system must therefore, enhance its capacity to cope with the challenges of mounting and inflating demands.

How does a political system cope with these challenges? Talcott Parsons suggests the method of the adaptation of the system to its environments. By adaptation, he does not mean a mere adjustment of the changing surroundings in a passive way. Conceiving it much more comprehensively, he suggests that the system should even try to control the enviorement and effect changes in it so as to facilitate its own functioning.[12] The superiority of the political system over other systems lies in its ability to mould its environment and control their behaviour in a manner that suits its convenience.

[11.] Ibid, p. 78.

[12.] Quoted by James S. Coleman, Ibid Roman p. 79.

Interpreted in the context of the actual functioning of the government, capacity of a political system can be measured in terms of the scope, effectiveness and rationality of its decision-making, as suggested by Luctan Pye and James Coleman. By scope is meant the range of decisions, Obviously, when the system is developed, it is required to handle a far larger volume of social affairs and that too of a wide-ranging nature. It must, therefore, be in a position to tackle all such issues and situations. It is supposed not only to handle and dispose of these matters, but also to handle them effectively and efficiently. Hence comes the second attribute to the capacity. Effective and efficient disposal demands a suitably cadred and well trained bureaucracy which may be able to forcefully implement the decisions thereby facilitating goal-attainment. The attributes of scope and effectiveness further lead to and necessitate the rationalization of the decision-making process of the government, which on its turn is vitally linked with a secularization of the whole government set-up. You know, secularization is a process which gradually pulls out a system from such political influences as those or religion, tradition, caste, colour and inducts into all aspects of the systems functioning universalistic criteria of judgment and performance. Elite roles are filled in according to the criteria of merit and performance, rules are framed and enforced on a much more generalised and universalised bases social mobility is freely encouraged, so on and so forth. Highlighting this feature of a developed political system James Coleman says. "The peculiarly modern feature (of a modern developed system).... is the predominance, pervasiveness and institutionalization of a rational-secular orientation in political and administrative processes. This orientation is an absolutely indispensable ingredient of the creative capacity of a developing polity." [13]

Differentiation : The third major theme running, through the concept of political development is that of differentiation. Differentiation implies three things. In the first place all roles which were hitherto diffused, must be separated from one another. Secondly, roles must be specialized by those for whom they are allocated. It is not sufficient that roles are merely separated from one another but they must also at the same time be specialised and this is the feature of a modern society. In the third place, roles must be integrated with one another. Here you would note the difference between the diffusion of roles and the integration of roles. In a traditional society where roles are diffused, neither those who perform these roles nor those towards whom these are directed, know the nature of the roles that they play. On the contrary, roles are separated and specialised in a modern developed society and they are also properly integrated with one another so as to present integral structures which perform certain specified functions. To illustrate, we know the function of the judiciary, we further know who performs the role of a judge and who performs the role of lawyers, witness, etc. In this way, a modern developed system is a complex whole, comprising numerous structures and role and this fact alone enables it to face challenges.

Viewing the implications of the whole development syndrome, we find that it includes all ingredients of a developed political system. A political system, as you know, consists of a few structures which perform certain functions that are vitally

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13.   Ibid. p. 80.

essential for its continued existence. These structures function in the context of a certain type of political culture. The latter, consisting of the general attitudes, orientations, opinions, and values of society as a whole provides the matrix where in the nature of the system's functioning is shaped. Political culture is thus, the most important ingredient of the system.

If political culture of a society is traditional and parochial the functioning of the political system must obviously be particularistic in character. Keeping this basic premise in mind, Pye and Coleman at the very outset suggest that the political culture of a system must be patterned on egalitarian basis. Once society inculcates a general attitude and temper or equality, all aspects of the political system would come to be patterned on universalistic lines. All roles, political as well as bureaucratic would begin to be filled in according to the criteria of merit and performance. Authoritative values too would be allocated accordingly. Further the whole politics of a society would come to be patterned on competitive basis. A system would thus begin to reflect modernity in structure and behaviour.

Another essential requisite of a developed system would be the proliferation of structures. When a system develops, its range of activities not only expand but become more complex also. There must thus be available a large number of specialised structures, each competent to deal with specific aspects of various activities. When that level is attained, the system would develop the requisite degree of capability to cope with any amount of stress, might it be generated by the system from within itself or by its environments. It would also be in a position to effectively control and mould its surroundings which, closely impringe upon it. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that Pye's development syndrome is quite a comprehensive concept which suggest that a developing system when develops the ethos of equality, achieves, the differentiation and specialization of structures and enhance its capacity as well as capability of successfully meeting all challenges, then it can be called a politically developed system.

Self Assessment Questions

1. Define patterns of development.

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2. Define Political Decay.

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12.5 HISTORY AND PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT

Political development, though of recent interest, is in fact, a very old process. Its origin (of political development and not of modernization which is comparatively a far

later phenomenon) can be traced back to over a thousand years. Initially, it began in Europe. To describe it briefly, whole Europe which had embraced Christianity, was ruled by the historic Roman Emperor and spoke the Roman language, Gradually, the Emperor grew weak and there set in the process of disintegration of the Empire. Earlier, the various dialects of the Roman language had acquired strong areas affiliation and emerged into independent languages English, French, Dutch etc. This linguistic development had further encouraged the process of disintegration of the Empire. Each province now aspired for national independence which they acquired in stages. There thus emerged on the political map of Europe a number of small sovereign states - England, France, Prussia, Holland, Germany, Spain, so on and so forth.

To use Lucian Pye's terminology, there had descended the crises of identity in each of these states. In other words the inhabitants of the various erstwhile provinces, of the Empire keenly wanted to shift their loyalty from a larger Empire" to their small sovereign states. In other words, they wanted identify themselves with their new states. The famous Protestant Revolution, hastened this change. The impact of both these movements (of the separation from the Empire and of the Protestant Revolution which also implied the severence of ecclesiastical ties with the Roman Pope) was perhaps the profoundest in England. We would therefore focus our attention on the process of political development in that country.

Once the new state had finally emerged and its nationals had fully identified themselves with it, the next was to integrate its various parts into one common whole. It was in the wake of that pursuit that the seven small principalities in which England had been divided then (Heptarchy) were integrated and a new unified state of England was built.

Next comes the question of consolidating the political system Feudalism administered a very potent challenge to the quest for integration. Feudalism had rendered the authority of the king weak. His decree did not prevail all over the country. There were thus the crises of penetration. To overcome that crisis such institutions, as common law, unified judiciary, uniform land holding system central law-making and law-enforcing apparatuses in the form of parliament and bureaucracy were erected and strengthened. In this way the central government not only acquired the required degree of legitimacy but penetration also.

In the meantime, there had taken place the historic Industrial Revolution, which had over a period of time, brought about a tremendous structural change in the socio-economic pattern of society. A large number of new structures with specialised role performance had emerged into existence. The cumulative effect of the whole process of transformation was that a variety of new and unusual types of demands had begun to be mounted on the political, system. On one side, groups of people pressed for the equitable distribution of the economic gains, accruing, from the system and, on the other, they wanted full share in the decision making process of the political system. The society had once again found itself in the midst of another crisis, this time it was the crisis of participation and distribution. It was in the wake of that two-fold crisis that political parties and pressure groups merged franchise was conferred on all groups, periodic elections became more regular, principles of parliamentary

responsibility and rotation of government were enunciated and accepted, elite formation remarkably underwent a change. In a word the whole political system came to be fully developed in the modern sense, of the world.

We may have a pause here and review the process of political development. The foregoing description of events make us believe that it is basically a unilinear process, i.e. moving in one single direction and that too in a particular accepted sequence one stage systematically being followed by another-identity, legitimacy, penetration, participation, distribution and integration. But if we look more closely into the process outside the British system, we discover to our great amazement that such has not been the cases any where else. Development no where else took place in this sequential order. We may illustrate this point by citing another western case, namely that of the United States of America

You know that the United States of America before 1776 was a part of the British Empire. Unlike a well-knit large state of India, U.S.A. comprised 13 small colonies, each of which enjoyed more or less a separate political entity. In 1776 all these colonies liberated themselves from the British rule and thirteen years' later they formally welded themselves into one unified political structure. A federal government was installed in Washington. This formal, arrangement through universally accepted and recognised all over the new state still lacked effective support of the masses. In other words, USA found itself suffering from two types of crises simultaneously which were identical and penetrating. Gradually, the central government developed its role and had legitimacy in people's heart. But it look about a century or so. The new system had hardly been out of these crises, there ensued the process of institution-building which facilitated and promoted mass participation of the people, in the political process and also, at the same time democratised the distribution process of the country.

Thus, we conclude that the process of political development is not unilinear in the sense that it either takes place in a certain universally recognized sequential order or that it is determined and shaped by one single chain of events. It is quite a complicated process and this fact has come to be amply illustrated when the newly-liberated innumerable societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America embarked upon the twin process of modernization and political development. Not to speak of following the beat European and American track (which the western scholars erroneously believed that they would) these societies exhibited, in certain cases totally different partners. Further, even among them no uniformity of the development process is found. Almost everyone has worked out its own distinct pattern which differs from the rest in varying degrees. There are reasons for this wide-ranging variation.

In the first place, the state of development from where they embarked upon this process was marked by varied differences from society to society. In the case of India, for instance, the political system at the starting point was fairly developed, in the sense that there did exist a few well-shaped input structures in the form of some political parties and some pressure groups, legislatures etc and similarly there also existed (in a better organised way) the output structures in the form of the legislatures, bureaucracy, judiciary etc. The elite had also been fairly wide-spread

among the masses. On the other extreme, there existed a number of African societies which at the starting time were not even unified political communities not to speak of their well-shaped administrative structures. Examples of many such societies with varying degrees of political development can be cited.

Another reason was the varying nature of their political cultures and existing structures. Somewhere these provided a congenial situation for development to take place and somewhere the existing culture and structures obstructed the new process. The third reason was the nature of the earlier elite of these societies which assumed to themselves the modernizing role of the society.

In this way, number of other reasons can be identified. But suffice it to say that the emerging, development pattern exhibits a considerable degree of variation. The western writers who have been very closely and keenly studying the political modernization and political development process of these countries, have been applying their own standards of judgment about the progress that these societies have been making on the scale of development In this context, the concept of political decay as developed by Samuel P. Huntington"[14] needs a particular mention.

13.6 HUNTINGTON'S CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DECAY

As mentioned earlier, Huntington interprets political development in terms of political Institutionalisation. He feels that in the under-developed countries the rate of modernisation is so fast that the process of institutionalisation lags behind, with the result that there takes place political decay and not political development.

To dwell upon the concepts. Huntington is of the view that there is a direct conflict between mobilization and institutionalisation and therein lies the crux of the politics of development. The thrust of almost, all the developing countries is toward rapid modernization. To that end, they have initiated tong-term as well as short-term programmes of industrialization, mechanisation of agriculture, educational development, expansion of health facilities, community development, so on and so forth. As a result in some of these countries, literary rate has considerably increased, industrialisation has also taken place, urbanisation has spread, health standards have shown some improvement. The economic conditions have also been bettered. The rate and quality of modernization has however, not been uniform all over. Marked variation are noticed everywhere.

The degree of modernization achieved by the people of these countries, coupled with universal adult franchise, resulted into a tremendous mobilization of the populations. More and more people began migrating to the urban centers, which promised to them better employment potential as also better living. The expansion of industries has gradually swollen the working fore, which also got itself organised with a view to defending its rights. Similarly, the number of government officials, students' and other sections of the citizens also tremendously expanded their ranks and each one of them develop a degree of political consciousness. There, thus sprouted the

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[14]   Samuel P. Huntington gave an exposition of this concept in his article. 'Political Development and Political Decay' in World Politics Vol. XVII, No. 3 (April, 1965) pp. 386-111.

revolution of rising expectations. But when people found to their utter disappointment and horror that their aspirations cannot be satisfactorily fulfilled and as quickly as they wished, they felt all the more frustrated and resorted to mass politics, which in some cases, let to *coup d'etat*. "Korn-hauser has conclusively demonstrated from his western study that rapid industrialisation and urbanisation create discontinuities which give rise to mass society". We know from our own experiences that here in our country: when anybody's personal ambitions are not fulfilled or when any group fails to get its demands accepted, it organises mass demonstrations resorts first to 'dharnas' and strikes and, then, to fast unto-death. We hear about mass uprising every day. Both Kornhauser and Huntington are right in their assessment that too rapid modernization has led to mobilization and which, in its turn, has assumed the shape of mass politics.

Huntington gives concrete evidence to prove his point. He remarks. "Increases in literacy and education may bring, more political instability. By Asian standards. Burma, Ceylon and the Republic of Korea are all highly literate but none of them is a model of political stability. Not does literacy stimulate democracy: with roughly 75 per cent literacy, Cuba was the first most literate country in Latin America....: but the first to go Communist: so also Kerala with, one of the highest literacy rates in India, was the first Indian state to elect a Communist government," Huntington has further compiled figures about the capital in the developing countries in order to prove his thesis.

Why does mobilization produce political instability? Huntington's thesis is that the growing rate of modernization is properly matched with political institutionalisation and this lag between the two results in political instability. For instance, when adult franchise is introduced, millions of newly enfranchised are introduced into the political area. They want a share in the decision-making process of the country. They also organise themselves and press their claims. On other hand, political life has not been properly institutionalised. Whatever, few positions exist, these have been monopolised by the traditional elite which does not want to surrender them. Newer positions have not been created, with the result that the aspirations of the newly enfranchised are not fulfilled. They resort to mass politics which creates so much political instability that road is paved for the military or bureaucracy to step in and assume control of the state. Our neighbour Pakistan has been the victim of this type of situation. On the other hand, we have been somewhat wiser in pushing up the process of institutionalisation in our country. Our aspiring youngmen can fulfill their political ambition by contesting free elections to innumerable bodies ranging from the Gram-Sabha to Lok Sabha. They can also freely compete for a number of bureaucratic positions. We have recently witnessed that during the emergency period, some curbs were put to our free action, and the result was quite apparent.

Huntington says that modernization leads to political decay rather than to political development. The existing, institutions decay and remain no longer serviceable whereas new institutions are not created. There does not, thus, appear to be any correlation, between modernization and political development. He remarks, "So long as a country like Argentina retaining a political *coups and counter coups* and a

feeble state surrounded by massive social forces, it cannot be considered politically developed, no matter how urbane and prosperous and educated are its citizens. In, reverse fashion, a country may be politically highly developed with modern political institutions, while very backward in terms of modernization, India, for instance".

13.7 SUMMARY

Political development like modernisation is a vague concept. An idea about the conceptual variance on the subject can be had from the fact that Lucian Pye refers to ten different points of view on the subject. But unlike modernisation it is a goal oriented process. It is primarily concerned with development for what, and not with development of what. The development syndrome initiated by Pye and elaborated by Coleman and others, brings out the implication of political development The process of political development effects fundamental changes in three, aspects namely: Equality, Capacity and Differentiation.

According to Huntington when rate of modernisation is faster than the provides of institutionalization, political decay instead of political development takes place.

13.8 FURTHER READINGS

1. O.P. Guaba. *An Introduction to Comparative Politics*, Mayoor, 2001.

2. S.C. Dube. *Modernization and Development – The search for Alternative Paradigm*, New Delhi, Vistar Publications, 1992.

13.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the development syndrome.

2. Analyse Huntington's concept of political decay?

MARXIST CRITIQUE : DEPENDENCY & POST MODERNISM

Structure

14.0 Objectives

14.1 Introduction

14.2 Dependency Model

14.3 Post Modernism

14.4 Summary

14.5 Further Readings

14.6 Model Questions

14.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson shall acquaint you with the Marxist critique of modernization as developed by the dependency model theorists and Post Modernism.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

Modernization theories as propounded by the Western scholars did not appeal to the Marxist logic. In tune with the Marxist notion, neo-Marxist offer a critique of Western model of Modernization and development. This critique came in the form of Dependency Model.

The modernization critique is available in yet another form, which is referred to as post modernism. In this lesson script, both are being explained in some detail.

14.2 DEPENDENCY MODEL

The last century saw many Third World Countries breaking the chains of slavery and emerging as countries that wanted to taste freedom and progress. While there was a Cold War going on between the bloc led by the US and the defunct USSR, the Third World Countries faced problems of underdeveloped economies. The Developed Countries harp that much of the development in the Third World, i.e., Asian, African and Latin American countries has been due to that efforts of the Developed Countries. The Third world brought this argument for a long time till the Dependency school questioned it. This school argues that this contact between the Third World and the Developed Nations have led to a loss of the former.

Modernisation School versus Dependency School

The Third World Courtiers had been exploited, as they, had remained Colonies. Their economies had been ravaged by continuous, consistent exploitation and they needed money for development. Various theories have been developed to show the perspective of the Developed and the Third World Countries. The Modernisation

theories examine development from the perspective of the Countries of the Third World. The Modernisation school assumes that Modernisation is an irreversible process that cannot be stopped once it begins. Modernisation is another name of Europeanisation or Americanisation, that has a high degree of economic prosperity and democratic stability. They assume that the Third World should emulate that modernization process of the developed Countries.

But the Dependency school criticises this attitude of the Modernisation School. The advocates of the former feel that the modernization theory is biased towards the Developed, industrialized nations as most of the researchers were from these countries. These scientists had been born and brought up in those cultural values that were very different from those of the Third World. These critics questioned as to why the Western countries had been termed as 'advanced' or 'modern' and on what basis the Third World Countries were labelled as 'traditional' or 'primitive'.

The Dependency school tries to set the record straight. This school first emerged in Latin America as a response to the bankruptcy programme of the United Nation Commission for Latin America (ECLA). In the 1950's many regimes tried the ECLA strategy of protectionism and industrialization through import substitution. But this led to stagnation of the economies within a decade. The high hopes to move towards democracy, economic growth and welfare policies were dashed to the ground. On the other hand, this economic stagnation led to inflation, unemployment and other economic problems. The ECLA programme, could not offer any explanation to the widening gap between the rich and poor countries.

Views of Andre Gunder Frank

Andre Gunder Frank was one of the main exponents of the Dependency School. His contention was that Western theories are unable to understand the problems faced by the Third World Nations because theorists who are not familiar with the culture, traditions and economies of the Third World Countries have propounded these theories.

The Modernisation school assumes that there are some problems inherent in the Third World Countries that prove obstacles to the development of these countries. They cite lack of investment, overpopulation and even tradition as impediments on the path of progress; Frank, on the other hand, argues that the Third World Countries cannot follow the Western path of development because the latter have experienced Colonialism. The modernization theory has failed to discuss Colonialism and its negative repercussions on the Third World Countries. The Colonial experience of the Third World have altered the path of development of these countries. Frank contends that the Third World has not developed not because of its internal problems but because of the repressive camouflaged policies of the Western Countries. Thus, in place of the "Internal" explanation given by the Modernisation school Frank gives an external explanation for Third World under-development. He proves that countries like India and China were for more advanced when they faced colonialism. Thus it is wrong, to categorize the Third World Countries as 'backward' or 'primitive' for it is only when they came in touch, with the Western countries that their race to progress was reversed. Their progress was undermined and put along a certain path of development

that was controlled from outside their boundaries, i.e. by the Colonial powers. Thus, Frank formulated the concept of the 'development of underdevelopment' to convey that the underdevelopment in the Third World Countries is not a natural condition but due to the colonial exploitation over a long period. The "metropolis satellite" model helps to explain how the intricacies of underdevelopment work. New cities, according to Frank, were important in the Third World during the colonial period by the Conquerors. This was done to facilitate the transfer of economic surplus to the developed Countries. These national cities become satellites of the western Countries. As these cities become satellites of the Cities in the developed countries, these satellite cities encouraged other dependent cities at the local and regional level. These National cities become a center of economic domination within the Colony. This setting up of satellite cities ignited a chain reaction of dependency down to the village level to extract economic surplus in the form of commodities, raw materials from the interiors of the colony. The economic surplus was extracted from the villages and transferred to the local capitals, then to the regional capitals, then to the national capitals and finally to the Western countries. This transfer of rich resources at cheap rated led to underdevelopment in the Third World countries. It is because of this process that development accelerated in the Western Economies. So, the process of under development in the World Countries and development in the Western Countries, carried on simultaneously.

Views of Santos, Sarin and Baran.

Another social scientist, Dos Santos, argues that relations between a dominant and dependent country are unequal because development in the former takes place at the cost of the latter. The development in an underdeveloped country results only because the dominant developed country has the ability to expand itself. Thus, development in a Third World country is a result of dependence on the dominating partner. The developed countries monopolise foreign finance, foreign technology and foreign capital and thus, do not let the under developed countries reach an advantageous position. The backward condition of the economies of the Third World is not because of conditions inside their boundaries but because of the discouraging factors outside the national economy. It is usually misconstrued that lack of capital and entrepreneurial skills coupled with inefficient democratic institutions are the factors that have led to the countries being backward. But the dependency school disagrees with this viewpoint and contends that dependency is an external condition, imposed from outside the national boundaries. More than social and political conditions, it is an economic condition because economic surplus flows from the Third World Countries to the Western developed countries. Genuine development in these peripheral economies is not possible because of continual flow of surplus to the core developed, countries.

The dependency school feels that development should not mean a rise in export or increase in productivity but should emphasise improving the standard of living of the people residing in the periphery. Development of an economy should be considered when the benefits are just not shared by a few but percolate to the masses. The advocates of the dependency school feel that any programme that benefits a few at the

cost of many is not good. Unlike the modernization school, which encourages contact between the developed and the underdeveloped the dependency school reels that contact between the two is harmful for the Third World Countries, as the latter's economy has been structured to meet the demands of the former. They want the peripheral countries to severe their ties with the core countries to stop further damage. They do not want the peripheral countries to rely on the core countries for any kind of aid in foreign capital and technology. It is only when these countries invent their own self-reliance model-can they achieve autonomous national development. Links with the core countries should be maintained to an extent where the developed countries should not dominate over the Third World Countries. The peripheral countries, should encourage trade amongst each other on equal terms.

Amin Sarin says that transition to peripheral capitalism led to destruction of local crafts without being substituted by domestic industries. He says that the Third World has faced agrarian crisis because of this transition. He argues that peripheral capitalism encourages distortion towards export activities, it means that there is no inadequacy of the home market rather the centre has superiority over productivity in all fields. Thus, the peripheral country is confined to production of complementary product?

The classical dependency studies are vocal about the harmful impact of colonialism and the debt crisis. Paul Baran cites India as an example, He says that India was one of the most developed countries in the eighteenth century. India, according to him, boasted of the manufacture and export of finest muslins and numerous other fabrics. Britain had yet to undergo Industrial production and India was supplying products of the loom to markets in Asia and Europe. The British textile industry was still in its infancy. But the British had a strong Navy and a well equipped army. They possessed military superiority and they were well organised and united. The might of the British Navy defeated the divided armed forces of India and Britain made India its colony and then started a systematic and ruthless plunder of India's wealth. This was India's process of underdevelopment. It is estimated that about $ 1 billion volume of wealth was drained out of India, This amount of wealth, is India's, loss in direct transfers and does not include the losses that amounted because of unfavorable terms of trade that Britain had imposed on India. The emergence of rural industries in Britain's countryside led to further deterioration of India's textile industry that was flourishing in the form of small scale and cottage industries. So, to capture the world textile market Britain eliminated the Indian textile industry and converted it into a cotton growing colony. The British started the process of deindustrialization of India by discouraging Indian manufactures. The aim was not only to make the Indian industries subservient to the industries of Great Britain but also to encourage and most of the times, force Indian farmers to grow raw produce for the industries of Great Britain. The Indian artisans were forced to work in the factories of the East India Company. English, goods were allowed into India either free of duty or on payment of a nominal duty while excise duty was imposed on the production of cotton fabrics in India, which discouraged the newly established steam-mills of India. India that had set on the path of industrial development was converted into a cotton growing nation, So, the country moved from a relatively, advanced industrial nation to

a backward agricultural nation. Thus, Baran says that India was forced into economic stagnation and into a process of deindustrialization. The Indian market was flooded with. British manufactured goods; the local home industries were marginalized, discouraged and then systematically destroyed and Capital got accumulated in Britain. This dependency on the developed nations led to economic, political and cultural backwardness among the peripheral countries, The developed country that became a colonial power ensured smooth extraction of raw materials from the colony to the mother - nation. The second function was to make a market for foreign imports in the colony. If any development took place per chance in the colony. It was cited as 'the white man's gift to the uncivilized Third world'.

The Debt Crisis and other problems in the Third world:

Further the society is moulded to suit the needs of the colonial government. Among the natives, those who have sworn loyalty to the colonial power are given special status and are trained in the local administration. The dependency school calls them, clientele social class in India, the native landlords can be categorized in this class. Another way to control the society is to give an education system to the native society that discourages them to develop a scientific and industrial aptitude, Again, the education system in India is an example where students are taught by the rote system.

If a Third World country managed, to escape from the claws of colonialism it fell into a debt trap. Examples of countries sinking into the debt - trap include countries like Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela Chile and Colombia. The debt of Brazil grew from $4 billion in early 1970's to $ 50 billion in late 1970's and further to $ 121 billion in 1989. Mexico's case is another example in mid 1970's. The Luis Echeveria government (govt.), a progressive *government*, in Mexico instituted numerous social spending programmes. Besides encouraging health care, education programmes and services to the poor it encouraged heavy industry. But the govt, spend more money that it could accumulate so it ran into deficit. It needed currency to pay for the increasing imports. Mexico possessed one of the richest oil fields in the world & the regime calculated that if it borrowed from the international Funding Authorities the rich oil reserve and the escalating oil prices would help it to recover money in the near future. But in the early 1980's the sharp drop both, in the oil prices and in the demand because of the oil glut, Mexico could not earn as expected. This miscalculation led to Mexico falling in the dept trap. It is then that the developed countries come to the 'rescue' of the country and later controlled its economy.

If a Nation tries to default then the foreign banks in collaboration with the United Nations can take any steps to ensure, that the debt is paid. The assets of the debtor nation could be frozen in the United Nations, foreign companies could be told to stop business with the debtor nations, and armies could be send to install new govts, so on and so forth. Britain meted out harsh treatment to Egypt and America to Dominican Republic. Dependency on the developed countries did not end with the First World War. The newly independent countries had to import machinery to set up heavy, industries and for this they needed large amount of money. The British divided Hindustan into India and Pakistan, in such a way,' that India was left with industries

bereft of workmen, professionals and artisans who had migrated to Pakistan. Pakistan, on the other hand, had craftsmen but no industry, So, both the countries needed money, India wanted currency to set up institutions to train craftsmen so that they could work in the industries while Pakistan wanted money to set up industries. It had no industrial base. India could export agricultural products like sugar, rubber, tea etc but these were subject to international market fluctuations.

The new Dependency Theorists, on the other hand, talk about dependency and development together. The example of Taiwan that depended on America and developed simultaneously is an eye-opener. The Kuomintang or the KMT that had been defeated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) adopted a 'bureaucratic - Authoritarian regime' in Taiwan and pushed for development The Country developed because of the alliance with the US.

Sometimes there is a triple alliance between the State, the local capital and the international player. This alliance benefits all the three. Brazil is an example. According to Immanuel Wallerstein the capitalist world economy develops itself through incorporation, industrialisation and commercialisation of agriculture. He takes the whole world as a unit of analysis and divides state into core, semi-periphery and periphery. When the supply of goods in the world market outstrips the demand the core loosens its hold and gives the periphery a chance to catch up with the core. When the demand outstrips the supply of goods the core tightens its hold and tries to dominate the world market. The boom cannot last long and it leads to over production and again the downward trend starts. Nations can be studied as they move from the periphery to the semi periphery then to the core and vice versa. A Nation can move from the periphery to the semi-periphery by these strategies of development, seizing the chance, by invitation or by self-reliance He says that neither development nor underdevelopment in any nation can be interpreted without fitting it into the trends of the world economy. For example, the economic downturn in the world - economy led the core powers of Europe to colonize virgin territories. This was done to create new areas of primary production to be under the direct control of the core countries. The aim was to create protected markets for the core - country manufacturers.

Wallerstein distinguishes two kinds of semi-peripheries areas that were semi-peripheries as a part of a decline and areas that were semi-peripheries as part of a rise. The former included countries like Spain and Portugal, that experienced a decline in the power of the State as they fell a prey to the core powers that intervened in these declining states. Spain became subservient to France while Portugal became a satellite of the Dutch and then the interests of the British. Spain also saw de industrialization that transferred capital from industry to agriculture.

The latter category, that of rise of semi-peripheral states included Sweden and Prussia that created a strong military force and a strong state. These states opened their protected economies, let in core-country investment but manipulated the rivalries among the core - powers to advance their interests in the capitalist world - economy. Thus, Wallerstein concluded that the position of the States is not static in the world - economy. The States remain in a constant flux because of development.

Conclusion

The dependency school links dependency and development of the Third World with the Developed Countries in a negative as well as in a positive manner. If dependency leads to underdevelopment then dependency on the developed countries leads to some development in the Third World Countries, though development is controlled and limited.

Since Post Modernism has developed as a critique to Modernity, it is important to understand what Post modernism stands for all social science including Political Science are based on Certain assumptions and frameworks and they function in the cultural; and historical contexts, But over the years, traditional theories have given place to Modern thinking and now it is widely felt that even the transformation of traditional, societies into modernized societies have failed to deliver the goods. Before dwelling upon post-modernism, we would like to recapitulate to you what we have already discussed about tradition and modernity.

Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define Dependency.

      _____

      _____

      _____

2.   Define Post-modernism.

      _____

      _____

      _____

From Tradition to Modernity : A Recaptulation

Traditional societies were based on caste, religious linguistic ties and other ascriptive factors. Magic blind faith, superstitions and such like parochial feelings were the order of the day. Mass illiteracy, poverty, backwardness was rampant more particularly in the rural hamlets. There was primitive and non-participant political culture and the economy was largely, agriculture based. Such like tradition was transmitted from generation to generation which involved a selective reconstruction of the past expressing a value-judgment about what one believed to have rightly obtained in one's society. Tradition was therefore a kind of stream and was reflective of a normative judgment.

Change, as you know is the law of nature and the spice of life. The end of World War II ushered in thus process of liberation of the imperial colonies and as a result many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America became politically independent. These newly liberated countries opened new vistas for the western scholars who evidenced great interest to study the underdevelopment of these countries and to devise the ways and means to eradicate their backwardness. A new wave of

modernization came into existence which brought with it critical reason and empirical approaches. Scientific temper was being inculcated into the minds of the people. People became conscious of their rights, liberties, and responsibilities. They were filled the new aspirations, sensibilities and vision. They were taught the at with knowledge and confidence based it science and technology they should try to control their environment. This led to comprehensive and fundamental changes in the whole social set-up of the society. Religion yielded place to rationality, blind faith to critical appreciation, superstition to search or reality. There were thus radical changes in the values, attitudes and opinions of the individual and the entire cultural pattern got transformed.

Even in the economic sphere, there was move of industrialization and urbanization. The entire social pattern was modeled on the principle of egalitarianism. In the social system, there occurred a high degree of social mobilization. Role-structure also underwent a tremendous change. Earlier role were inherited but now people had to earn their role through competition, merit and performance. There was clear cut differentiation of roles.

The modernization, in brief brought about transformation in broadly three areas i.e. cultural pattern, economy, social system which ultimately resulted into the inculcation of scientific temper based on science and technology, reason and rationale in the thinking and attitudes of the individual, specialization in agriculture, industry, education, health, bureaucracy. In other words, the whole social set-up got transformed.

The wave of 'modernity' or 'enlightenment project' as it is called by the western Scholars was actually meant for the liberation of the humanity. Light was to replace darkness, prejudice, customs and unchangeable authority by the power or reason, the application of scientific knowledge and most of all by the willingness to think for one's self. (Chris Brown; Critical Theory and Post-Modernism in international relations).

In the western societies the transformation from tradition to modernity began approximately in the 17th century and took two centuries to reach its zenith. Factors which contributed to modernization included the Reformation, the Renaissance, the rise, of the Modern European State, the scientific Revolution, the French Revolution, the industrial Revolution and the rise of mass urban societies.

The 'Enlightenment Project' was a prominent intellectual movement that emerged in the late 18th century. This movement which started in France, broached a set of doctrines stating that the source of all human misery is ignorance, especially superstition. Only knowledge, reasons and science can destroy ignorance and superstition and help improve the human condition. Thus in Kant's terms, enlightenment is humanity's emergence from its 'self-incurred' immaturity. It is self-incurred because of a lack of resolution and courage. If one has the courage and determination to know the truth, the truth will surely set him free.

Apart from Rousseau, Kant and Hegal who indulged in philosophical speculation about the questions and answers regarding the transformation of society, it was the

influence of Newtonian Physics which called for understanding and the predictability of social phenomenon.

Areas of Enlightenment Project:

The basics goals of the Enlightenment Project are the followings.

1.   Human Nature :- A scientific study, of human behavior, would be fruitful for the social scientist to understand, Predict and control human behaviour. For that Scientific study of human nature is essential.

2.   Society :- Scientific methods are to applied to the 'study of society', its various patterns, norms and beliefs. The products of their community who can truly realize themselves while living in a community.

3.   History :- The study of history is related to assumptions about society and the individual. It is through scientific knowledge that the historical progress, historical determination and the ends and goals of history can be know vis-a-vis the roles played by the individual.

4.   Methodology :- Modernity stands for objective and rational knowledge and therefore it is value-natural.

The 'Enlightenment Project' is based on the assumption that ignorance is the, basic source of all human misery and that the elimination of ignorance and its replacement with scientific knowledge would pave the way for human progress. It can be expressed in the following claims:-

1. Everything worth knowing about mankind can be unified into a set of beliefs.

2. There are universally acceptable valid set of methodological assumptions.

3. Universal rational moral principles are binding on all rational beings every where.

4. A society based on science and universal values is truly free and rational.

5. The truth shall make us free. The more we know about ourselves and the world, the better human life will become;

14.3 GROWTH OF POST-MODERNISM

There is no agreement among the post-modernist thinkers as to when post-modernism emerged and what it stands for and whether it is really going on. This disagreement is in itself seems to be the condition of the post-modernise which, makes the subject more interesting and vivacious.

It came into being as a protest against the 'Enlightenment Project', which failed to deliver the goods. Science and technology reason" value-free disciplines could not make the life of the individual more meaningful and worth living: Enlightenment thinking, it is asserted, was responsible for various kinds of domination, cruelty and oppression. The awareness about oppression, exploitation, inequalities; curbs on individual freedom, injustice, violence and other disorders in the modern world led to utter disgust and disenchantment, with the project of modernity.

The changing world order, particularly, after the second world war witnessed changes in the cultural - patterns; sensibilities, nature of collective consciousness, the aesthetics, pre-occupation of the arts and ideas. 'A new historical era commenced with the fall of Soviet Union, coming down of Benin Wall (in November 1989) which brought about the end of cold war between U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. According to Malcolm Bradbury (What was Post-Modernism?) The Arts in and after the cold war, international Affairs, vol. 71, No. 7, October 1995) the end of cold war era presented a great parading shift in the twentieth century ideologies and interpretation of Politics and History.

The holocaust of second world-war which had threatened the global annihilation had pervaded intellectual consciousness how at the end of: War took the shape of a cold war between the two Super Powers U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. This fundamental change sought; to express the profound liberal anxiety, the cultural and stylistic; predicament, the ideological schlzophrenia and the existential anguish of early post-war period. This development had wide ranging impact on all aspects of life, including literature, philosophy; history; polities. Writers; like; Jean Paul Sartre, Samuel Beckett, Eugene Louesco, Harold Pinter, Saul Bellow and others perceived the crises and expressed humanism that felt threatened. The philosophy of the time was that of existentialism (which emphasized that existence of men : preceded the essence of life). Likewise, in Politics, a conflict arose between capitalism and East European Communism.

If modernism had its roots in Europe, Post-modernism is essentially an American affair and is now popularly known as Po-Mo.

What does Post-Modernism stand for?

1. As per the post-modernists, the 'Enlightenment Project' has miserably failed to study the human behaviour and the society. Human-beings have been made the prisoners of their languages. Historical process have not been properly understood. No universalistic norms have been laid down to sift and search the truth There have been crisis on the whole in the way of understanding the changing social world.

2. Modernism has failed to give a clear picture of the economic, political and cultural processes. It does, not present a true picture of the existence of a totally unified theory of organized intellectual movement. Enlightenment heritage do not necessarily share a particular belief system.

3. Enlightenment Project couldn't make a true and proper study of society as a whole Society is not a coherent and uniform set of inter-related phenomenon. In order to study society the social scientists are to develop theories about its structure and dynamics. But different theories give different interpretations about the society and, these different versions fail to give proper and true knowledge about the society. Social scientists are more interested in questions like truth knowledge and validity of their theories or try to justify and legitimize them. But they have failed in their endeavour. Post-modernists believe that, since the structures of modern society have changed drastically and hence the modern social thought has become obsolete and dogmatic. Presently the society

present a heterogeneous, fragmentary and plural character. Therefore it is not possible to give an universal and objective account of reality, Post-Modernists generally want to move away from the idea of society as a totality, for this smacks of totalitarianism.

4. 'Modernist' claim of objectively is also under attack by the Post-Modernists, The latter believe that the former are in the habit of giving meta-narratives in the guise of impartial knowledge a narrative is a myriad study of fable or a myth. The Modernists only try to prove that they are objective in their outlook 'Enlightenment picture of 'pure' knowledge remarks Lyotard nothing but a very powerful myth. Such meta-narratives are value-laden notions of social progress and human emancipation.

5. Lyotard further emphasizes that science alone cannot provide the whole of meta-narrative. It is philosophy rather than science as such which decides what is to be classed as 'real' science and what is to be stigmatized as mere narrative; it is Philosophy which exists to inform us of what the true essence and end points of the story eg. human progress and knowledge are ; and it is philosophy which judges which counts as true and what does not Lyotard is, of the view that this mixing of Science with Philosophy indulged by the Modernists should be abandoned. He suggest, that instead of pursuing the truth, we should openly embrace the past-modern condition of uncertainty; and 'agnostics'.

6. Language games placed the Modernists to prove the truth of their so-called objective findings is nothing but spurious, deceitful and self-canceling.

7. The Post-modernists are of the opinion that to view the knowledge made available through the use of advanced technology of computerized information in virtually to destroy the scared 'aura' of modernist conceptions of knowledge and science. On the contrary, by adopting the Post-Modern view of knowledge as a Kaleidoscopic array of limited and transient language games, we can see how deep at the heart of post-modern society, knowledge in plural form actually lie, The control of information is quite Central now a days to economic production, political opinion-forming and military control alike.

8. Modernists have not been able to study individual and his wants and desires. The world is now conceived as a Plurality-a vast array of very different people, ideas, beliefs and standards of judgment Human nature is not the same at all time and places. The meanings and perceptions of time and space vary and such variance affects human values end social processes. Post-Modernism denounces such ideal which bases themselves on faith and reason and on the fixed identity of human nature. The emphasis of Post-Modernism is on heterogeneity, plurality, tension, make shift consensus, transgression and excess, in other worlds, community and unity are, ideals without any contents or-guidelines; they are more of a hope than a specific ideal.

9. Post-Modernists are against the ever-increasing and oppressing power of the State. It is an anti-authoritarian movement. The new world order of : multi-national corporations, media and culture is dominated by the market. There is

thus-no need to explain modernity and legitimize it or to develop ways of radically altering if are now futile.

10. Post-Modernists are of the view that there is an end of history. Liberaism has triumphed everywhere. History has come to an end as philosophy that includes humanism and the value? and meta-narratives that govern modernity with its oscillation between ideology and Utopia optimism and pessimism progress and regret.

11. Post-Modernism stands for securing the rightful place for females which has come known as Feminism. International, Politics has remained gender-neutral. For Marxist Feminists capitalism, and private property are the causes of women oppression. Liberal Feminists are of the opinion that female subordination arises from customary and legal constraints which hamper women's participation in the public world. Radical Feminists accuse patriarchal system to be cause for women's oppression. The Socialist Feminists combine several strands of theory together in an attempt to establish a specially feminist standpoint.

   The Post-Modern Feminists decry Synthesis and believe that a unified representation of all woman is an impossible task. Yet feminism is a tremendously important intellectual and force.

12. Post-Modernism is opposed to Marxism. Marxism stood for the elimination of State which is an instrument of exploitation whereas Post-Modernism stands for curbing the growing power, of the state in order to ensure liberty, equality, justice and security for the individual.

14.4 SUMMARY

1. How can we accept that position taken by Post-Modernism that-we must relinquish any claim to proper knowledge of society? In its place, Post-Modernism wants us to have fragmentary opinions, insights of language games.

2. The Post-Modern perspective seems to be rather contradictory. On the one hand, it stands for social evolution in terms of intellectual and social indeterminacy while on the other it wants us to abandon the social values like unity, coherence and evolution.

3. Whatever Post-Modernism stands for was already available in the writing of Nietzsche. Does it than mean that Post-Modernism has been continuing for the last hundred year?

4. The idea that history has come to an end cannot be accepted. We can say that with the change of global environments, history is being created; it is being rewritten.

5. Post-Modernism writers are not in agreement with one another as to what does this new wave actually stands for and what do they want to achieve.

6. In the developing countries even the process of Modernization is not complete as yet and as such there does not seem to be any active thinking about Post-Modernism.

In conclusion we may remark that Postmodernism seems to be only a convenient stance for the privileged. Western countries where the so-called New World Order is considered to be coming about.

14.5 FURTHER READINGS

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2. O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

14.6 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by the Dependency model ?

2. Critically evaluate post modernist tenets ?

RECENT DEBATES : ROLE OF CLASS, ETHNICITY AND GENDER

Structure

15.0 Objectives

15.1 Role of Class

15.2 Interrelations of Caste and Class Hierarchies

15.3 Summary

15.4 Further Readings

15.5 Model Questions

15.0 OBJECTIVES

- To study and analyse class, ethnicity and gender.

15.1 ROLE OF CLASS

Class societies are characterised by the horizontal division of society into strata. In Marxist terms, classes are defined by their differential access to the means of production. The dominant classes appropriate the 'surplus' produced by other classes through their control of means of production, and thus exploit their labour. The actual configuration of social classes varies from one society to another. The rise and growth of Indian social classes was organically linked to the basic structure of colonialism and bore the imprint of that association.

What constitutes the dominant proprietary class in the urban-areas is marked by plurality and heterogeneity in its composition. A clear-cut demarcation along the lines of merchant, industrial and finance capital is not possible in case of India. The Indian business classes exhibit a complex intertwining of functions. Under the colonial rule, the Indian businessmen were initially relegated to small private trade, money lending and acted as agents of foreign British Capital. The British capitalists and merchants controlled the upper layer of Indian economy represented by the big joint stock companies, managing houses, banking and insurance and major export-import firms. Despite obstacles and constraints, the Indian capitalist class grew slowly and steadily and breached white 'collective monopoly'. With all structural constraints, colonialism also guaranteed the security of private property and sanctity of contract, the basic legal elements required for a market-led growth. The expansion of foreign trade and commercialization eased the capital shortage and accelerated the growth of sectors where cost of raw-materials was low such as cotton textiles, sugar, leather, cement, tobacco and steel. Certain groups of Parsis, Marwaris, the Khojas, the Bhatias and Gujarati traders benefited from their collaboration with the European companies and pumped their resources into the manufacturing sector. This Indian capitalist class grew, diversified to some extent and acquired important position by 1940s. This class

thrived during Independence under the government's policy of import substitution and quantitative controls. The 'Public- Sector' units provided the infrastructure and the intermediate and capital goods to this 'protected' class while the public lending institutions provided it with cheap sources of finances. The assets of the biggest 20 industrial houses increased from Rs. 500 crores in 1851 to Rs 23,200 crores in 1986. This was the result of benefits derived from state-developed infrastructural facilities, subsidised energy inputs, cheap capital goods and long-term finance made available to these by big monopoly industrial houses under the planning. On the other hand, almost 70% of the people exist on merely subsistence level and 76.6 million agricultural labourers earn only one-tenth of what an organized sector worker in the city earns. In the 1980s, unemployment reached about 10% of total active population. In the urban centres, the bulk of labourers are working in unorganized informal sectors. The vast army of pavement vendors, domestic servants, porters and street hawkers represent a kind of disguised urban unemployment.

The class-composition in the rural areas also bears the stamp of colonialism. The older group of rural gentry, although its wings were clipped away by the British colonial regime, was retained and transformed into a kind of rentier class of landlords invested with newly defined property rights on land. This was especially true of permanently settled Zamindari areas of Bengal and Taluqdari areas of Awadh. This landlord-rentier class generally emerged from the pre-existing groups of Zamindars and Taluqdars who had enjoyed the rights of revenue collection under the pre-British regimes. They exercised "extra-economic' feudal coercion over their small marginal share-croppers. Since the Congress Party favoured a bureaucratic rather than mobilisational form for carrying out a gradual social transformation after Independence, the power and privileges of these semi-feudal agrarian magnates remained intact in some areas. These classes now managed the new democratic polity. The failure to implement radical agrarian reforms meant that the availability of resources and accessibility to spaces within the new polity to the socially marginal groups remained limited.

The rich farmers, however, are numerically the most important proprietary class in the rural areas. In areas outside Zamindari settled areas of Bengal, the colonial state settled land revenue with dominant cultivating groups. A class of rich farmers emerged from these groups. They took advantage of the expanding market networks under the colonial economy and they had resources like sufficient arable land, livestock, implements and better access to credit. They also became less dependent on money lenders and they took to usury themselves. The Jat peasants of Punjab and the Upper Doab, the Vellalas in Tamilnadu, the Kanbi-Patidars of South Gujarat, the Lingayats of Karnataka and the Kamma-Reddy farmers of Andhra constituted this group. The tenancy legislation under colonialism and after Independence initiated the process of transfer of landed resources from non-cultivating, absentee landlords to the enterprising rich farmers. Some older groups of rentier landlords also converted themselves into this class. The political clout of this class grew as it drew encouragement from state's policy of providing price-supports to agricultural produce and from liberal provisions of subsidised inputs such as water, power, fertilizers, diesel, credit and agricultural machinery. This class is easily identifiable by the

ownership of landed and other agricultural resources. In 1970s, about 20% households of the rich farmers owned about 63% of rural assets such as land, livestock, building, and implements. This disproportionate access to rural assets is combined by its control over wage labour which is used to produce a sizeable marketable surplus by this class. The other pole of rural social-structure is the world of semi-proletariat having little or no control over productive resources. The agricultural labourers are a predominant group with little or no guarantee of a regular employment, often burdened by coercive domination of rich farmers.

The bureaucratic-managerial elite also constitute a significant class in India as the relatively weak capitalist class at the time of India's Independence was not in a position to completely subordinate the highly developed administrative state apparatus. The growth of non-market mechanisms and planning in the allocation of resources and economic patronage also resulted in the expansion of bureaucracy. This class expanded in the post-colonial phase with the spreading out of education and need for professional and white-collar jobs involving new skills and expertise. This is not merely an auxiliary class of bourgeois as there are conflicts of interests between the public sector professionals and private capital. The command over knowledge, skills, tastes and networks of relationships are notable features of this class.

15.2 INTERRELATION OF CASTE AND CLASS HIERARCHIES

Caste and class point towards inequality and hierarchy. In both the cases, however, the principle of organisation differs. The core features of caste are: endogamy or marriage within caste, occupational differentiation and hereditary specialisation of occupations, notion of pollution and a ritual hierarchy in which Brahmins are generally at the top. Classes, on the other hand, broadly refer to economic basis of ownership or non-ownership relation to the means of production. But how does caste and class correlate to each other? Classes are sub-divided in terms of types of ownership and control of economic resources and the type of services contributed to the process of production. The Brahmanical ritual hierarchy of the caste is also not universally applicable and upheld by all. In many cases, ritual hierarchy is only contextual. The prosperous Jats in North India enjoy social and political dominance without equivalent ritual status. In most popular renditions of caste, hierarchy alone is emphasised and that too from Brahmanical point of view. Sometimes, however, caste works as a discrete community, without hierarchical relationship to other segments of society. Our conceptual categories do not always recapture the existing social reality. For instance, a conceptual distinction is often made between sharecroppers and agricultural labourers. In actual life, however, there is a high degree of overlap and they do not constitute discrete entities. Similar overlap is found in the rentier-landlord and cultivator-owner categories. The picture becomes hazier when we turn to caste-class configuration.

Caste and class resemble each other in certain respects and differ in others. Castes constitute the status groups or communities that can be defined in terms of ownership of property, occupation and style of life. Social honour is closely linked to ritual values in this closed system. Class positions also tend to be associated with social honour; however, they are defined more in terms of ownership or non-ownership

of means of production. The classes are much more open and fluid and have scope of individual upward social mobility. In caste system, only an entire segment can move upward, and hence, the mobility is much slower.

Self Assessment Questions

1. Define gender.

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2. Define ethnicity.

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Although there is considerable divergence between the hierarchy of caste and that of class, the top and bottom segments of the class system are largely subsumed under the caste structure. The upper castes own means of production (land in rural areas) and act as rentiers. The landless agrarian proletarian coincides with the lower castes or dalits who provide labour services for the rentier upper caste people as well as rich prosperous farmers of intermediate level. At the intermediate level, articulation of class-identities is more complex. The process of differentiation of communities dislocates class-relations from the caste-structure. If caste and class show a fair degree of overlap at the top and bottom level and in some cases appear almost co-terminus, the picture is quite ambiguous at the intermediate level of caste hierarchy. Similarly, the processes of modernisation especially urbanisation, acquisition of education and new skills act as the forces of dislocation that puncture the forces of social inertia and modify caste-rigidity.

Social Inequalities, Development and Participatory Politics

If social inequalities are so deeply entrenched, then how do they affect the developmental process and participation of deprived sections of society in a democratic polity? This key question has been answered in different ways. Kothari, while analysing the intrusions of caste into politics and politics into caste, distinguishes three stages in the progression of political modernisation after Independence. In the first stage, he says the struggle for political power was limited to the entrenched and the ascendant castes. In the second phase, competitions within these castes for power led to factionalism and in the third stage, lower castes have been mobilised and are asserting themselves in the political domain. In his words "It is not-politics that gets caste-ridden; it is the caste that gets politicised". With the extension of franchise in the post-colonial India, each social group and sub-group got mobilised for a share in the developmental process and competed for positions in the state-bureaucracy. The Indian polity is, thus, governed both by vertical mobilisation by the dominant castes and horizontal alliances in the name of *jati* and v*arna*. The political parties exacerbate

the existing cleavages in a developing society like India. The salience of primordial ties of kinship, caste and community play significant role in hindering the establishment of civil society. Moreover, there is never a set-chronology of mobilisation and political modernisation, especially any pre-ordained and unconditional progression along a set path. In the rural hinterlands, cleavages of caste and community and articulation of kinship and territorial affinities work against implementation of a piece of redistributive Land-reforms. The rich prosperous farmers use the existing social networks in the multi-class agrarian mobilisation in the electoral arena to mobilise and harness marginal and small farmers for their own economic interests such as lower taxes, higher prices for agricultural produce, better subsidies and cheaper credit facilities.

So, despite the egalitarian ideal of post-colonial Indian state, there are still disproportionate access to resources, power and entitlements between different social classes and castes. The relationships between the upper and lower castes in the rural areas are still governed by the ideology of caste. According to Andre Beteille, professionalisation and specialisation of modern service sector in the post-colonial Indian society has increased the role of formal education, technical skills and training; 'family' and not caste plays critical role in the social reproduction of inequality, especially in urban areas. However, it is still a debatable point whether the increasing bureaucratisation of professional activities per se enhances the chances of social mobility and equality of opportunities. Although, there may be no legal barriers to entry into "new occupation, the unequal distribution of life chances, status and power on the grounds of birth determine the social and political trajectories that accord positions, ranks and power to the individuals.

The establishment of a formal democracy in itself is no guarantee that all citizens will enjoy equal access and participation in the political processes. Political privileges are retained and ingrained in many non-elective institutions, the civil bureaucracy and the police in particular. They protect the interests of the dominant proprietary classes and the upper castes. The lower castes and classes are not yet sufficiently empowered to shape and mould the political processes or the state's social and economic policies. The powerful landed magnates of upper castes in the countryside and the industrial and business classes of urban rich make use of authoritarian streak inherent in the non-elective institutions to deny genuine democratisation of polity. The apparent assertion of their rights and mobilising capacity by the backwards and scheduled castes is used by the crafty politicians to augment their power and wealth. Such mobilisations, thus serve the interests of a spoils system and a thoroughly corrupt and inefficient bureaucracy instead of articulating a programme of equitable development and social empowerment. Apart from other institutional constraints, the failure of democracy to grant substantive democratic rights and deliver the promise of redistributive justice is rooted in the class and caste-based inequalities in India. Dreze found evidence of subtle forms of deprivation in the rural areas of the Eastern U.P. in terms of accessibility of the disadvantaged groups to schooling, health services and exclusion of marginal sections of population from effective participation in the political processes.

15.3 SUMMARY

The post- colonial state in India accepted the formal principles of equality and social-justice in its governance. However, no social-entity exists in a vacuum. The functioning of our democratic polity is profoundry and unfairly influenced by the caste and class-based inequalities. The overall balance of forces in the state especially in the non-elective institutions such as the judiciary, the police and the bureaucracy inherited from the colonial period continues to be under the domination and hegemony of the principal proprietary classes and the upper castes. The political and public spaces offer little scope for the empowerment of the poor and the lower castes. The violence against the rural poor, especially the women of lower castes and the sufferings of the people living in unhygienic conditions in sprawling slums cannot be captured by the statistical indices. While the rich and powerful garner the legal and illegal fruits of developmental process and distribution of resources by the state, the disadvantaged are victims of both the naked and subtle forms of deprivation and discrimination.

15.4 FURTHER READINGS

1. O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

2. Michael, Curtis. *Comparative Government and Politics,* New York, Harper & Row, 1998.

15.5 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. How do you differentiate rank societies and class societies ?

2. Explain whether caste was an invention of colonial modernity or a legacy of the Indian Past.

3. How does social-inequality affect our political system and developmental policies ?

RECENT DEBATE : ROLE OF ETHNICITY

Structure

16.0 OBJECTIVES

- To study and examine the role of ethnicity.

16.1 ETHNICITY AND NATION-STATE : CONCEPTUALISATION

India, like any other third world country after achieving Independence from the colonial rule, was engaged with the project of nation- building. The leadership of the country at that time believed that the only way to achieve the overall development of society was to have democratic political system in the country based on the principles of secularism, liberty, equity, socialism, which were guaranteed in the Constitution of the country. To achieve these principles the state introduced the Nehruvian or Mahalanobis model of development. But the project of nation-building with main purpose to achieve democracy and development had to be carried out amidst the ethnic diversities in the country. Apart from the caste, religious and tribal groups, the diversities in India ranged in terms of culture, languages and regional development. With different levels of development and histories, different regions and cultural groups in the country could pose a real challenge to the nation- building. Moreover, the strategic location on the international borders of the North-East, Tamil Nadu, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir made the task of nation-building more challenging. With the fresh memories of communal holocaust following the partition of the country,

the goal of nation-building was the top priority of the country's leadership after achieving Independence. It was believed at that time that with the establishment of the democratic political system and overall development, the ethnicity or the diversities in India will not pose any problem in nation building. In the process of nation-building, the ethnicity will be relegated to the background.

While in the first two decades following Independence, attempt in the quest for building India as a nation-state was basically based on the modernisation or the developmental westernisation model, from the 1980s onwards the Hindu rightist forces in the country represented by the BJP and its fraternal organisations are attempting to project India as a nation-state, or a Hindu state, based on the principles of cultural nationalism. Critical of the Nehruvian or the developmental model, advocates of such understanding strive to remove what they consider the distortions in the policies of the state. Their attempts to introduce legislation regarding the food habits, religious preferences are indication to give priority to the Hindu religion/culture/faith. In such perspective the nation is considered as the Hindu nation-state where other religions/faiths get the secondary position. This poses challenge to the nation- state in two ways - one, it does not recognise the existence of the other faiths which disagree with it, and legitimises the social hierarchy based on the Hindu varna system; second, in reaction to this there has been mobilisation of the ethnic groups based on the religious and caste considerations. It has resulted in the communal conflicts, terrorism, protest of the low castes in the form of religious conversion, caste riots, and search for an alternative ideology which professes social change. Even the rise of dravidian movement was a reaction to the Hindu nationalism as perceived by the dravidian parties of South India.

Generally ethnicity is considered as the mobilisation of a group of people who share common attributes in terms of culture, language, religion, history, etc., and who are different from another group which also shares certain common attributes. This mobilisation can be on a single attribute or more. For example mobilisation on the basis of language, religion (known as communalism in the Indian context), language, caste or tribe is considered as ethnic mobilisation. Paul R. Brass is one of the examples who uses the ethnic mobilisation and the communal mobilisation interchangeably. Dipankar Gupta differentiates between the ethnicity and communalism. He argues that ethnicity necessarily denotes mobilisation of a group in relation to another with reference to the nation-state the territory and the sovereignty. An ethnic group either proclaims itself to be the real adherent of the faith in the territory of a nation or wants to set up a sovereign state or questions the loyalty of another group. The reference to the attributes of the nation-state can be direct or indirect. In his opinion a group mobilisation which is not referred to the attributes of the nation-state territory or sovereignty is not ethnic mobilisation. It is simply communal mobilisation; the loyalty of a group to the nation-state is not doubted or proclaimed. In communalism it is the government, which is the reference point; the government is accused of either discriminating against or favouring the communal groups. In the changing context of time and space, communalism can turn into ethnicity and vice-versa.

A nation-state is a sovereign geographical entity whose foundation is the shared sentiments of a community based on the history, culture, language, religion or civilisation. But some scholars do not consider India as a nation-state. They argue that the basis of the foundation of a nation-state is single nation or nationality; in such a society people share a single common language, culture or even religion. Since there are a large number of the nationalities in India who speak different languages, share different cultural attributes, histories, religions, she is a multinational state, not a nation-state. However, generally, in the Indian context the terms, nation-state, nation or multinational state are used interchangeably.

16.2 PERSPECTIVES TO STUDY ETHNICITY

How do the people sharing common attributes of culture, language, religions within a particular territorial limits or even cutting across different regions form a group - ethnic group as distinct from such other groups? There are basically three perspectives to explain this question, the primordial, the instrumentalist, and the perspective, which combines the traits of both the primordial and the instrumentalist. According to the primordial approach the ethnic differences among the people are "given", they are inherited by them. These differences are bound to take the form of ethnic conflict between the groups. The advocates of the instrumentalist approach believe that the ethnic differences are not "given"; they are created by the elite, who could be politicians, teachers, religious leaders, etc. The latter manipulate the social cleavages or differences for the attainment of their goal. The social cleavages which might be existing together in harmony despite their differences are translated by the elite into the ethnic differences. In particular contexts the ethnic differences culminate in the form of ethnic conflicts, riots, autonomy movements or even insurgency. The basis of social cleavages, which are turned into the ethnic groups are not always real. Some of these are even "invented" or "constructed" by the elite. The third perspective believes that both these perspectives - primordial and instrumentalists, are unable to explain the issue of ethnicity. They divide the issue into "bi-polarity". It advocates the combination of both these approaches. Its advocates argue that the primordial approach does not explain as to how people, sharing commonness, get activated into the ethnic groups. Similarly, the instrumentalist approach does not explain why people sharing common attributes respond to the call of the elite who manipulate them into the ethnic groups.

16.3 MANIFESTATION OF ETHNICITY

The understanding that the ethnicity will take a back seat in the face of the development which would follow as a result of the Mahalanobis model - boosting the process of nation-state building, was contested soon. Much before the results of the model became visible, the premise on which it was based was questioned. It was argued that such a model of nation-building ignored the smaller nationalities in the country. It was an imposition on them. Their identities, cultures, histories and aspirations were neglected. This model of nation-state building was antithetical to their interests. The advocates of this perspective protested against the nationalist perspective. Started with the revolt of the Nagas in the North-East, it spread to Tamil Nadu in the South and Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir in the North. Ethnic

challenge to the nation-building continued in almost all parts of the country since then, on the lines of caste, religion, region, language, tribes, etc. While a single attribute could be the most visible marker in the formation of the ethnic identity, it has been the combination of more than one which actually had provided the basis for it. Similarly, Hindu rightist forces were challenged. Its critics argued that India is not a nation-state. It is a multi-national state. Paul R. Brass in fact argued that though in practice the national level Indian policy makers followed the Mahalanobis model, they had accepted in principle the pluralist characteristics - different linguistic, religious and other minorities of the country in terms of its policies. This sort of pluralism was accepted in the national level policies only, But the state governments often followed discriminatory and assimilative policies towards the minorities. To project that India is nation-state is virtually a denial of the existence of the pluralism and the diversities in the country.

The ethnic challenge to the nation-building/nation-state building took the following shapes in India:

1) Autonomy movements

2) Demand for secession

3) Insurgency .

4) Conflicts and riots on the basis of identity markers - tribe, caste, language, religion, etc.

First three forms of ethnic manifestation are also called self-determination movements. It needs to be noted that these forms of manifestation do not follow a uniform sequence of occurrence in the country. It might start with one form and assume another form in different situations. From the 1950s onwards the conflicts based on these have been common in various regions of the country. In fact, Salig S. Harrison termed the first two decades following the Independence as the "most dangerous decades" referring to the linguistic or communal conflicts which took place in the country at that time. Very often such conflicts in the states were rooted in the local situations.

The linguistic reorganisation of the states created the states on the basis of some common linguistic traits. But there continued the conflicts on the basis of religion, native-immigrant dichotomy, dialect/linguistic controversy in many parts of the country. Demand for the autonomy within states and for the secession from the country cropped up. These often resulted in violence. While in the case of the autonomy movements, insurgency, and secessionist movements the main targets of the protagonists is the state agencies, especially identified with the central government quite often this also involves the ethnic conflict or riots between different communities in a region. But if it is a conflict/riot on the basis of language, religion, castes, tribal identity, it is mainly between different groups. In such cases the state agencies can be perceived as being partisan to a particular community or be really so as against the other. The scholars have, however, noticed that the secessionist tendencies in India have existed alongwith the nationalist sentiments.

16.4 RESPONSE OF THE STATE

The response of the state depends on the context of political situation. The general pattern of the state response to the ethnic manifestations in India has included coercion, accommodation, causing the division within the ethnic movement, appeasement of and patronage to a particular section of the leadership of the movement, etc. Paul R Brass has argued that in the 1950s and 1960s the central government had pursued unwritten rules towards the ethic conflicts, etc., - not considering the demand for the political recognition of the religious communities; no concession to the demand of the linguistic, regional or other culturally defined groups; and no concession to the cultural groups in conflict unless both sides support it substantially. For example, it was not until the demand for a Punjabi Suba got the support of the leadership in Haryana for a separate Hindi speaking area that the Punjabi Suba - the state of Punjab, was created.

16.5 THE MAIN CASES OF ETHNICITY IN INDIA

There are several examples of ethnic manifestation in different regions of India. This section discusses the most prominent of them.

16.5.1 North-East India

With their distinct histories, geographical location and diverse ethnic composition, almost all the states of North-East India have been beset with the problems of ethnicity, They all have witnessed insurgency, ethnic conflicts and riots and autonomy movements in varying degrees at different point of times in the post-Independence period; They have generally taken violent forms. Even as the elements of the insurgency are present in almost all the states, it took, the most strident form in Nagaland and Mizoram. There are forces in most of the states of North-East India which believe that they are not Indians; their territories have been merged with India forcibly without their consent. They would prefer to have their own sovereign nation-states. The insurgent groups in Nagaland for example did not accept the Indian Constitution, its VI schedule meant for the North-East, boycotted the first general election held in 1952 in the country, and declared to have set up their own sovereign state in exile the Federal Republic of Nagaland. In the past two decades new insurgent groups have emerged in almost all states of the region. Supported by the foreign countries, especially the bordering neighbours, these have set up an umbrella organisation under the leadership of the NSCN (National Socialist Council of Nagaland). They question the sovereignty of the Indian state and the concept of the nation-state. The areas of Assam which are inhabited by the Khasis, Jaintias and Garos had witnessed the movement for an autonomous state in the 1960s. It resulted in the formation of a separate state of Meghalaya in 1972. In Assam, there are agitations for the creation of the autonomous states like Bodoland and Karbi Anglong, etc. The target in the insurgency is the sovereignty of the state – police, army and other institutions; the autonomy movements do not question the sovereignty of the state, but their attack also is diverted against the state agencies. The insurgency and the autonomy movements often result in the ethnic riots, especially between the tribals and non-tribals or between one or the other tribe. All these developments ultimately get linked to the state policies regarding the North-East region.

There are mainly two perspectives which analyse the issue of ethnicity and nation-building in the context of the North-East India. The first is the modernisation/development/ "nation-state building" perspective. The second is the "federation-building" perspective. The former views the problems as the outcome of the following: the process of "nation-building" in the face of the conflict between the modern and tradition; the process of modernisation and transition (democratisation); conflict between the modern and traditional leadership; and the inability of the system to fulfil the aspirations of the new generation. The scholars who have used this perspective are S. K. Chaube, V B Singh, B G Verghese, Myron Wiener and Hiren Guhain. The second perspective is basically a critique of the first one. This perspective is available largely in the writings of the scholars who hail from the North-Eastern region. The prominent representatives of this perspective are Sanjib Baruah, Sajal Nag, Udyan Sharma, Hiren Guhain, Sanjay Hazarika and M P Bezbaruah. In fact, Urmila Phadnis is of the opinion that the main leadership in the entire South Asia followed the notion of nationhood as per the considerations of the dominant groups and ignored the minority constituents of the society. The scholars who adhere to this perspective argue that the problems in the North-East are the result of the "nation-state building" perspective of the mainstream national level leadership. They further argue that in their quest of the "nation-state building" the dominant groups of the country represented by the central government and the mainstream leadership ignored the periphery", the smaller nationalities of the North-East; have acted as a "step mother" to them; shown arrogant attitude; paid less attention to the human rights violation in the North-East than other parts of the country. These factors have resulted in the insurgency problem in the North-East. This perspective is well articulated in the suggestion of Sanjib Baruah that the mainstream leadership of the country should replace their "nation-state building" approach in favour of "genuine federation-building" in order to retrieve the situation.

Self Assessment Questions

1. Define ethnicity.

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2. Discuss the role of ethnicity.

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16.5.2 Tamil Nadu

The most strident opposition to the notion of India as a nation-state had come in South India much before the country was freed from the colonial rule. The Dravidian movement of Tamil Nadu became the representative of this in the region. Originating in the Self-Respect Movement and later getting articulated in the form of the Justice

Parly, DK and DMK, the Dravidian nationalism questioned the dominant notion of the nationalism and nation-state in the country on three grounds - religion, language and caste. The pioneer of the Dravidian nationalism, E V Ramaswami Naicker, popularly known as Periyar, argued that the dominant nationalism in India was articulated by the Congress which was based on the Hindu religion or Brahminism, Hindi language and high castes, especially Brahminism. It was antithetical to the Dravidian nationalism based on non-Aryan Dravidian religion, Tamil language and the low castes. It was necessary to protect the Dravidian identity and nationalism from the domination of the North Indian high caste nationalism. These two forms of nationalism could not exist together. The demand for secession, anti-Hindi agitation and later demand for more autonomy were the examples of the implications of the challenge of ethnicity to state in South India.

The legacy of Periyar was carried forward by C M Annadurai and M Karunanidhi. Annadurai, however, disagreed with the Periyar. While Periyar held only the Brahminism responsible for the plight of the low castes, Annadurai said it was also because of the colonial policies that the domination of the North Indian high castes and Congress was established over the Dravidians. According to Annadurai, the way to liberate the Dravidas from two oppressors -colonialism and the North Indian Brahmins and Banias was to secede from India and set up independent Dravida Nadu. He argued that an independent, democratic republic of India would be favourable to their demand for secession. Narendra Subramanian observes that the Dravidian parties were the first political parties to challenge the hegemony of the Congress in an Indian state. Comparing the Dravidian ethnic assertion with other secessionist movements in the country, he observes that it was less violent in nature. It was basically an ideological movement. The DMK emerged as an alternative to the Congress in the 1960s, which assumed power in 1967. Since then the power in Tamil Nadu has been shared by the DMK and AIDMK with the help of allies.

The demand for secession, however, did not generate the mass support like those of Nagaland or Jammu and Kashmir. Nor did it generate that level of violence. The demand of secessionism was dropped by the Dravidian parties in the course of time. But the sense of their separate Tamil identity continued even after that. The secessionist tendencies gave way to the demand for the autonomy of the states in the 1960s. The Dravidian parties of Tamil Nadu became important allies of the forces which demanded autonomy in the country.

The thrust on the Dravidian culture deterred the growth of ethnicity on the lines of Hindu communalism in Tamil Nadu. Unlike other states of South India, the basis of challenge to the Hindu communalism in Tamil Nadu had been ideological.

16.5.3 Punjab

The ethnicity in Punjab got manifested mainly in the form of autonomy movement and insurgency, which had the regional, religious and economic basis. Sometimes it had taken the form of the communal conflict between the Hindus and Sikhs. Punjab had witnessed the autonomy movement during the 1950s and 1960s, which was spearheaded by the Akali Dal. The Akali leadership argued that the areas of Punjab which were inhabited by the people whose mother tongue was Punjabi, and

who followed Sikh religion should be given an autonomous province of their own. According to Baldev Raj Nayar, the Akali leadership followed three-pronged strategy to mobilise the support - constitutional, infiltration and agitational. The first involved the constitutional means like memoranda, rallies, marches, etc.; the second allowed a large number of the Akali Dal members to penetrate the Congress organisation and influence its decisions 'from within in favour of a Punjabi Suba; and the third consisted of marches to shrines, use of force, intimidation. The agitational strategy often led to violence. In fact, there were two groups within the Akali Dal, one represented by Sant Fateh Singh giving the socio-economic explanation; another was represented by Master Tara Singh who justified the demand for Punjabi Suba on the religious ground - for an autonomous province of the Sikhs.

The period from the 1980s onwards was marked by the next phase of the autonomy movement in Punjab. Unlike the earlier one, this had developed into the insurgency movement challenging the sovereignty of the Indian state and for setting up of Khalistan (the Sikh homeland) founded on the tenets of Sikh religion. It also bred the communal divide between the Sikhs and the Hindus in Punjab. Marked by the large scale violence, which resulted in innumerable deaths and colossal loss of property, the movement in Punjab challenged the edifice of the Indian nation-state. The context of the Akali agitation in this phase was different from the 1950s and 1960s. Following the decline of the Congress and rise of the Akali Dal as a significant Force in Punjab changed the trends in the state politics from the late 1960s. In an attempt to retain her control on the politics of the country, and the Congress organisation, Indira Gandhi personalised the Congress and intervened in the politics of the states directly, especially in the selection of the Chief Ministers of the Congress-ruled states. This coincided with the rising demands for the change in the centre-state relations to be more favourable to the states. The challenge posed by the Akali Dal to the dominance of the Congress in Punjab in the 1970s prompted Indira Gandhi to use Sikh religious symbols to mobilise the Sikh votes. In the 1980 election to the Punjab Legislative Assembly, she took the help of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, a Sikh religious leader to seek the support of Sikhs. This had two consequences. On the one hand it encouraged the religious leaders, especially Bhindranwale to act independent of the political leadership and become belligerent. With the support of the foreign forces, he was able to rally a large number of the youth and demand a separate Sikh homeland - Khalistan. During the Khalistani movement large scale violence took place, which resulted in the assassination of Indira Gandhi, which was part of the chain of the processes following the Operation Blue Star. The Khalistan agitation had challenged the legitimacy and the sovereignty of the Indian Nation-State. On the other hand, the use of Sikh religion and the imposition of the Sikh code of conduct on the Hindus created the communal divide between the Sikhs and Hindus in Punjab. This, sometimes, culminated into communal riots and conflicts.

There are two types of explanation of the Punjab crisis as the developments there came to be addressed during the 1970s and 1980s - the socio-economic and political. The first is provided by the economists and the Marxist scholars. The main representatives of this framework are - Sucha Singh Gill, K C Singhal, Harish Kumar Puri, Joyce Pettigrew, M S Dhami, Javeed Alam and Gurharpal Singh. They argue that

the roots of the Punjab crisis lie in the social and economic problems of the people, especially in the wake of the green revolution; unable to meet the cost in agriculture along with the rising unemployment, the crisis of Sikh identity caused by the impact of consumerism and modern values provided a fertile ground for the rise of militancy in Punjab. The scholars who give political explanation, for example Paul R Brass, criticise the socio-economic explanation as inadequate and reductionist. They argue, on the other hand, that the Punjab crisis has been the outcome of the political manipulation of the religion and the problems of the people by the politicians. According to Brass, it had actually been the manipulation of the services of Bhindranwale by Indira Gandhi in the context of changing centre-state relations which gave birth to the militancy in Punjab.

16.5.4 Jammu and Kashmir

The autonomy movement and insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir is linked to the geographical, historical and religious factors. Before its accession, the political leadership in the state had been divided on the issue of its relationship to the nation-state. While the king Hari Singh, who wanted to retain it as an independent state, opposed the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India, the most popular leader of the state Sheikh Abdullah wanted it to be merged with India. But once the state got acceded to India and Sheikh Abdullah became the Prime Minister of the state, the post which existed only in this state and later on it was converted to the post of chief minister. He started wavering on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India. He formed the Plebiscite Front, which provoked the central government to depose and imprison him from 1953 till 1964.

There have been demands for autonomy within the state of Jammu and Kashmir from two regions - Jammu and the Ladakh, where the non-Kashmiris form substantial part of the population. The state of Jammu and Kashmir has also joined other states for the regional autonomy in terms of the change in the centre-state relations. The state has witnessed the insurgency since 1980s which resulted in the large scale violence and communal divide in the state. The involvement of Pakistan in the insurgency has posed the challenge to the Indian Nation-state. According to Balraj Puri, the reasons for the insurgency in the Jammu and Kashmir are: attitude of the central government, the lack of opposition in the state, derailment of democracy by the state and central leadership, rising unemployment and problems of the people, and the Cold War and Pakistan. In his opinion though the causes of insurgency in the state have been existing from 1947 itself, its recent phase which started from 1986 does not have links with the earlier period. The central government curtailed the autonomy granted to the state in 1947; through the Constitutional Amendment, it made Articles 356 and 357 applicable to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The central government as well as Sheikh Abdullah did not let the opposition grow in the state; the democracy was derailed in the name of nationalism; the interference of the central government in the affairs of the state and the unprincipled stance of the state government. These factors bred the feelings of helplessness among the people of Jammu and Kashmir. It coincided with the rising unemployment and deterioration in the material conditions of the people. At the same time refusal to grant autonomy within the state to the regions

of Jammu and Ladakh engendered regional divide within the state. The void created by the absence of democratic opposition, political parties was filled up by the communal and fundamentalist forces. Encouraged and abated by Pakistan, these forces became the sources of insurgency in the state. The government's failure to find the solution which could integrate the people of Jammu and Kashmir emotionally to the nation-state, and instead relying on the armed forces has aggravated the problem.

16.6 SUMMARY

To sum up, ethnicity is one of the challenges which the Indian nation-state faces. It is manifested in the form of the self-determination movements - the autonomy movements, secessionist movements, insurgency and ethnic conflicts and riots. In an attempt to build the nation-state, the national leadership in the country in the first two decades following independence believed that the overall development/modernisation of the country would result in subordinating the ethnic challenge. It introduced the Nehruvian/Mahalanobis model for building the nation-state. But within a few years of independence, the country was engulfed in the linguistic agitations and communal violence. The model of nation-state building was contested by the smaller nationalities in various parts of the country - Nagas and Mizos in the North-East, Dravidan movement in Tamil Nadu, Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. The number of ethnic conflicts continue to grow in the country.

There are mainly three sets of explanation for the rise of ethnic challenge to the nation-state -the primordial, the instrumental and a combination of the primordial and the instrumental. The instrumental explanation is the most predominant. It has been argued by some scholars that the nation-state building model is an attempt of the dominant leadership in the country to subordinate the smaller nationalities. To retrieve the situation, there has to be a reversal in the policies from the "nation-state building" to "genuine federation-building".

16.7 FURTHER READINGS

1. Jean Blondel. *An Introduction to Comparative Government*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1990.

2. O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

16.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What is ethnicity? Discuss the perspectives to study it.

2. Identify the forms of manifestation of ethnicity. Compare the challenge of ethnicity to the nation-state in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.

3. Examine the ethnicity in the context of North-East India.

4. Write a note on the ethnic challenge to the nation-state with the example of Tamil Nadu.

RECENT DEBATE : GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Structure

17.0 OBJECTIVES

-   To study and examine the role of gender in development.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

The biological difference between man and woman is generally the basis of defining them in two diametrically opposite social categories as male and female and thereby attributing to them the characteristics of masculine and feminine. This sexual difference becomes the basis of many unscientific, irrational and artificial differences between man and woman. The way these differences are produced and then rationalised is what is known as gender relationship. Thus while sex is natural and biological and one can do very little to change it, gender is a socio-cultural phenomenon and hence changes its definition, etc., according to its socio-cultural locale. A pioneering feminist Ann Oakley has tried to state this in these terms: "Gender is a matter of culture, it refers to the social classification of men and women into 'masculine' and "feminine." Gender reflects the existing power relationship in any given society. The power relations in society are of unequal nature, where women are given secondary position to men. What seems to be the way out? What are some of the ways in which the solution to this massive inequality has been sought to be overcome? These are some of the issues that we shall deal with in this unit.

17.2 WOMEN AND GENDER

According to the historians of gender relations, women have been given a lower socioeconomic and political status in social hierarchy. Their status is determined by the politically and economically dominant power which is quite often wielded by the male be it as an individual or as a group. In 1974 Kate Millet in her book Sexual Politics defined this, structure of power as 'patriarchy'. The way a girl child is socialised into accepting the powerful male authority has been, one of the key themes of the sociologists and historians. Another pioneering feminist, philosopher Simone De Beauvoir in her monumental book Second sex tried to unravel this aspect of our social life. There have been, therefore, serious attempts to understand, and as a Marxist and a feminist would say, to break the power relationship so that women could come out of their subordinated position to taste the freedom of opportunity, life and happiness.

Patriarchal system impinges on every sphere of a woman's life. In modern economy for example, woman, as woman, neither has easy access to the formal sectors of employment nor is there generally an equal wage structure for both men and women, i.e., women were paid less than the men for the same job. They also lack access to space and institutions to express themselves. At home, from selecting a partner to planning the size of the family, one finds, her power of decision-making is quite often circumscribed by familial, societal or community rules and norms. Finally, access to facilities of better health care and nutrition is also preferentially distributed. Women, either as girl children or as pregnant women, or merely as women, do not get the required attention. This gets reflected in the rate of mortality and exposure to illness.

In cultural arena too, from religious discourse to the portrayal in media, women quite often are reduced to the role of what is called second sex or quite often treated merely as an object or a commodity.

17.3 DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

Development has been differently defined as, progress, positive change in the socioeconomic position of the people, a community or a nation. In the Third World and in most of the erstwhile colonised countries, it was the demand for development and a future developmental vision that defined their movement for liberation. In India, for example, the nationalist leaders had already arrived at a consensus on the developmental path that the country would choose once it gets independence. The idea of self-reliance both the ability to take independent economic decisions and follow independent path of development was shared by leaders across continents. The Marxist understanding of the primacy of economic basis of exploitation added an extra merit to such ideas. For the feminist who shared the Marxian analysis as well as politics therefore the idea of development was not something contrary to their basic programme. If development was supposed to change the economic bases on which gender relationship was defined then it was presumed that development was the preferred mode of changing those bases. It is therefore not a coincidence that large women's movements have never been anti-developmental.

This vision of development was, however, not merely economic progress but was closely related to the political expression of independence. Democracy was closely tied to this vision of independence. Democracy and democratic institutions, for example, as Constitution framers of India thought, were the greatest guarantee of women's rights and well-being. As experience has shown, it is the democratic system which has provided the women space to make their individual as well as collective voice felt. No wonder that we have found that the women's voices were quite strong in the movement for restoration of democracy in Latin America, Asian and African countries.

The state occupied quite a central place in the developmental vision. First, it was the leadership of the anti-colonial movement which came to occupy the state apparatus and therefore there was some amount of a close relationship between the leadership, the state and the masses. Second, it was only the state which could have mobilised resources at such large quantum and therefore became quite crucial.

Economic development and political development was quite often co-terminus with the drive for modernising the state, the society and its institutions. Equality, the legal rights of man and woman, and idea of citizenship were the key to such modernisation. For example, in Egypt it was Gamel Abdul Nasser's administration which expanded the economy and brought large women work force out of their traditional working environment, guaranteed them equal rights and since 1954 guaranteed equal wages. Similarly, in Tunisia where it was the moderniser and secular president Borghuiba and in Iraq it was the Baath socialist party which tried to bring about modernisation by developing their economy. In India too it was the state which initiated the first reform measure when after a lot of debate and discussion, it reformed the Hindu Succession Act in 1956 in which women were given equal right of inheritance.

There were two predominant strategies for development followed by the less developed and ex-colonial countries. First, there was a sense of urgency in correcting the disarticulation effected by the colonial countries. Creating an industrial base for the future industrial and economic activity in this sense was a natural outcome. This prioritised the heavy industries sector and an import substitution strategy. In many countries, like India, Egypt, Iraq, Pakistan and even in Iran, it was the state which initiated and supervised the entire activity through planning resource mobilisation as well as resource distribution.

The second strategy adopted was export led-growth. Followed mainly in smaller sized countries, it entailed a close linking with the global economy and specialising in the goods and services produced for the world market. This was followed mainly in the East Asian countries, Israel, Morocco, Tunisia, etc. Korean economy which was even in the 1960s was a sleepy economy could get into the dynamic fold and made huge strides.

17.4 AGENCIES OF DEVELOPMENT

There is a close link between the change of the overall status of women and the autonomy that she gains through changes in some crucial areas of her life, i.e., access to education, better healthcare, access to gainful employment and opportunity to take

decisions, etc. The society, as is empirically known, does not grant these without struggle. Thus, there is a vicious circle. The three agencies which seem to help her in this struggle to break this circle and thereby help her gain the required autonomy are namely, the individual (she herself), the community that she lives in and in the modern times the state. In recent times there have been other agencies, the United Nations, the World Bank, and multinational aid and developmental agencies which are supra-state or multinational agencies. However, at the moment, in most places, they try and invoke primarily the agencies of self, community and the state in furthering the interests and development of women.

There is a strong belief, i.e., the libertarian, which insists that it is the individual and her merit that alone count. Any intervention by the community and the state on her behalf, they argue, proves not only counter productive in the final analysis but also detrimental to her well-being. This proves helpful in pursuing policies, which advocate the state's withdrawal from any welfare activities. It was made popular during the early eighties with people like Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan who argued for what is known as complete freedom to the individual and the withdrawal of the state from affairs of individual freedom. Thus women too have to fend for themselves according to this logic and only the meritorious would come up.

There is another stand, i.e., the communitarian view, which has gained some popularity these days due to two factors. First, the most powerful women's movement over the last three decades have been fought by women with the help of the local communities. They have thus inspired other struggles. Second, the western aid agencies too are propagating the communitarian idea in their programmes. Quite often they are projected in opposition to *the state*. The basic proposition is that women's development and freedom lies in the community itself where rights are enshrined. It is therefore the community which should be galvanised to further the development of the women. On closer analysis, however, one finds that the natural or traditional communities in most places are bound up with patriarchal normative universe from which the women could hardly get true justice. The religious communities, village communities or even artificial communities like trade unions or other professional bodies are hardly the epitome of equality between men and women. Quite often the religious communities have made the life of women worse as has happened with the traditional Hindu or for that matter Muslim and Christian social life. The women in countries like Algeria, Turkey, Tunisia, Morocco were gaining freedom and equality under modern regimes till the Islamicists arrived in the scene in the eighties. So is the case with the Catholic communities where the women are still struggling for their sexual rights or rights of divorce. There are matrilineal communities where women possess a lot of rights but a close look would reveal that the matters of power and political decisions are controlled by men. There is also a continuous effort to west from women's control even the residual powers. Thus, the claim that the communitarian makes, i.e., that it is the communities which ensures real freedom for women, seems, on a careful analysis, not true to a great extent. However, the communities of women, have proved to be a successful contribution of the feminist movement. This not only gives women the much needed political and social space to-express themselves freely but also paves the way for political and social mobilisation.

In modern times it is the state which has most often played the crucial role in enabling the women to access those facilities and resources that facilitate her autonomy. However, the dilemma remains that when the powers inimical to women's interest capture the state, women are left to fight one more agency. This time it is superior to all others by virtue of having a monopoly over coercive authority. When the state goes to war, for example, with another state it can be harsh to the rights of women. Iraq under the Baath party rule in the seventies gave women tremendous autonomy and facilitated their development. By the end of 1970s 29 per cent of the medical doctors, 49 per cent dentists, 70 per cent of the pharmacists, 46 per cent of the teachers and university lecturers, 33 per cent of the government staff and 45 per cent farm employees were women. Maternity leave was generous and pregnant women had their jobs protected. But the War with Iran in 1980 changed the state's attitude. Now they were told that they should bear five children to narrow the gap between Iraq's population (15 million people) and Iran's (47 million).

From a very prominent one to a supportive role, the state figured in all paradigms of development. In the socialist model of development, the state played not only a central role but was also the organiser and mobiliser of production in society. Market was seen to have no role in the decisions of production. However, in cases like that of India, state was thought to be pivotal and acted as such. Here state not only acted along side the market but at the same time it played a socially emancipatory role too. On the other side of the spectrum societies like the USA where state seems to have a withdrawn role, in the final analysis it is the state which comes in basic developmental agent in both infrastructural as well as in the domain of infrastructural facilities for the development.

However, the state has a significant role to play in the developing countries. Even in the Scandinavian countries, it is the state, which has come up to mobilise the social resources to provide some of the largest welfare measures to the women. In Latin America for example, it was the state, which provided education to the largest chunk of women. Many of the West Asian countries played a crucial role in changing the status of women. Here the state has to fight the family and community ties. Iran, Iraq, Tunisia, Turkey, etc, helped to bring women out in the productive space and to attain some amount of autonomy.

In India, for example, like many other colonised countries, the leadership of the freedom movement inherited the state apparatus of the erstwhile rulers. They tried to reorient those structures into taking up the role of new developmental tasks. Gender and particularly the development of women was also considered as a responsibility of state. The women's movement in India for example till today keep forcing and demanding that the state should intervene more and more to bring equality between sexes in public places and work place, curb violence against women in both domestic and public places, and provide opportunities to women. However, the movement felt that making the state take up these tasks needs the presence of women in decision-making places and hence there are demands for guaranteeing women space in the otherwise male domain of legislature.

The idea of well-being sees an entrenched women's development in the development of her capabilities through which, it is argued, her freedom and development is ensured. These capabilities include those, which are essential for her survival as a human being also. Exploring gender and human development in India, Martha Nussbaum argues very strongly for an approach which seeks to raise the capabilities of the women and therefore their possibilities in warding off the exclusionary chances. She argues that the key to development of women is to provide them with the cover of justice because only in such a situation can these capabilities be ensured. There is a strong need for the fulfilment of what she tried to develop as the list of 'Central Human Functional capabilities'. The list includes, life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, control aver one's own environment.

The fulfillment of these capabilities involves addressing the moral question too as it involves prioritising the fulfilment of such capabilities over something else. Also, it is the question of these human abilities exerting a moral claim in the political arena. The basic intuition from which the capability approach begins, in the political arena, is that certain human abilities exert a moral claim that should be developed. This begs the question as to "whom does this make the claim on ?" And then one realises that for gender justice and development issues of larger society cannot be whisked away. They are as important as talking about the claim of capabilities, and there should be a democratic order to which these claims can be made.

And it is here that a humane exploitation-less society based on some normative horizon is striven for, the century-old women's movement has been a living testimony of how collective human endeavour can change the face of human civilisation from a patriarchal barbarity to a more equal and just society.

17.5 CRITIQUE OF DEVELOPMENT

Beginning with the anti-Vietnam War movement to the radical students' movement in the USA and Europe, there were other events that were changing the world in the sixties. The growing environmental activism of the late 60s in the west and the cultural revolution in China with the massacre of the communists in Indonesia and other places and the intensification of the cold war and finally the defeat of the US forces in Vietnam were shaping the face of an entirely new world. The hike in the oil prices shocked the first world economy and there seemed to be a new confidence of the Third World countries.

On the other hand, the growing awareness of the issues and criticism by the women's movement gradually began to view the existing models of women's liberation critically. Ester Boserup's work, Woman's Role in Economic Development, for example, was a major eye opener. It argued that economic work of the female is never accounted for in the analysis of economic activities. Thus, the Green Revolution agricultural strategy was criticised. It was argued that it focused on technology and training of men while conveniently forgetting the women whose work, quite a substantial economic activity in the fields, was considered non-consequential. On the theoretical domain it meant there were efforts to: 1) bring about changes in the way the economic activity is

perceived and, 2) broaden the concerns and issues of women so as to include the women of the Third World.

It was now argued by the feminist groups and women's movement in various countries, as they took cognisance of the experience and aspirations of the *middle class* European white women that some of the fundamental premises of the feminist movement was too limited. Any meaningful struggle for liberation, it was argued, must take into account the problems which women in the Third World face in their day to day life. The poor women of the Third World were doubly exploited. First, they are women and secondly, they come from Third World and poor background. Thus class and gender both fuse in them. Their issues were not merely related to domestic violence or demand for sexual choices but to the very basic human development items, i.e., education, health and employment. They needed to come out of the vicious circle of poverty which prevented them from even coming out of the tyranny of tradition. It began to be argued that for the end of subordination of the female, the beginning should be made from the lower end, i.e., the poor women of the Third World.

On the other hand, there have been efforts by the United Nations since 1975 (which was declared as the women's year) to bring the issues related to women in the major international forum and discuss the issues relating to their resolution even at a global level, As a result there has been a real internationalisation of the issues of women's development and freedom. The ensuing debate, in fact, forced many states and women's movement to have a relook at their programmes and priorities.

The Indian case is worth considering as it has made major contributions. The women's movement flourished during the anti-colonial struggle. The fact that the constitution had accepted equal rights to vote other equalities was a vindication of the fact that national movement had accepted the basic ethos of equality in 1947 itself. The focus of post-independence movement was to get the state involved more and more into the development programme in such ways as not to let women lag behind. It is for this reason they attacked the government to shed its welfarist approach. Since the mid-1970s, however, one can see two broad terrains in the women's movement. One that was part of the larger political economic movement and demanded more state's action in the issues of women. The other were the autonomous groups which took specific issues of women and organised people along those issues. Soon sharp divergences began to appear as one could see that the autonomous groups began attacking the development role of the state.

There have been strong criticisms of the idea of development. The ideas of modern industrialism, nation-state, and the scientific world view are closely associated with the idea of development which was the newest of all. The criticism came that all of them have worked against women. They have, it is argued, increased inequalities and deprived women of whatever control they earlier had over the resources of community or family. It is the modern state and its agencies which were supposed to have taken over those rights and powers. Similarly, the critique pointed out that the massive industrial complexes are antithetical to the women's interests. Technical complexes and technological world militates against some of the basic features of women's nature and interest. Thus the stream of environmental activism and one

stream of feminism mingled and created a strong critique which came to be known as eco-feminism. Some of the feminist authors have shown India's Green Revolution as a classic example of how development was anti-women.

In the 1950s to the late 1970s, the Green Revolution swept the world. It focused on increasing food production through expanding the area under production and increasing yields from those areas already under production by using faster maturing and higher yielding seed varieties and higher inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides. It resulted in dramatic increases in food production, and increased standard of living in some regions (increases in housing, electricity, transportation, etc.). Critics of the Green Revolution have pointed out that it has brought uneven distribution of benefits and its emphasis on new technologies in fact was creating more inequality between men and women. This also resulted in monoculture which meant less variety and therefore dependence on the market thereby making the lives of women more difficult than before. Similarly, with monocultures, crops also have become more vulnerable to pests, droughts, etc., and thus not only there is reduced food security at the local level but also environmental hazard such as increased salinity, etc, began to affect the life of the people. And in all this women were a major casualty.

Self Assessment Questions

1. Define political development.

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    _____

2. Any two agencies of development.

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The post-independent development in many a ex-colonised countries was also seen from the prism of socialism. It was argued that development was leading to a capitalist development which does not augur well for women as it was argued that capitalism is not only antithetical to gender justice, development which is leading to capitalism, but also not conducive to women's well-being. They show as vindication of their point, the wide spread practice of female foeticide in some of the relatively more developed states like Punjab, Haryana and Gujarat in India.

It was argued that during the 1950s and 60s development was considered merely a technical problem of raising productivity by technological input. It is said to have been lacking both political or ideological and even policy dimensions whereby women and children could be brought under the rubric of development. When women were included they were more often than not confined to the reproductive roles which was a stereotypical western understanding of the Third World women; No agency was given to women to voice their own understanding and concerns. At a more basic level

they argued that initial concern for equality between women and men was based on the enlightenment ideals of a liberal western world which did not take into cognizance the women of the Third World. Here they were not only countering the male dominance but also poverty and other forms of exploitation and inequality. Thus, the concern in even what emerged as the feminist studies also began shifting to "poor women" and poverty alleviation rather than, the welfarist or pure humanitarian concerns. Women were now constructed as "vulnerable," as "victims," and as "invisible." Scholars and policy makers argued that one of the major reasons for the failure of different development projects was precisely this invisibility.

17.6 FROM WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT TO GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

The result of the criticism of development was that by 1986, at the end of the United Nation's initiative in which Indian experience and women's movement also had a contribution, there should be large scale and conscious effort to involve women into the development process and be given access to the formal sector of the economy. Its rationale was that development was failing because it is failing to take advantage of the labour of half of the population- that is, the labour of women. As a prescriptive analysis, income-generation and micro-enterprise projects become popular focus. Women's tune began to be seen as "elastic", in other words they have time to take on new projects. Thus, the incorporation into formal or informal sector as workforce was seen to be a solution to the vicious circle in which the women were.

At the strategic level, the Women in Development (WID) approach focused on women as a group and sought to address the exclusion of women from the development process. It emphasised that if development would only incorporate and include women's productive capacity, it would be much more efficient. Since the 1970s the world is no more the old world. Global environmental concerns, issues of smaller communities living in far off places like the villages in the Himalayan hills, or the Andean villages in South America or the Chiapas in Mexico or in the 'African continents, etc. were coming to fore in the discourse on development. The issue of power relationship, key to the decision-making process, also was gradually coming into open even in the discussion of women's issues. Starting with the German Greens, the concerns began to take shape in the women's movement as well as movements of different local communities in Asia; Africa and South America. From 1974, the women in the Garhwal Himalayas (India) got engaged in a long struggle against the felling of trees by Government contractors. As forest was key to the day to day livelihood in which it was women who had to struggle most, it was the women of the area who pioneered the movement. It was not a feminist movement so to say, but a struggle for livelihood, for a better and humane development. Soon the protest embraced other issues but the protest which soon attracted outside attention became a focal point in concern over the livelihood issues which were intimately connected with the planning process and developmental concerns. Similar struggles dotted the South and Latin America where the 1970s was also the phase of a very bitter and powerful democratic upsurge as well as popular movements. Neo-liberal reforms had failed to provide a better life situation or employment opportunities and the end of the 1970s saw economies after economies in Latin America plunging into economic and financial

crisis. The women became the greatest sufferers of these developments. As a result there grew a strong reaction to the idea that development itself is not a solution. Suspicion of the state too has surfaced in many quarters. Thus critique of component of development has taken the shape of a critique of development itself. A multitude of feminist movements across the world also added to the experience. They showed the deep negative impact of developmental work by the State or multinational agencies were doing on the lives of females at the local level. These experiences then got transferred into the theoretical domain.

All these have led to what is in the theoretical domain began to be referred to as Gender and Development (GAD) paradigm. This would advocate not to look at women as just to be there to be inducted into some developmental programme but argue for looking at development as something completely different from how it has been perceived so far. It would argue for closer look into the structures of decision-making of development. One of the premises was that the paradigm that dictated development was defined and structured along patriarchal lines and quite often based on western models too which structurally are incapable of taking into account the concerns and issues of the non western women and hence paradigm has to be shifted.

One stream within this talked of autonomous spaces to be given more importance. It emphasised that self-reliant development is not possible within established structures which were definitely patriarchal. The large developmental and modernising projects were seen as more often detrimental to women's development and well-being and at the prescriptive level they favoured small, local and participatory projects where women's voice could be more decisive. Hence, instead of large governmental projects, small is argued to "beautiful and effective".

Empowerment of women was thought to be the only way to ensure their participation in their own development and this in turn was possible only when the concentration were to be small with an effective local level development vision. Thus, at the execution level it favoured non-governmental initiative which it was thought could bring in more of the participatory approaches, focused on small-scale women-only projects, to assure participation and prevent male domination. At the level of political struggle an autonomous movement of women has been projected as the only possible way to achieve more power to the women.

In this understanding, the crucial feature has been the attack on the idea of the traditional understanding of the domain of Private and Public in which women's work as well as life has been compartmentalised. It has been argued that in the final analysis this dual domain is instrumental in women getting exploited on a daily basis. The male argument of being breadwinner rests on his work on the public domain. The women's work, in the private domain is economically not even valued and if she works outside as well, only the outside is valued. Therefore, the notion of public/private help sustaining an exploitative gender division.

The premise of this approach is also that women are "poor" and "victims". It somehow ignored a more dynamic analysis of the way the male domination is established by ascribing gender roles in the society. It spent quite a lot of energy attacking western models of development, capitalism and power relations. There have

been shifts in the GAD in recent years and now people assert the need to investigate relationships among gender ideology, the sexual division of labour, women's subordination, and the operation of social, political and economic power. It draws on both the perspectives of the north and the south and emphasises the global diversity of women's experiences and interests. Influenced by the writings of "Third World" feminists, it acknowledged the need to understand gender relations on the ground. It emphasises the global inequalities and global systemic crises. It seeks to empower women through collective action in grassroots women's groups.

Shift is accompanied by a newly emerging notion of power which saw power relations not merely in grand scale between male and female but it argued that the relationship negotiate on everyday basis. Thus the struggle for the well-being of women has also to be on a day to day basis and on micro level. The construction of the ideology of gender and assignment of gender roles is dictated by the power relation in the society and its negotiation, has also to be wresting this power.

The consequences of these have been the increasing voices which argue for empowerment as the basic approach to women's issues. Emerging from the south are voices of Bina Agarwal, Vandana Shiva, Arturo Escobar, Maria Mies, etc.

At the strategic level GAD focused on women and men in relation to one another. GAD sees the subordinate status of women to men as determined by society as the core problem that needs to be addressed, and believes that focusing on women in isolation does not address the power issues that are at the core of the problem. For more information, see Kabeer (1994), who provides a comprehensive analysis and discussion of the evolution of the field of Women in Development to Gender and Development (GAD).

17.7 GENDER, DEVELOPMENT AND JUSTICE

Gender equality, equality between men and women, entails the concept that all human beings, both men and women, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and political and other prejudices. Gender equality means that the different behaviour, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favoured equally. It does not mean that women and men have to become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equity means fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities.

One of the most crucial issues that face the women's question today is the relationship of larger political processes, the idea of justice and the role of women. There is no confusion today that the agency of women has to be there in their own well-being and that the women's well-being is something on which even male's well-being depends. This close relationship has been reflected in the very high human development indicators from several states in India, like Kerala, Himachal Pradesh,

Tamilnadu, etc., where a general improvement in the conditions of health of women has led to the general improvement of health of both male child and female child.

However the political processes are extremely and quite crudely male-centred. Thus, another vicious circle presents itself. To make the political processes and spaces attuned to the female presence also, institutions of male dominance, ownership patterns, decision making monopoly, etc., have to be weakened. Here one key component, one agrees, is democracy where the voting rights give the ultimate decision-making power to women. No wonder that in many a country it is the women who are in the forefront of movement to bring democracy in that country because existentially one can see that it is the democracy which is the greatest guarantee of women's well being, and independence. As Amartya Sen has pointed out, "freedom in one area fosters freedom in other area as well".

Development is seen as the only way possible to bring out a positive change in the status of women and change gendererd exploitation. Indian developmental experience has been a shining example of this. What is now referred to as Nehruvian vision is based on the development. In India for example at the time of independence the political equality between men and women was considered as a matter that was settled. Thus it was only economic equality that was sought after. Despite criticism, development has improved the condition of women a lot.

Over the years in India the welfarist approach and the pressure of the movement and other autonomous groups have provided a major corrective to the attitudes of the state and the male. During the 1980s efforts were made to make gender an important component in development programming. This was the beginning of the 30 per cent reservation for women at the local level administration, i.e., panchayats, so that they could enter into the decision-making domain. The issue of 30 per cent reservation for them in the parliament and state legislature then was taken up but is still mired in controversies and debates and pending before the Indian parliament.

Economist Amartya Sen called development as freedom where development is the way to provide capabilities to women to bring out her fullest self. This is, as is argued, to be done through providing literacy, health and other basic facilities that give her the wherewithal to change her economic standing in the family and society and thereby improve her position in order to wrest decision making powers too. In the Indian development phenomenon, development as a philosophy of progress has assumed that with asset formulation, etc., women would have greater freedom than in traditional society. Third World development discourse from the very beginning believed that it was poverty and quite often the woman's economic and social exclusion that deprived her of any role in decision-making. This strengthened the patriarchy system and women's exploitation was accentuated due to the extreme poverty.

The Indian development experience can show that through the development process there has been a revolutionary change in the basic indicators of women's lives. The indicators like education, health, or life expectancy does not simply reflect the well being of the woman involved, but as commented by many an economists or sociologists, its fruits are shared by the coming generations too.

17.8 SUMMARY

Gender refers to the social classification of men and women into masculine and feminine and reflects the existing power relationship in any given society. It is a socio-cultural phenomenon. Women have been historically given a lower socio-economic and political status in society and this continues in modern society. Democracy and development are two main areas by which the state has to progress in order to modernise the state, society and institutions in order to guarantee equal and legal rights to both men and women. In this respect women too have put their effort in the movement for restoration of democracy and subsequent development.

There are three agencies of development which are regarded as important in the struggle for women's rights. These are the individual, the state and the community. All these should play a role in ensuring the well-being of a woman and the development of her capabilities and her freedom. But it has been argued that while development focusses on technology and training of men, the economic work of women is never accounted for and was considered non-consequential. All ideas of development usually work against women, increasing inequalities and depriving them of whatever control they had over the resources of the family and community. As a result of this criticism the United Nations decided that there should be a conscious effort to involve women in development and give them access to the formal sector of the economy. This was the Women in Development (WID) approach. To this was added a multitude of feminist movements showing the negative impact of the work done by the state or multinational agencies on the women at the local level. These experiences were transferred at the theoretical level and began to be referred to as the Gender and Development (GAD) paradigm. It advocated a look at the decision-making structures of development which was structured along patriarchal lines and often based on western models incapable of taking into account the concerns of the non-western women. Thus what can be done is empowerment of women to ensure their participation in their own development, focus on small scale women-only projects to avoid male domination and in recent years the need to investigate relationships among gender ideology, women's subordination and operation of social, economic and political power. GAD has been focussing on men and women in relation to one another.

Gender equity entails the concept that all human beings be it men or women are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and political and other prejudices. Their different behaviour and aspirations should be valued and favoured equally and they would be treated fairly according to their respective needs. Development is seen as an important way to achieve this.

17.9 FURTHER READINGS

1. O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

2. Michael, Curtis. *Comparative Government and Politics,* New York, Harper & Row, 1998.

17.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Critically discuss the role of Gender in present context.

2. Discuss the debate on Gender and Development.

POLITICAL CULTURE AND SOCIALISATION

Lucien Pye (1995) defined political culture as the sum of the fundamental values, sentiments and knowledge that give form and substance to political processes.

A supportive political culture, sustained across the generations, contributes to the stability of political systems.

Socialisation, on the other hand, is the means through which political culture is transmitted across the generations. It is a universal process. To survive, all societies must pass on the skills needed for people to perform political roles, varying from voting at an election to governing the country. The key point about socialization is that is largely an uncontrolled and uncontrollable process. No matter how much rulers try, they find themselves unable to dominate either the process or the content of socialization. As a result political culture becomes a stabilizing force, providing a major barrier against planned change.

Structure

18.0 Objectives

18.1 Introduction

18.2 Definitions of Political Culture

18.3 Orientations

18.4 Types of Political Culture

18.5 Political Sub-Culture

18.6 Secularization of Political Culture

18.7 Political Culture and Change

18.8 Role of Political Culture

18.9 Summary

18.10 Further Readings

18.11 Model Questions

18.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson you shall be able to :

- **Comprehend** the meaning characteristics and significance of the term political culture.

- **Know** its various types

- **Explain** secularization of political culture

18.1 INTRODUCTION

Political Culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system. In other words, political culture is a system of beliefs, attitudes, orientations, values and expressive symbols of a community within which institutions operate and political action takes place. Though the concept of political culture is of a recent origin but the content of the concept was studied earlier also by many political scientists. For example, Ostrogorski in the 19th century studied the political style of Americans and described it as chaotic. Walter Begehot said that British people have a differential attitude towards their leaders. But only recently attempts have been made to study this concept more systematically and scientifically. The theory of political culture was developed in response to the need to bridge a growing gap in the behavioural approach in political science between the level of macro analysis based on psychological interpretation of individual's political behaviour and the level of macro analysis based on the variable common to political sociology. In other words it is an attempt to integrate psychology and sociology so that the revolutionary findings of modern psychology and recent advances in sociological techniques can be applied to dynamic political analysis for measuring attitudes in mass societies. The political culture seeks to make more explicit and systematic much of the understanding associated with such long standing concepts as political ideology, national ethos and spirit, political psychology and the fundamental values of the people.

18.2 DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Definitions of political culture are many and varied. Roy Macridis defines it as the commonly shared goals and commonly accepted rules. Samuel Beer says that political culture has four variables. These are "Values, beliefs, and emotional attitudes about how government ought to be conducted and about what it should do." According to Robert Dahl the salient elements of the culture are :

1. Orientations of problem solving; are they pragmatic or rationalistic ?

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

3. Orientations to political system; are they allegiant or alienated?

4. Orientations to other; are they trustful or mistrustful ?

By political culture we do not mean any particular kind of political activity or interactions. Nor do we understand by it any particular attitude or support for a certain specific policy. It refers to the general patterns of beliefs and orientations which give form and substance, meaning and overall direction to political activities and tendencies it is the particular pattern of orientations in which, according to Gabriel Almond, every political system is embedded.

18.3 ORIENTATIONS

Orientations are pre-dispositions to political action and are determined by such factors as traditions, historical memories, motives, norms, emotions and symbols. We

can break down these orientations into three. Cognitive, affective and Evaluative.

Cognitive Orientations mean knowledge of and belief about the political system, its role and the incumbents of these roles, its input and output. (It will not be out of place here to explain briefly the meaning of the terms input and output. By input process we mean the flow of demands of society into the polity and the conversion of these demands into authoritative policies. Some of the structures involved in the process are political parties, interest groups and the media of communications. By output process we refer to that process by which administrative policies are applied. Bureaucracies and courts particularly are involved in the output process). In most of the developing countries a sizable section of the population has no knowledge about the governmental machinery, how it is run of knowledge about the occupants of the roles like president and Prime Minister.

Affective Orientations are emotional dispositions to the system. What do people feel about the political system, its roles, personnel and performance? Do they consider it good or bad? These, affective orientations are very important because they affect the working of the government and activities of the people.

Evaluative Orientations :- These include judgements and opinions about the political objects. Such orientations above value standards, information and feeling.

To establish the precise pattern of an individual's general orientation to politics, we should examine the objects of political orientation. These are :-

(a)   Political system as a whole;

(b)   Input objects;

(c)   Output objects; and

(d)   Self as an object.

Now we shall discuss these objects in little detail.

Political System as a whole : What in his knowledge of the history, size, location, power and constitutional characteristics of his nation and its political system ? What are his feelings for these characteristics of the political system ? What are his judgements of them ? Does he have feelings of patriotism or alienation ? What is his opinion about the nation ? Is it strong or weak ? Does he consider the polity as democratic, constitutional or socialistic ? Answers to all these questions show his understanding of any feelings towards a political system.

Input Objects : What knowledge does he have of structures and roles that are involved in the upward flow of demands and which initiate the conversion of these demands into authoritative policies ? Of these include political parties, pressure groups, media of mass communication and political elites etc. What are his feelings and opinion about these structures and roles ? Is he happy with them ? Does he think he can actively participate ?

Output Objects : The output process includes the work mainly of bureaucracy and courts concerned with enforcing the decisions. What knowledge does the

individual possess of the downward flow of policy enforcement, of the structures and individual involved in this process ? Does he strongly feel about them ? What are his judgements on them ? All this determines the character of the political system.

Self as an object :- What role does he see himself playing the political system ? What knowledge does he process of his rights, duties, powers ? Does he know how to gain access to influential persons or groups ? How does he feel about his capabilities ? What criteria he use in forming opinions of the system and his place within. This determines the nature of general political culture.

The political culture of a society is determined by correlating information about these aspects collected from a valid sample of a population. That is, the political culture is determined by, to quote Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba, "*the frequency of different kinds of cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations towards the political system in general, its input and output aspects and the self as political actor.*"

18.4 TYPES OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Almond and Verba in their book 'Civic Culture' refer to three ideal types of political culture: Parochial, Subject and Participant. (An ideal type does not mean the best type, it is a model which helps us in understanding the real world phenomenon) Now we shall describe these types in detail.

(i)   Parochial Political Culture :- In its pure form, the parochial culture exists in simple traditional societies only where there is very little specialization and differentiation of roles and structure. Leaders fulfill at a time all sorts of roles-political, economic and religious. People have little or no awareness of the national political system. They do not participate in its input processes and they are unaffected by the agencies of the central system. Since he has no awareness of existence of the national political system, therefore, he has no feelings towards the political system. But he may be aware of the political structures and their operation at the local level. For example, the political culture of Eskimos is parochial.

(ii)   The Subject Political Culture :- In this system people are oriented to the political system and towards the output aspects of the system but they do not have any orientation towards the input objects and towards the self as an active participant. They see no possibility if influencing the system. They do not challenge the decisions of the office holders. On the other hand they obediently follow the commands of their political leaders. Society is considered as having a hierarchical structure in which everybody has a well defined place with which he should be satisfied. Traditional monarchial systems are some examples of it. They are aware of the authority of the government. Their orientations towards the system may manifest themselves as pride in it or hostility towards it. They regard the system either as legitimate or illegitimate.

(iii)   The Participant Political Culture :- The third major type of political culture, the participant culture is one in which the members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented to the system as a whole, to its input as well output aspects. The members of the political system feel that they have a positive role to play in the system. Individual sees himself as an active member. They are conscious about their rights and duties. They criticise the activities of the system and this criticism is

generally considered as desirable because all kinds of political activity should be under the close scrutiny of individuals and groups within society.

As said above these are three pure types of political cultures. None of these three types by itself presents an accurate account of the culture of any empirical political system. Political cultures are never completely homogeneous. In no political system people are uniformly oriented to political action. For Example in a predominantly participant political culture, there will definitely be individuals who are not aware of the government authority or they may be aware of the existence of the government but may not be playing any active role in the political system. Therefore to describe a particular type of political culture shows only the predominant patterns of orientation to political action within given society. It does not mean that people have uniform orientations. Thus a participant culture contains individuals who are oriented only as subjects and parochial and subject culture will contain some parochial.

MIXED POLITICAL CULTURE

From the three ideal types of political culture, Almond and Verba had developed the notion of systematically mixed political cultures to denote more accurately the nature of those political cultures in which there are significant proportions of more than one pattern of orientations. These systematically mixed political cultures are :

(1) The parochial subject culture, (2) The subject participant culture and (3) The parochial participant culture.

The Parochial Subject Culture : This is a type of political culture in which a sizeable section of the population has rejected the claims of diffuse tribal, village or feudal authority and begin to recognize authority of centralized specialized governmental structures. This happens when a kingdom is being built on relatively undifferentiated units. History of most of the nations shows this shift from local parochialism to centralized authority. But this does not mean that parochial culture must in course of time develop into a subject culture. In England the parochial culture later on facilitated to growth of participant culture. In Russia, on the other hand, subject orientation was much stronger than the parochial. Thus change from a parochial to a subject political culture may stabilize at number of points on the continuum and produce different political and cultural mixes.

The Subject Participant Culture : In the subject participant culture, a substantial part of the population has developed specialized input orientations and an activist set of self orientation while the rest of the population is oriented only towards the output structures and have a relatively passive set of self-orientations. For example France, Germany and Italy in instability with an alternation of authoritarian and democratic governments. The cultural pattern of the political system itself influenced by structural instability. The people with participant orientations lack self confidence and competence because their legitimacy is challenged by the subject sub-culture. They tend to remain democratic aspirants.

The Parochial Participant Culture : This is the problem of most of the developing nations of today. In most these countries the political is predominantly parochial. The structural norms that have been introduced are usually participant. So

they require a participant culture. Therefore, the problem is a build specialized input and output orientation-to penetrate the parochial system without destroying them on the output side and to transform them into interest groups on the input side.

Almond and Verba have argued that political culture and political structures often remain incongruent with each other. In some cases structures remain static and people's orientations change rapidly. On the other hand, sometimes political elites introduce new structures but people do not know how to work them because they do not have developed cultures. They say that traditional political system is congruent with parochial political culture, a centralized authoritarian structure with subject political culture and democratic political structure with a participant political culture. The developing countries, experiencing rapid social and political change have failed to produce congruent political culture and structures.

18.5 POLITICAL SUB-CULTURE

We have already pointed out that political cultures are never homogeneous. Participant cultures will also have a certain strata of population with parochial and subject outlook. Even within that part of the culture which is oriented towards participation, there will be significant differences in political orientation. These component parts of the political culture are refered to as sub-culture. For example in USA the left wing of the democratic party and the right wing of the Republican party regard the structures of American politics and government as legitimate but they have serious differences over the domestic and foreign policy issues. These called policy sub-cultures.

There are cleavages in the systematical mixed system. In a mixed parochial subject culture, parochial part of the population would be oriented toward diffuse traditional authorities and the subject part toward specialized structures of the central authoritarian system. If a policy has two or more traditional components, then they will be in addition to the emerging subject sub-culture, the cultures of the formally emerged traditional units. Thus political sub-cultures may be based on persistent policy differences or on different orientations towards political structures.

18.6 SECULARIZATION OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Secular Political Culture is a feature of political development and is associated with a politically developed political system. An under developed political system is characterized by a diffuse political culture in which the members of the system do not have the awareness of the political system as an independent entity. Their cognitive level is limited to their immediate neighbourhood tribe/village likewise, their actions and thinking are also highly parochial in character. But as the system develops and roles get differentiated and specialised, cultural orientations also get secularised. In the words of Almond, "*secularization is the process whereby men become increasingly rational, analytical and empirical in their political action.*" In other words it means that the members of the system not only become aware of the system's roles and structures but also develop participant orientations. The emergence of social participative orientations further leads to the erosion of "rigid, ascribed and diffuse customs of social interaction" and in their place, there gradually arise a "set of codified specifically

political and universalistic roles". In other words it means in a traditional society, people believed that various roles are the preserve of a certain sections of the people who filled them on the basis of their heredity and wealth. But in the process of secularization of political culture, when everyone becomes conscious and keen to compete for various types of roles, he wishes to develop objective criteria of selection based on universalistic standards. As a result there ensues a healthy open competition for political as well as other roles. Thus secularized culture exhibits the feature of a high degree of role differentiation, properly organised agencies of interest articulation and communication, development of pragmatic orientation towards political system wherein members of the system function in an open market place in a bargaining manner consider the representatives of the various political bodies as agents or instrumentaties, view policies as hypotheses have a high regard for the performance of others and recruitment process is also governed by that consideration.

Almond further remarks that no culture in the world is wholly traditional or wholly secularised. All political system exhibit the characteristic of a mixed cultured. To illustrate, in India we have developed secularised orientations in so far as the recruitment process is concerned. We wish and plead and have even accepted and implemented the system of merit based recruitment to civil services. But we daily observe how people make frantic efforts to get their sons, daughters, relatives and friends accommodated in various jobs through the back door, by exploiting such sentiment as based on families, caste or ethnicities. This is also the case in a developed political system as that of USA. The only difference in that of degree and not of kind. Thus every political system exhibits the features of both traditional and modern cultures.

Self Assessment Questions

1. What is political socialisation.

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   _____

   _____

2. Any two determinants of socialisation.

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   _____

   _____

18.7 POLITICAL CULTURE AND CHANGE

Bringing about fundamental changes in the political culture is a major goal of many regimes and often involves the investment of massive resources. If culture change is to be effected speedily, it will have to be directed by the state usually by mean of secondary and formal agencies. The creation of new attitudes is important in weakening the pre-revolutionary or pre-independence outlooks. New orientations are necessary to support new institutions and new form of activity.

In general the processes of industrialization and urbanization have been seen as broad instruments of cultural modernization, where the latter is identified with a participation outlook. For example Almond and Verba interpreted the tendency of younger respondents to change in a participant direction across the five nations (*the five nations studies by them are : United States, Britain, Germany, Italy and Mexico* as an aspect of the industrialization, urbanization and modernization process. The spread of education also facilitates cultural change. Daniel Lerner has identified exposure to mass media as the primary agent for bringing about qualities of empathy and other regardingness.

Among the agents of change in the political culture we may refer to the role of mass media, ideology, political parties, external influences and political mobilization.

Mass Media : The mass media has expanded the abilities of leaders to transmit messages from a centralized source to large masses. In most of the developing countries the mass media are the major instruments for advancing popular understanding of politics. They familarize with new institutions.

Ideology : Many of the new states lack the conventional symbols and traditions of nationhood. On way of eroding tribal and parochial loyalties is to develop a political religion. David Apter has suggested several general uses of political religion "*reinforcing the values of hardwork and sacrifice : developing a collectively orientation, making citizens aware of the shared ties; developing a political structures : endowing the new order with moral principles ; and legitimising the incumbent elite's continual monopoly of office*".

Political Parties : The political parties are major instruments of culture change. They not act as a link between individual and larger group but are committed to create new orders, setting socio-political goals and restructuring existing social relationships. This is especially true of communist parties.

External Influences : One of the very effective methods of abetting cultural transformation has been by transfers of population. Revolution in the means of communications have undermined the power of geographical boundaries to democrate national cultures. "*The United States, Canada and Australia have in common a fragment cultural as the result of settlement by British immigrants who imposed their own exported values on the settled country*".

Political Mobilization : The Cuban and Communist Chinese political leadership have regarded political mobilization as the major agents for destroying the pre-existing cultural fabric. Cultural change is to be achieved by political action and political participation so that citizens may actually experience the revolution. Likewise, elections in many countries are considered as means for promoting national and political consciousness.

18.8 ROLE OF POLITICAL CULTURE

The concept of political culture facilitates the understanding of the phenomenon of (a) social change, modernization and political development (b) democratic performances in different countries and (c) comparative political analysis.

(a) **Social Change, Modernization and Political Development :** In the 20th century, social change is taking place at a very repid place in the developing countries. The change is occuring under the pressures of modernization and the impact of new ideas. Here we are concerned with this question; how does political culture affect social change, modernization and vice-versa ? One of the problems a developing country has to face is of forging a sense of national identity. People must shed their tribal and parochial loyalities and develop strong feelings of attachments to the political culture helps us to explain what are the obstacles coming in the way of emergence of the national identity. This is also particularly useful in analysing the conditions which lead to the rejection of the system because in the developing societies of today state performs a maor role in bringing about modernization and political development. People develop some criteria to judge the performance of the political system in this regard. It is the political culture of a society which determines this criteria. On this basis we can compare different countries as traditional and modern.

(b) **Democratic Performance :** The concept of political culture helps us to deal with those attitudes and beliefs which underline a democracy. It helps us to map out the configurations of parochial, subject and participant orientations in every society. For democracy to succeed, people should have mixed pattern of political attitudes. *Almond and Verba* argue that if all the people are politically active all the time political system become overheated. Citizens should be informed of politics, but politics should not absorb all their time.

Most of the developing after attaining independence established democratic governments but democracy did not work satisfactorily in all these states. In some of the states it was replaced by military dictatorships, somewhere it degenerated into a civilian totalitarianism and in some countries it worked well. All this points out to the fact that legal framework alone does not matter. It is the cultural pattern of a society which conditions the functioning of the institutions. If culture in incongruent with the political system cannot work satisfactorily.

(c) **Comparative Approach :** Until the emergence of behavioural approach in political science, comparative political studies, especially of different countries did not involve any real comparison at all. Comparative political studies included the examination of political parties, constitutions of different countries or of any particular institution at a time. It was only with the rise of behaviouralism, that a real and systematic comparison became possible. Even now studies of different countries give varying emphasis on different aspects e.g. South East Asian countries are studied from the point of view of national movements. African studies have closer to anthropological tradition etc. The concept of political culture is particularly useful in bringing together the wisdom of all these studies under a common frame of reference.

The concept of political culture also provides a link between the macro level studies (traditional approach to political science) and micro level analysis (behavioural studies). In the traditional studies the role of the political system has been under-emphasized, the concept of political culture fills this gap.

18.9 SUMMARY

A set of beliefs, attitudes, values and orientations within which institutions operate and political action occurs is known as the political culture of the country. The idea of political culture may not be new but the concept definitely is Political culture of any political system is determined by cognitive affective and evaluative orientations of people. Input objects output objects and self as an object also play an important role towards this end. Political culture can be classified into two main types namely ideal and systematically mixed political culture. These broad categories can be further divided into various sub-types. Political culture can be changed by agents like mass media, ideology, political parties, external influences and political mobilization. Political culture has an important role to play in a given political system.

18.10 FURTHER READINGS

1. O.P. Guaba. *An Introduction to Political Theory*, New Delhi, Palgrave, 2000.

2. S.C. Dube. *Modernization and Development – The search for Alternative Paradigm*, New Delhi, Vistar Publications, 1998.

18.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Give two definitions of Political culture.

2. What do you understand by secularization of political culture ?

POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Structure

19.0 Objectives

19.1 Introduction

19.2 Political Socialisation : Definition and Implications

19.3 Kinds of Political Socialisation

19.4 Agents of Political Socialisation

19.5 Continuity and Discontinuity in Socialisation

19.6 Critical Appraisal

19.7 Interrelationship between Political Socialisation and Political Culture

19.8 Political Socialisation and Political System

19.9 Summary

19.10 Further Readings

19.11 Model Questions

19.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson shall enable you to :

- know the meaning of the term political socialisation, its relevance and different agents of political socialization.

- gather a critical outlook on political socialization

- analyse the interrelationship between political culture and political socialisation.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

A developing human being (child) is unaware of his surroundings. The way in which he is acquainted with the social phenomena of social system is known as "socialisation" and the process by which he is imparted the knowledge of political phenomena or political system is called 'political socialization'. By his exposition to the society he gets knowledge of social system and comes to know about the political system as well. About the concept of political socialisation, it may be clarified in the beginning that the process of socialisation goes on continuously throughout the life of an individual. Attitudes and beliefs are always adapted or reinforced as the individual goes through his social experiences. Early 'family experiences' can create a favourable image of political system. Job 'experience' and the influence of friends may alter that early image to a hostile and unfriendly one. Thus this proves that political socialisation is unending which starts from childhood and continues till the old age.

19.2 POLITICAL SOCIALISATION : DEFINITION AND IMPLICATIONS

The concept of political socialisation has been defined in a wide variety of ways. The most conventional definition implies society's moulding of the child to a priori usually one perpetuating the status quo. In the broadest sense, as Langton puts it, political socialisation refers to the way society transmits its political culture from generation to generation. An overlooked idea about political socialisation is that it is not necessarily the study of conformity and the maintenance of the status quo. It exhibits as to how the developing human beings change through life. Almond defines the concept of political socialisation as the process of induction into the political culture. *"Its end product is a set of attitudes, cognitions value standards feelings towards the political system."*

The contents of political socialisation most often investigated fall into three rough categories :

(i)   attachment to the political system

(ii)   partisan attitudes, and

(iii)   political participation.

Attachment normally is defined a focussing on the institutions, structure, and norms of the political system or regime and partisanship focusses on the current incumbent, authorities, and other persons, groups and ideologies competing for power and influence. Political participation involves over behavioural acts to a greater extent.

Like the concept of political culture, that of political socialisation is also new in political Science. For earlier, the psychologists held the view that socialisation is seldom a conscious effort, a deliberate exercise of learning. Values are formed, habits acquired and attitudes shaped but imperceptibly and the environment slowly and steadily affects one's life style which in its turn would affect one's thinking, attitude, feelings and in fact the whole outlook of life. Elaborating this viewpoint, Almond and Verba points out that the psychological approach assumed that:

(a)   the significant socialisation experiences take place much early in one's life and continue to affect one's political behaviour in later life.

(b)   these experiences are not explicitly political in nature, but have political consequences; and

(c)   the agents of socialisation (like family) influence political structure but not vice versa.

The modern writers brand these assumptions as too simple, and firmly hold the opinion that like education, socialisation too is a deliberate exercise. The attitudes, habits, orientations, and values of both the individuals and of the community as a while can be shaped by means of a process of learning through a well conceived network of structures. Lamenting upon this lack of realisation on the part of the student of politics that it can be a consequence of socilisation. Hymen says that in earlier days people treated politics as an abrupt event in adult life, quite unrelated to other development processes of life. In fact, such is not the case he adds.

19.3 Kinds of Political Socialisation

Conceived in the context of modern thinking, political socialisation means all political learning formal or informal, deliberate or unplanned, latent or manifest, diffuse or specific, at every stage of the life including not only explicit political learning, but also apparently non-political learning of the general culture which affects political behaviour is affected by such factors as legal constraints and attitudes that the leaders and the people have acquired goals expectations, rules of the political game etc. A detailed analysis of kinds of Political Socialisation is discussed as under :

(1) **Manifest and Latent Socialisation :** By manifest socialisation, we mean the process of explicit and deliberate transmission of mainly political information, attitudes, beliefs, etc. It also covers the process of formal instruction that is given in schools and colleges about things political. When we learn in a class room the value of democracy civil rights and duties, respect of authority, or love for the political system and the constitution, we are being manifestly socialised. This is also known as purposive socialisation, for it is expressly designed to affect attitudes.

Latent Socialisation, on the other hand, means covert or hidden instruction or learning of attitudes, information and beliefs which have no explicit-political content or any particular purpose in view but which influence political behaviour. For example, in a family the child may learn the importance of father's authority and later on start respecting political authority as well.

(2) **Diffuse and Specific Socialisation :** Diffuse socialisation occurs in those political system where the boundaries between society and polity are not clearly drawn. This implies one's learning about society, religion, economy etc. in a more vague and jumbled fashion.

Specific socialisation on the other hand, means learning of specific things and not of vague imprecise things. In modern developed society where the social structures are specialised, autonomous and well differentiated, one kind of beliefs and orientations are taught in the family, another in school, still another in a job situation or political party, and so on and so forth.

(3) **Affective and Instrumental Socialisation :** Socialisation may also be affective and instrumental. It is affective when transmission, inculcation or learning of such emotional values, like pride in one's political system, loyality to one's country, respect for rules of the games, etc. take place.

On the other hand, socialisation is instrumental when teaching of more pragmatic bargaining or calculating strategies takes place. If, for instance, one learns the belief that political system should be supported not for all times but only as long as one derives benefits from it, it becomes the case of instrumental socialisation.

(4) **Particularistic and Universalistic Socialisation :** Particularistic socialisation means that one is taught only one type of roles, say of a particular tribe, group, family, when it does not have anything to do with another. Right from the beginning one is socialised to one type of narrow loyalty. What we find in our own society is that some people inculcation their children love and respect for their own

caste group, language and religion only. This is the case of particularistic socialisation.

Universalistic socialisation, on the other hand, builds up a cosmopolitan type of out-look among the people. Modern and more complex type of societies teach to their members such different types of roles as those of the family members, church members, members of an occupational group and above all loyalty to the state.

The different kinds of socialisation do not mean that any one structure performs only one type of political socialisation. School may perform both latent and manifest type of political socialising functions. But this depends on the type of the political system. Generally speaking, the pre-adult socialisation is more latent, diffuse and affective than manifest, specific or instrumental. In adult or adolescent life socialisation tends to be more manifest, specific and instrumental.

The process of socialisation is an economical tool for the governmental. If the people are properly inducted into the values of respect for the authority and legitimacy of the political system, to that extent the government does not have to rely on coercive power. Political systems too tend to perpetuate their structures and cultures through times. It does not means that they remain static. They want to retain stability to their best to maximise conformist behaviour and minimise non-conformist behaviour. In this way chaos is sought to be minimised.

After knowing about the concept of political socialisation and its various kinds we can say with Greensten, parapharasing Lasswell the political socialisation involves *who learns from whom, under what circumstances, and with what effect.*

Under the question who learns, we may consider the acquisition of political orientations by people of different age groups like children, adolescent, youth, elders by people of different social and occupational classes and people of different regions in a country. As has been said above what is learnt refers to both the overtly political orientations, like citizenship qualities, attitudes to the political system, and politically relevant but general orientations like disposition beliefs etc. The question of from whom these are learnt leads us to the agents of political socialisation.

Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define latent socialisation.

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2.   Discuss the role of media in socialisation.

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19.4 AGENTS OF SOCIALISATION

The principle determinants of the development and establishment of various attitudes and values about the political system are the family, the school and other institutions of education, voluntary groups, the mass media, government and party agencies etc. About these agents in isolation. Moreover all are affected, in varying degrees, by other factors such as social and geographical mobility. For example, people moving upwards on the social class ladder tend to acquire new values and attitudes whereas those whose social class is lower than their parents are more likely to retain former political attitudes. Geographical mobility has several consequence, such as the reluctance to discuss political questions or participate in political activities, after moving into a new district. Now we proceed to examine these various agents of socialisation in detail.

1. **The Family :** The influence of the family in the process of political socialisation seems obvious. The family is the child's first window on the world outside. It is the child's first contact with authority. The family is the source of both latent and manifest socialisation. The authority pattern child learns in his family is likely to be transferred to the political sphere in the adult life. The family makes collective decisions and for child these decisions are authoritative. They are backed with potential sanction.

Moreover, it is not surprising that there is a widespread tendency that children's political attitude, preference, and level of interest and activity will resemble those of their parents. When parental partisanship and interest are strong and visible, children are more likely to develop strong party identification, have the same preference as their parents, in participation and voting. It may also be added here that those children who were consulted by their parents in family affairs, or who had opportunities to protest against unfair family decisions were also more likely to acquire participatory qualities in adult life. Even the values of trust and social cooperation are picked up fairly early in pre-adult life in non-political situations and produce important political units.

Units recently the theories of latent socialisation had over-shadowed the manifest or deliberate socialisation imparted in the families. Easton and Hess have shown that children regard the American President as benign, faberly and omnipotent figure. In later adult life they start expecting the President to take the leadership in all sorts of matters. They also become aware of the Presidency much earlier than they do of the Congress. Not only the nature of the modern executive branch in America, but also their attitudes towards and expectations of the Presidency, have contributed to the towering growth of this office.

2. **The School :** All governments try to instill at least some political attitudes and behaviour patterns in their citizens. All for example, try to maximise national patriotism and obedience to laws. Governments rely heavily upon the schools to inculcate the desired attitudes. For one thing, it is difficult to monitor and control what parents tell children but the government schools are organised, financed, staffed and programmed by the Government. Children are required to attend school from the age of five or six usually until middle adolescence. The school thus provides the

government most effective direct channel for shaping their future citizens political attitudes and behaviour.

Formal education is certainly powerful in developing children's political attitudes. Perhaps the best evidence is that educated people have the strongest sense of political efficacy, having interest and information of politics and playing active roles in political affairs. Many people are indeed prone to regard education as the last for curing social evils.

As in the case of the family, Almond and Verba found that those who could protest against unfair decisions in the schools or who could participate in schools decisions were more likely to carry over these participatory attitude in adult life. Again as in the case of the family, the school is an agent of both latent and manifest forms of socialisation. It may be noted here that formal education is certainly not an absolute, irresistible weapon for forming children's or adult's attitudes. When the child hears one thing in school and quite another at them, there is not reason that he will believe his teachers and text books rather than his parents. The schools and families working together would be more effective as agents of socialisation rather than working at muss-purposes with each other.

3. Peer Groups : While the school and family are the agencies most obviously engaged in the socialisation process, there are several other important sources of attitude formation. Peer groups or reference group, for example, play an important role in shaping values and beliefs. In addition to parents and teachers, most people spend a great deal of their lives in the company of "peer groups" of people outside their families who are approximately the same age share similar status. Schoolmates are one obvious Peer group, work associates another, friendship cliques yet another. What is the role of such peer group in political socialisation ?

In developing societies like the United States and Sweden the socialising influence of parents and teachers begins to wane in early adolescence and from then onwards peer groups become increasingly important influences on political attitudes and behaviour. As the person grows older, some peer groups that were highly influential in his adolescence (e.g. school-mates, radical students organisations) are superseded by his new life circumstances, work associates, neighbour etc.

In primitive and traditional societies most people have fewer contacts and much less involvement with people outside their families. Thus such peer groups have less powerful influence in socialising in comparison to the developed societies.

4.   Experiences : Experiences in employment may also shape political orientations. The job and the formal and informal organisations built around it, the unions, the social club, and, like may be channels for the explicit communication of political information beliefs, participation for worker and employer alike. The striking labourer not only learns about the future decisions being made about his future, but he gains knowledge of specific action skill, such as demonstrating and pocketing, which may be used in political participation.

5. Electioneering or the game of politics : One of the immediate and effective agents of the political socialisation of children and adults is the spectacle of politics

itself. As group games and sports help to socialise children so the game of politics, especially the competition, may get adolescents and adults involved. Experiencing an election compaign in a modern political system means the activation of all kinds of agents that are otherwise not particularly political such as family, the work environment, friends or voluntary associations. But above all, being addressed by candidate volunteers and political parties and being drawn into temporary participation form a major socialising experience.

6. Mass Media : The role of mass media in political socialisation must not be overlooked. In addition to providing information about specific and immediate political events, the mass media act over the long run to shape the individual's basic "cognitive map". Certain facts are emphasized ; other facts are not. Certain facts are conveyed in an emotive context, such as May Day parades, elections and the anniversaries of Marx Lenin in the East European Countries, the coronation in Britain and the presidential inauguration in the United States. A controlled system of mass media can be a powerful force in shaping political beliefs, and provide bases of support as important to a totalitarian state as its police forces. The mass communication media (like television, radio, newspaper etc.) can play even greater role, for the school affects mainly the young, but it may be deemed necessary to change adult orientations immediately without waiting for the new generations to take over. The mass media can reach the largest numbers of people (adults and children) in the shortest time. Leading illiterate masses out of their ancient way into new ones is, at best, a tricky business, and the communication must be careful not to attempt too sharp a break too quickly. Despite this the mass media is the best short run technique available for socialisation.

7. Direct Contact with the Political System : A word must be added about the influence of direct contact with the political system, no matter how positive the view of the political system which has been inculcated by family and school, but when a citizen is ignored by the party, cheated by his police, starved in the bread line and finally conscripted into the army, his views of the political realm are likely to be altered. Direct formal and informal relationships with specific elites in the political system are inevitably a powerful force in shaping orientations of individuals to the system.

19.5 CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN SOCIALISATION

In a stable political system the socialisation process is usually homogenous and consistent. The family authority pattern, the teacher pupil relationship in the school, the interaction of employer and employees, and direct contact with the political system tend to establish and maintain a given type of political orientation. This may be deferential and passive, or aggressive and participatory, but in a homogeneous socialisation process the elements of influencing the individual do not seriously conflict either with each other or with his adult political activities and expectations.

In many societies, the socialisation process may be highly discontinuous. Such discontinuity creates an important potential for dissatisfaction and conflict, and a high potential for system change. Pye has dealt in detail with consequence of the gaps in the process of the general and political socialisation in the context of Burma. What is generally called the generation gap either in social life or in politics is nothing but a

manifestation of the discontinuities in socialisation. The students unrest in many of the developed and developing societies is due to many reasons and discontinuities in socialisation could be one of them. Even when they are being taught the virtue of democracy, they become disillusioned about its operation. This induces psychological conflict which finds its expression in unrest.

19.6 CRITICAL APPRAISAL

As the concept of political socialisation is new in the discipline of political science, it has been subjected to some criticism. The major arguments which are advanced by critics are that :

(i)   Early political attitudes do not persist beyond childhood or adolescence.

(ii)   Early political attitudes are whimsical and unreal.

(iii)   They have little or no influence over adult political behaviour.

(iv)   They have little or no importance within the political system.

(v)   Political socialisation has a conservative bias because it investigates pattern maintenance rather that attitude change.

Inspite of the criticism, the value and importance of political socialisation cannot be underestimated.

(a)   The study of political socialisation is justified as the political scientists admit that early attitude acquisition ultimately has some consequences in the political system.

(b)   The concept of political socialisation is a powerful tool in analysing and comparing political system.

(c)   The study of political-socialisation will lead us to the function of political recruitment. The latter consists of special political role socialisations which occur on top of the general political socialisation. Such questions who the leaders are, how they are liberals in politics, which of their qualities are admired, are also important in comparative political analysis.

(d)   Finally, the horizontal [i.e. Region wise] and vertical [i.e. social classwise] discontinuities in political socialisation will tell us much about the problems facing a country.

19.7 THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Since political socialisation is the process of learning and political culture is the product of that learning, both of them are organically and intimately connected with each other. We cannot imagine one without the other. It should always be remembered that as the process of political socialisation never comes to halt but continues throughout the life cycle, the content of political culture of a group never remains static. Socialisation is not limited to political socialisation alone. One always learns about many other things besides political. One is inducted into the general culture as well as political culture. These two stages are not necessarily sequential. They may

occur simultaneously. For the development of a stable political culture, socialisation into the general culture and political socialisation have to congruent with each other. For example if one is taught to believe in the values and virtues of democracy and at the same time one is taught to respect ascriptive values i.e. qualities emphasising birth or inherited status, the political culture will be riddled with instabilities.

Problems of continuity and discontinuity in the general and political socialisation processes also require an analysis of the relationships between socialisation and political culture. Sudden historical developments and events may demand a political culture which the earlier socialisation may not be able to support or produce. For example, independence may dawn on a hitherto colonial country suddenly and a full fledge democratic constitution may be introduced while the general masses are still stepped in ignorance and parochial political culture. This is the problems of most of the developing countries.

If the non-partisan or politically socialising agencies like the family, the school, the church, the peer group, are weak, then the social life will be highly politicised. If they are subordinated to a single world view philosophy, then also the social life will be highly politicised. Therefore the existence of strong and nonpartisan patterns consistent with the authority patterns of the political system, is necessary for the growth of stable democratic political culture.

There is also a very crucial relationships between elite and mass socialisation, on the one hand and political culture on the other in all societies the elite and mass political cultures differ, but in varying degrees. If the rulers are straight away recruited into the elite culture this gap is likely to be widened. The elites will then find that the masses may not respond to them. For example, during the days of Indian national movement, the liberals like Gokhala made hardly any impact on the countryside, whereas Gandhiji could mobilise it. For the proper development of a healthy political culture, the prospectives rulers should first be socialised into the mass political culture before they are recruited into elite roles.

19.8 POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND POLITICAL SYSTEM

Every political system operates as it does largely because of the kind of people, elites and masses both, who make the demands, provide the supports and constitute the targets for its outputs. Their basic beliefs about the way thing are, their convictions about the way things are, should be, and their accustomed models of political behaviour all fix very real limits on whether or not and how government can achieve its goal whether the goals are peace or world conquest or cutting taxes. People's beliefs and convictions are not instinctive ; they are learned through the process that we call "political socialisation". Some socialising agents, particularly the schools and the mass media, are directly controlled to some degree by government in order to spread, "desirable attitudes, and behaviour patterns among their citizens. Other agents, particularly families and peer groups thus preserve and pass on values and cognitions that are significantly different from those that government want their people to absorb.

Political socialisation is by no means a conservative or a change resistant force in every political system in all circumstances. In some western nation like Norway and New Zealand, all their citizens approve of the political institution, regard their authorities and rulers as entirely legitimate, and have no significant sub-culture to dispute the basic consensus. In such nations the government's efforts at political socialisation through the school and mass media are reinforced by families and peer groups, which contribute to the stability of the political system. In some other western nations like United States and Great Britain, most people identify with the nations and its institution, but one or more significant sub-cultures (blacks in USA and Scottish nationalists in Great Britain) sharply challenge majority attitudes and values. In these nations, the families as peer groups of the alienated sub-culture may operate in their own socialisation processes resisting those of the official schools and dominant media : if they are successful their children will be more alienated and militant than the parents, and the stability and even survival of the system may be seriously jeopardised.

In some developing nations the elites that have led the drive against colonialism and now rule are determined to install new national loyalities and newly modes of political behaviour as soon as possible but the parents tribal chiefs, and others may however, resist the new ways. The young hear one thing at school, and another one on the ratio and quite another thing at home and from their peer groups. This conflict often produces great psychic tension and results in political unrest, regional and tribal separatism, perhaps even civil war.' Thus political socialisation is closely related to the working of political system.

19.9 SUMMARY

Just like the concept of political culture, the concept of political socialisation is also new. It refers to a process through which political culture is formed. In other words it is a learning process by which attitudes, cognitions, value standards and feelings towards the political system are formed. Conceived in the context of modern thinking, political socialisation means all political learning : formal or informal; deliberate or unplanned; latent or manifest and diffuse or specific family, school, political parties, peer groups, mass media etc. act as agents of socialisation.

19.10 FURTHER READINGS

1. S.C. Dube. *Modernization and Development – The search for Alternative Paradigm*, New Delhi, Vistar Publications, 1998.

2. O.P. Guaba. *An Introduction to Political Theory*, New Delhi, Palgrave, 2000.

19.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Name different kinds of political socialisation.

2. What are the agents of political socialisation ?

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION

Political Parties

Introduction

Political parties are permanent organizations which contest elections, usually because they seek to occupy the decisive position of authority within the state. Unlike interest groups, which seek to merely influence the government, serious political parties aim to secure the levers of power.

In modern political system, political parties remain integral to their operations in four ways :

1) Parties function as agents of elite recruitment. They serve as major mechanism for preparing and recruiting candidates for public office.

2) Parties serve as agents of interest aggregation. They transform a multitude of specific demands into more manageable packages of proposals.

3) Political parties serve as a point of reference for many supporters and voters, giving people a key to interpreting a complicated political world.

4) Modern Political Parties offer a direction to government performing the vital task of steering the ship of state.

Structure

20.0 Objectives

20.1 Introduction

20.2 Party System

20.3 National Parties

     20.3.1 Indian National Congress

     20.3.2 Communist Party of India

     20.3.3 Bhartiya Janata Party

     20.3.4 Janata Dal

     20.3.5 Bahujan Samaj Party

20.4 Summary

20.5 Further Readings

20.6 Model Questions

20.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson introduces you with the party system of India and explains some important national parties. After going through this lesson you will be able to :

- understand the party system of India; and

- explain the support structure, ideological base, policies and organisation of national parties like Congress, CPI, CPI (M), BJP, Janata Dal and Bahujan Samaj Party.

20.1 INTRODUCTION

To understand the Indian political system and to get a knowledge of its day to day working, we must keep away the constitutional frame of our government machinery and try to study the forces that continuously act and react upon one another and affect the functioning of the system. Some of the institutions like President, Council of Ministers headed by Prime Minister, parliament, Supreme Court etc. are formal constitutional institutions. This lesson is aimed at the study of political parties and the working of party system in India.

The political parties conform to the common characteristic of social groups and the growth of political parties is a remarkable development in modern democracy. Political parties play a very important role in a democratic state. They are so universal that it is right to say that political parties are the very life and blood of democracy. It is only through them that the public opinion is formulated and organised. The very purpose of every political party is to win majority of the seats in legislature so that it may control the machinery of government and may give practical shape to its policy. If the party remains in a minority in the legislature. It acts as the opposition and its main task is then to criticise majority party for its omissions and commissions.

20.2 PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA

Till 1947 the Indian National Congress enjoyed a prime position in Indian party system and perhaps it was the only political party which had a mass base. In fact before independence the Congress was considered to be a socio political movement which mobilised the people against the colonial rule of Britain, However, even after 1947 when India got freedom from the foreign rule. Indian National Congress continued to have a position of pride in the Indian Political System, it was so because it represented some sort of a compromise between different interests prevailing at that indecisive moment and was therefore, regarded as a party of consensus. The people had a great respect for the leaders of the Congress party most of whom had been involved in the freedom struggle or India. The party members of the Congress were also by and large, committed to the cause of the nation and were, above petty party issues. However, the situation started changing gradually. The local interests which had to remain submerged under the main national current started assuming importance in the last 50's when the diverse sections of the Indian population initiated their struggle for the betterment of their own lot. Similarly some ideological dissensions also started within the Congress party and various ideological groups strived for their existence. This ultimately led to the splits of various dissident factions from the Congress and gave rise to different political parties based on diverse, socio-political values.

This however does not mean that the multi-party system started only in the 50's when the Congress actions were separated from it. In fact many political parties existed even before the Independence. But what we emphasis upon is that by and

large, the Congress dissident groups were responsible for the emergence of some new political parties. The trend towards multi party system got a strong support in 1967, when the various opposition parties, some of which were region-oriented captured the legislature in some States of Indian Union and the dominating position of the Congress was challenged even at the Center. Many coalitions were formed in the State and subsequently were broken down. In fact this was an era of political instability which continued till 1971-72 when again Mrs. Indira Gandhi's party got thumping majority in the Lok Sabha as well as in most of the State Assemblies. Till 1995 on most occasions Congress has been enjoying a dominant position in the Indian political system barring a few instances of its being out of power in 1967-71 and 1977-79 and 1989-91 periods. As Rajni Kothari in his book Politics in India, points out, the Congress, party system has been working on a thermostat model where the opposition parties are represented by their counterpart dissident groups in the Congress itself. This has given the Congress Party a heterogeneous structure. The heterogeneity in the Congress in turn had helped in the working helped in the working of the Indian party system.

But from 1996 onwards Congress has been completely routed at the centre.

As has been discussed earlier in India we have a multiple party system which implies the existence of a large number of political parties. Some of the parties are national parties (as the Congress, the Communist Party of India. Bhartiya Janata Party) while others are regional parties (Like Akali Dal in Punjab, D.M.K. in Tamil Nadu, Telugu Desham in Andhra Pradesh etc.). Now we proceed to discuss the organisation, programme and functioning of some-national political parties in this lesson.

20.3 NATIONAL PARTIES

20.3.1 Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress popularly known by its brief name the Congress, has been the principal political party in the country, it is also the oldest. It was established in 1885 with the avowed objective to bringing about reforms in government set up of the country as established by the British rulers. When the Congress gradually discovered that to reform the political system was much beyond its reach, it turned into a national movement and declared complete independence as its final goal. After strong struggle, it finally succeeded in achieving its laudable objective of securing freedom of the country from the British yoke. One chapter and a very significant one closed and other opened.

After independence it turned into a political party in the right sense of the term competing with others in capturing and retaining power and shaping the national policies according to certain programme of action. Being a party of national stalwarts, who had sacrificed their entire lot for the sake of their country and also a champion of national independence, the Congress not only inherited power from the British but also uninterruptedly held it both at the Union and the state levels for twenty years. In between this party had however to temporarily part with power in Kerala. This two decades long period of its unchallenged hegemony gradually induced in it an element

of decay. The growing discontentment of the masses on the economic front added to its unpopularity. The Charismatic personality of Nehru and other tried to keep it united and helped it to win elections. But with the exit of the former from the political scene, there took place a reaction against its strength both in terms of the percentage of votes and the-number of seats considerably dwindled. That was the beginning of the chapter in its life history.

The situation continued causing concern both to the Congress and to the country. On the one hand, the economy of the nation suffered a set-back as a result of the hang over of the Indo Pak war and the failure of the monsoons. On the other hand political-instability created problems in few States. It is in this context that Mrs. Indira Gandhi undertook upon her shoulders the responsibility of reforming the party. The presidential election, forced by the untimely death of Dr. Zakir Hussain, provided an occasion for this long, overdue reform. Mrs. Gandhi's opposition to the official candidate of the Congress Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, precipitated the crisis. Most of the congress legislator voted against Mr. Reddy and thereby helped Mr. V.V. Giri to win the election. Congress now stood formally split up into two irreconcilable factions each of which formed a separate party in itself The faction led by Mrs. Gandhi which later came to be known as congress (Requisitionist) gradually strengthened its position. All the Congress MPs. barring a few notable personalities owed their allegiance to her faction. By and by, it acquired the status of a full fledged party. The other faction (Organisation) whatever little popular appeal it commanded, also, began to wear out with the passage of time. It could manage to retain its hold in Gujarat and Karnataka States. The mid term Parliamentary election, held in the spring of 1971, decisively and finally passed the whole Congress to Mrs. Gandhi's party. The Congress (O) received serious set-back. It was swept out of power even in Gujrat and Karnatka.

Self Assessment Questions

1. Define the nature of party system in India.

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2. Ideology of Congress.

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Once again the Congress (R) established its dominance both at the Center as, well as in various States. The assembly elections of 1972 restored what had been lost in the fourth general elections of 1967. But the termination of the Congress Ministry in Gujrat in 1974 as a result of the movement of the students and youth under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, the Savodaya Leader (J.P. Movement) generated a new trend in the politics of the country. The Government of India had to order fresh elections in the State, June, 1975 due the fast unto death undertaken by Morarji

Desai of the Congress (O). The victory of the Janta Front an alliance of five parties Congress (O), Jana Singh, Bharat Lok Dal, Socialists, National Labour Party gave a serious blow to the prestige of Congress (R) and the Indira wave and at the same time encouraged the leaders of the opposition parties. In the meantime Emergency was declared in the country due to internal disturbance. During the spell or emergency the Congress showed great seriousness to the economic uplift of the weaker and poorer sections of society the centralisation of power led to corruption in the administration and certain atrocities were committed in the name of social and economic reforms. The result was that in the General election of 1977 it had to face a crushing defeat against the Janta alliance which was formed to contest Lok Sabha polls. Later it was swept even in the State assembly elections held in June 1977.

Another important incidence in the life of the Congress Party occurred on the first of January 1978, when it saw one more split in less than ten years. This happened as some congressmen close to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, convened a parallel convention of the All India Congress Committee to discuss certain matters of importance. The parallel session of the AICC members was opposed by the Congress President Mr. Brahamananda Reddy and some other members of AICC including Mr. Y.B. Chavan, the leader of opposition in the Lok Sabha. These members, who later came to be identified as the members of the Reddy – Chavan group, alleged that any convention of AICC was unconstitutional and should be condemned by all the Congress members. Brahamananda Reddy and Y.B. Chavan also directed the party members not to attend such parallel Session of the Congress prior to the events of 1st January, 1978 which finally decided the matter by splitting the party members of the CWC (nearly half of them) including Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Kamlapati Tripathi resigned from the Congress High command. The resignations of these CWG members were kept pending by Congress President who requested the dissident members to give a second thought to their 1st of January, 1978 in New Delhi and elected Mrs. Indira Gandhi as their Congress chief. It is here important to note that this Parallel convention was attended by some important Congress members including some Pradesh Congress Chief (Like Mrs. Mohsina Kidwai from Uttar Pradesh) and ex-congress Ministers (Like Mr. Kamalpati Tripathi and Dev Raj Urs.) Although the exact number of Congressmen who attended the convention remained unknown (because of the claims and counter claims of both the factions), it was learnt that a sizeable number of the AICC members attended the convention.

The decision of the AICC (parallel) session to elect Mrs. Indira Gandhi as the Congress President in place of Mr. Brahamananda Reddy who was the elected-chief of the Congress party, compelled the Congress President Reddy to accept the pending resignations of the members of the CWC who had earlier resigned from the Congress High Command. Portraits of Mrs. Gandhi were also removed from the AICC office on the same day, the action of the Indira Group was condemned by the Congress members. Now this new group of the Congress members, who claimed to represent the real Congress generally came to be known as Congress (Conventionist). The spirit in the Congress created many organisational problems for Congress which were solved in the due course of time. Meanwhile the new Congress (Indira Gandhi group) was

recognised as a national party by the Election Commission and it was given the new name of Congress (I).

Before we close down the description of the split it may however be important to understand that this new split in the party was not a result of any disagreement over a policy matter. Unlike the 1969 split, which was, more or less, on policy lines the present split was an outcome of a personal tussel of personalities and not issues were involved in it. Nevertheless, a slight shift towards the left can be seen in the manifesto of the new party. It may be of some interest to note that very soon the party started coming up in many States. In some States the party became the main opposition party. In the Vidhan Sabha elections held in 1978, congress (I) emerged as the ruling party Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

The midterm poll of Lok Sabha held, in January, 1980 affected largely the position of political parties in the country. Congress (I) won with absolute majority securing 351 seats out of 525. After three years it regained the same position which it had got in the election of 1971 and was enjoying till 1977. Both the Janata Parties were defeated badly. Janata party got 31 seats while Janata (S) could bag 41 seats. Congress (U) which had come into being after the second split in the Congress party secured only 13 seats. The Communist parties CPI and CPI-M, secured 11 and 35 seats respectively. Thus one party dominance was established once again. No party could get enough seats to be recognised as an opposition party. There was much talk about the unity of the left parties as well as other opposition parties to give effective opposition to the government but nothing materialised. The Position of parties at the Centre affected the state also. Nine state assemblies were dissolved on Feb. 17, 1980 and the President's rule was declared on the plea that the people's verdict in the Lok Sabha poll was against the Janata Party which ruled these states. Election to nine state assemblies were held in May 1980. These elections strengthened the position of Congress still further as it won-the elections in 8 states. Only in Tamilnadu, AIADMK remained the ruling party. In some states such as Haryana and Himachal Pradesh the Congress (I) governments were installed through defection.

The Congress (I) went to polls in 1984 without the charismatic personality, of Mrs. Gandhi and also with what so many called the stigma of operation Blue Star in Golden Temple, but came out with a resounding victory and winning 401 seats and thus getting more than 4/5 majority under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi. Ironically both the above stated factors became its plus point- Mrs. Gandhi's assassination fetched it the sympathy votes and operation Blue Star united the Hindu vote all in one place. The opposition parties were beaten and routed to a virtual intelligence B.J.P. with two seats, DMKR, new name for Lok Dal with 3 seats and Janata with 10 seats. In the absence of Political heavy weights like Mr. Chandra Shekhar, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee and Mr. H.N. Bahuguna Congress secured an enviable position.

But after about two years the inner dissensions began to appear. The charges against the government in defence deals damaged the prestige of the party. With this came the heavy dabacle of the Party in Haryana. The resignation of V.P. Singh, the then Defence Minister aggravated the situation, with the ouster of V.P. Singh and some other leaders the party seemed to be heading towards a split. Although there was no

split in the party but it became faction ridden. V.P Singh formed a new party known as the Jan Morcha. Still another party named Janata Dal emerged bringing the opposition parties into a united front. In such a situation when the ninth General Election took place in November 1989, Congress (I) was ousted from power. It secured only 192 seats but still it was the largest group in Lok Sabha. However it did not claim to form government and a minority headed by Janata Dal and its national front partners was installed. The Congress (I) was relegated to the opposition benches. The minority government which was a hotch-potch of different ideologies and personalities could not rule the country for long and the country went to polls again in June, 1991 after an interval of about one and a half years. An important factor that should be taken into account while analysing the 1991 elections is that after the first phase of elections, Rajiv Gandhi the then President of Congress (I) was assassinated in a bomb blast. The second phase of elections was postponed for few days. Narsimha Rao was elected as the new President of the party. Although there was a strong move to bring Mrs. Sonia Gandhi as the party president but she declined the offer. Under Narsirnha Rao's leadership, the party performed better than 1989 elections winning 223 seats. The performance was better in the second phase of elections than in the first phase. The tragedy motivated large number of voters to vote for the party. However the Congress (I) vote declined from 39.5% to 37.3%. Party had not the adequate majority but the Congress (I) government was installed under the leadership of Narsimha Rao. In by-elections held in November 1991 the party secured 8 more seats out of 15. Still the party had not majority in the Lok Sabha. However in the Assembly elections held in November, 1993, the Congress improved its Position and secured absolute majority in M.P. and Himachal Pradesh where it had lost in 1991. But in 1994 Assembly elections its performance in Andhra Pradesh and Karnatka had been very poor and damaging for the party.

Again in February-March, 1995 Assembly elections its image and performance further reached to a low profile and it was defeated in Maharashtra, Gujrat and Bihar. Only in Orissa it could stage its comeback. This gave a serious bolt to the party and created an unpheaval within the party, the dissidents led by Arjun Singh and N.D.Tiwari became active and the split in the party became evident. There were many attempts to avoid the split. The intervention of Sonia Gandhi was also called but it was rejected. Finally on May 19, 1995 the party was split again for the third time in a congress workers convention in Tal Katora stadium, 10 Janpath, New Delhi. The presence of thousands of ordinary partymen (thirty thousand according to reports) in the Convention made it clear that Prime Minister Narsimha Rao had lost support of a large number of partymen especially from the Hindi heartland and from states like Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. But the presence of only a handful of M.Ps. and less than 200 of the 800 odd AICC (I) members was proof that the dissidents had not been able to make much of a dent in the top leadership of the party. The split did not made much difference in the state units except a few Hindi speaking Northern States and Tamil Nadu in the South. In fact the split had been in air since April 1992 when Narsimha Rao stripped Arjun Singh (Number Two in his cabinet) of his victory in the election to the Congress Working Committee (CWC) at the Triputi session of the AICC (I) by producing him into the top decision making body under the nominated

category. Narsimha Rao strengthened his position by reshuffling his cabinet and inducting some younger element in his cabinet.

P.V. Narsimha Rao completed his five year tenure against all odds and defections and dissidence. But the party's image had been tarnished by various corruption scandals including the biggest one, the Jain Hawala Case in which the top leaders of Congress (I) including some cabinet ministers were involved. All the Hawala tainted members had to resign from their offices. They were not given party tickets for the esuing 1996 elections. Some defected from the party and formed their own parties. Notable among them was Madho Rao Scindia, P. Chidambram, G.K. Moonpaner and Arunachalan revolted against the party on the issue that the Congress (I) should not have alliance with AIADMK because of corruption charges against its leader Jaya Lalitha and her government in Tamil Nadu. They formed a new party "Tamil Manila Congress" in Tamil Nadu having an alliance with DMK while the Congress (I) had an alliance with AIADMK. In the 1996 General Elections there was a massive swing against the Congress (I) which pushed it below the critical level. Its vote share as well as its performance in securing seats in Lok Sabha came to the lowest ever. It secured 28.1 percent of the valid votes as compared to 36.5 percent in 1991. It secured only 136 (excluding J&K later on it got 4 seats in J & K) which is the lowest since independence. The swing against the Congress (I) was extended across the country, the only exception being Orissa and West Bengal. In Assam, Haryana and Karnatka, it is on brink of marginalisation securing 5, 5 and 2 seats respectively, in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar the situation is even more grim. Out of 85 seats, it secured only 5 and in Bihar out of 54 seats, it got only two. The split up party Congress (Tiwari) also could not make any significant dent in elections. It secured only 4 seats in the whole country. Tamil Manila Congress performance was remarkable gaining 20 seats and its ally DMK capturing 17 seats out of the total 39 seats. The Congress (I) and its ally AIADMK could not get a single seat. Congress (I) supported the United Front Government at the centre. The united Front Government could not last longer. Again there were general elections in 1998. The Congress could not improve much and got 141 seats & was the second largest group. In the 1999 mid-term election congress's tally of seats declined further and it got just 112 seats. It may be noted that before 1999 elections a split took place in Congress (I). Three senior leaders of congress viz. Sharad Pawar, P.A. Sangama and Tariq Anwar who were expelled from the party because of raising the issue of foreign origin of Sonia Gandhi formed a separate 'Nationalist Congress Party.' The party was recognised as a national party after the 1999 elections. The party gained popularity in Maharashtra and got some response from Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalya and Manipur. The decline of Congress (I) can be seen from the following table during the years :

Performance of Congress from 1952-99

Number of seats won	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980	1984	1989	1991	1996	1998	1999
	364	371	361	283	352	154	353	415	197	232	140	141	112
Total No. Seats	489	494	494	520	518	542	542	542	543	543	543	543	543

% of vote	45.0	47.8	44.7	40.8	43.7	34.5	42.7	48.1	39.5	36.5	28.1	25.8	28.51

Organisation of the Congress Party

The congress is proclaimed to be a mass party. Its membership is drawn from all sections of the nation agriculturists, businessmen, industrialists, workers, labourers, and services. Anyone irrespective of its caste, colour, creed, profession, economic standing, place of birth, acquire its membership by paying a token membership fee.

Village or a part of the city/town called the 'Mandal', forms the lowers unit of the party's organisational hierarchy. All the Primary members of the area are entitled to vote in the election to the Mandal Committee which consists of President and a few members of the executive. The members of the Mandal Committee of the entire district participate in the election of the district Congress committee and they, in turn, elect the Pradesh Committee which in addition to the plenary body, also elects and Executive Committee. In party hierarchy, the Pradesh Committee occupies a very important place. The President of this Committee plays an important role in the political life of the state.

The members of the Pradesh Congress Committee send their delegates to the national committee called the All India Congress Committee. It is a huge body. To run its day-to-day. work, it elects an executive committee called the Congress Working Committee. At the-apex, sits the Congress President who occupies a place of cardinal importance in the public life of the nation. Before independence he enjoyed unveiled popularity. With the emergence of the Prime Minister the position of the Congress President came to be slightly eclipsed. In addition to the organisation owing the party also maintains a parliamentary wing. All the elected members of the Congress in the various State Legislatures and parliament form at their respective levels, Congress Parliamentary Parties. The leader of the party is the chairman of the parliamentary wing. To assist him, the members elect from among themselves an executive committee. To help the organisational wing in selecting candidates for periodic elections and by elections a small committee, called Congress Election Committee is constituted. It wields a lot of power and influence.

The sessions of the All India Congress Committee are convened every now and then. So far the Congress Working Committee is concerned it is a permanent body whose meetings are held very frequently. Thus the party has a vast network of its organisation.

The Congress is a party of the centre and distinguished from those of the right and the left. In the political field, it stands for democracy, equality, and justice. The present Constitution of India, prepared under its lead, stands as a monument of the cherished principles it stands for. The Congress has swept away all vestiges of political inequality. It introduced Panchayat Raj, and thereby extended democracy down to it's grass roots. It separated judiciary from the executive. In this way, it brought about a number of historic changes in the political scene of the nation. In the economic field the party stands for a socialistic pattern of society. This new phrase coined by the party implies that there will be happy blend of the Public and the private sectors. To

elaborate, it means that all heavy and key industries will be owned and operated by the State. All others (except small scale ones) will be jointly run by the private entrepreneurs, the former having a preponderant share. Further it stands for rapid industrialization in the country, mechanisation of agriculture and the technological revolution. It proposes to eradicate economic inequality prepetuated through monopolies, uneven distribution of the wealth, mass scale unemployments etc. With the object of 'Garibi Hatao' a slogan it had raised it took a few steps also as for instance, land reforms, fixing ceilings on the ownership of land, urban property, nationalisation of such institutions as banks, general insurance, civil aviation, road transport, wholesale trade of food grains, import and export etc. But in 1991 with the installation of present government-under the leadership of Narsimha Rao, the Congress Party has changed of its economic policy drastically and has introduced new economic policy which is aimed at liberalisation of economy and industry The present congress government has virtually ended licensing of industrial capacity, thrown open the country to foreign investment, slashed income tax rates with the promise of more to come, reduced customs tariffs in two stages, again with more stages to come. Further, the privatization of public sector companies has begun and the private sector investment in many areas previously reserved for the public sector has been opened upon. In fact the transition is being made from a virtually closed economy to one which actively seeks to integrate with the rest of the world.

20.3.2 Communist Party of India (CPI)

To emancipate the workers and peasants all over the world has been for long a global strategy of the Communist worked out by Karl Marx in 1848, when he published his Communist Manifesto. It is by way of a Projection of that Strategy that the Communist Party was established in India in 1923. Right from its inception, it derived its inspiration and guidance from the Communist Party of the USSR. Till 1947, it joined hands with the Congress in the National movement for independence though occasionally it sided with the British and championed their cause. After independence, it actively jumped into the national politics. It has had its strong hold in West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.

The Communist Party of India derived inspiration and guidance from the Communist Party of U.S.S.R. So long as the latter remained the undisputed leader of the global. Communist movement the Communist Party, of India remained united. When the Chinese challenged the hegemony of the Russians and when this challenge culminated in a complete break of relationship between the two, the CPI also developed cracks in its unity. The Vijaywada Congress of 1964 finally and formally broke the (Indian Communist movement into two factions.

The parent group led by Dange and others retained the original, name the CPI. The break away faction now called itself the CPI (Marxists). The latter would boastfully describe themselves as the true followers of Karl Marx and would brand the CPI people as reactionary and revisionists. They would darive their inspiration and guidance from the Communist Party of China and would, regard fate Mao Tse-Tung the true leader of the world movement of Communism. Since, 1964, the two factions continue beating

their separate-tracks. In 1936, an attempt was, however made to re-unite them, but it did not bear fruit.

The Communist Party of both factions, is a cadre party, as distinct from the mass party. Unlike other parties, its membership is not easy to acquire. To be a member of the Communist Party, one's name must be sponsored by two or three persons who are members of the party with sufficient standing. Therefore, one remain on probation for some time. After he has successfully completed that period he becomes a full-fledged member of the party. As regards the party's organisational hierarchy it has its organs at the district, state and national levels. The highest party organ is the Presidium which is chief policy making body. All other organs down below function under its guidance and control.

Both the Communist Parties adopt the same politico-economic philosophy and programme. Shearing in the name of Marx and Lenin, they propose to build a socialist communistic state. To elaborate they stand for the freedom of speech and expression, abolition of the preventive detention laws, separation of the judiciary from the executive, abolition of the President's powers of emergency and also of the institution of the Governor etc. In the economic field, they propose to eradicate a inequalities of wealth, ending of monopolies, distribution of land among the landless nationalism of all industries banking, import and export trade, wholesale trade of commodities, so on and so forth.

The major difference between the two parties lies in the approach to the means Though both of them have accepted the democratic method of elections and have that way shunned the old approach of blood and revolution, the CPI (M) still pins its faith in more revolutionary methods. They feel interested in such methods as hartal, bundhs, lockouts', 'dharna' etc. The CPI on the other hand believes not so much in extremist methods as in peaceful co-operation with other democratic parties. In proof therefore, it had entered into an electoral alliance with the Congress in the Parliamentary elections held in 1971 and State assembly elections in 1972.

A reference may also be made to another fraction of the CPI, namely CPI/ML popularly called Nexalities. One section of the party, which believed in the extremist philosophy of working underground and instigating the people to rise into an armed revolution, broke away from parent organisation alongwith the Marxists in 1961. When they felt disillusioned with the Marxists also they formed a totally different faction. They rose into an open agrarian rebellion in one village of West Bengal named Naxalbari. It is after the name of the locality that they began to be called the Naxalities. They do not believe in the Constitutional means, like contesting elections etc. They work underground.

The Communist Party of India (CPI) faced yet another split in 1981. Mr. S.A. Dange, a prominent leader of the CPI, broke away from the parent organisation on the issue of cooperation of CPI with CPM and support to Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Dange's daughter, Rosa Deshpandey was elected the chief of the new party which came to be known as the All India Communist party (AICP). The first session of the party was held at Meerut. The AICP stands for by & large the same objectives & ideals as the CPI but its line of action is relatively soft. The left parties came to lime light after 1989 General

Elections. With a group of 44 members in Lok Sabha (CPI-12, CPIM-32) they gave outside support to the National Front Government at the Centre. The 1991 elections have returned 49 members of the left parties (CPI-14, CPIM-35) in the 10th Lok Sabha. They were an affective opposition group next to B.J.P. But with the failure of communist regime in Soviet Union the Communist Parties were some what demoralised. However in the 1996 elections their performance has not much declined. They have secured 45 seats. [CPI-12, CPI (M)-33]. Another notable feature about the Communist parties after the 1996 elections it that the Left Front (the other left parties also like RSS and FIB) had joined hands with national Front and formed United Front which formed the government at the centre, while CPI (M) supported the government from outside, CPI joined the government. The verteran CPI leader Inderjit Gupta was given the important home portfolio and Chuturanan was vested with the Agriculture ministry. The 1998 Lok Sabha elections returned 9 CPI members and 32 CPI (M) members in the Lok Sabha. In the 1999 elections CPI secured 4 seats while CPI (M) got 32 seats.

Janata Party

Janata party emerged after the General Elections to Lok Sabha in March, 1977. The four non-communist political parties, namely Bhartiya Lok Dal, Congress (I), the Jana Sangh and the Socialist Party decided immediately after the announcement of Lok Sabha poll 1977 to contest the elections jointly under the banner of Janata Party to provide an alternative to the Congress. Encouraged by the election results which put them into seat of power, they went ahead in their programme of uniting themselves and in due course of time, there emerged its existence, the Janata party. All these parties ended their separate identity and merged themselves into the new party.

After the announcement of the Parliamentary poll one more party emerged on the political scene, namely Congress for Democracy (CFD) under the leadership of Jag Jivan Ram who had resigned from the Union Cabinet. This party supported the Janata party in the election campaign but it kept its separate identity in election as well as after the formation of Janata Govt. But when nine State assemblies were dissolved in April, 1977 and it was announced that the elections would be held in June, CFD decided to merge itself into the Janata Party. On May 1, 1977, when the session for the merger of the four parties was being held, CFD also announced its merger into the Janata Party.

The Janata (now with the CFD merged into it) once again emerged victorious in the State assemblies (except in Tamil Nadu and West Bengal where AIADMK and CPI (M) captured power respectively). This further strengthened the electoral position of the Party. This however should not blind us to ignore the loose organisation of the party. It is very necessary to remember that the Janata Party which was successor of the Congress was much more heterogeneous in its structure than the Congress party might have been. It came into existence as a result of the merger of four main political parties which by and large had different ideologies and views before they formally decided to merge their independent identities. The fact that these parties were now working as a single party and had dissolved their erstwhile organisation, did not believe the contention that the different groups in the new Janata had different

political ideologies and therefore, did not follow any one line of action. The various groups could not be expected change their psychological make up overnight. This naturally made the party very loose and ultimately resulted in its partial disintegration in July, 1979 when the B.L.D. group and a few members of CFD left the party. The break away group came to be known as the Janata – S (secular). After the defeat of the Janata Party and the Janata-S in the January 1980 elections, there were many more divisions in the Janata Party. Some of the new parties that were formed after the disintegration of the Janata were such as the Janata Party (J.P.) Bhartiya Janta Party, Lok Dal etc.

The Janata Party stands for the restoration of democracy, freedom of expression and rule of law. Therefore the party believes in a policy that, ensures decentralisation of political and economic power. On the economic side, it is opposed to the concentration of wealth in the hands of both the individuals and the State.

It lays more emphasis on agriculture, small and cottage industries, rural reconstruction gradual nationalisation and the development of hitherto neglected areas. It amended, the Constitution to delete right to property from the chapter of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution having it as an ordinary statutory right like any other legal right, which may be enforced in a Court of law......... Instead......... it affirms the right to work and full employment strategy. It aims to achieve this objective through appropriate self-employment. It regards employment as a basic instrument rather than as a distant objective of development and social justice.

With regard to foreign policy the party stands for friendship with all. It is committed to non-alignment free from attachment to any power block. It will strive from the peaceful settlement of all international disputes and will work with other Third world forms of colonialism and racialism. It stands for the Human Rights.

20.3.3 Bhartiya Jana Sangh/Bhartiya Janata Party

The Bhartiya Jana Sangh was established by late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee in 1951. He was motivated to do so by a number of considerations. Among them, two factors need particular mention here. First the Rashtriya Swayasewak Sangh, wedded to the preservation of Hindu culture had been feeling very much sore over the policies of the Congress, especially the way it had conducted itself by accepting the partition of the country and its policy of appeasement towards the Muslims. It was therefore, on the look out for some political agency which could affectively check the Congress allegedly from playing havoc with the sentiments of the Hindus. Itself it was not in position to do so on account of its imposed abnegations to participate in politics. Second, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, who had been taken on the Interim Cabinet as a representative of the Hindu Maha Sabha, had developed differences with the Prime Minister over the Nehru-Liauqat Pact (195), and resigned in protest thereof. He, too was looking for effective political platform. The anxiety of both the R.S.S. and Dr. Mukerjee increased with announcement of first General Elections. It is out of this joint quest that the Bhartiya Jana Sangh was formed.

Within months of its formation, Jana Sangh spread its net work throughout northern Indian. The R.S.S. had already done some spade work towards its end. Its

members joined the new party and new bloc. It also drew a part of its membership from the Hindu Maha Sabha, which with the exit of its top leader, Dr. Mukerjee, had lost much of its popularity.

The analysis of its membership, however indicates that it was a party of the Hindus. In its initial stages, its membership was confined to only Hindus. Later it had officially thrown its gates open to all sections of people. But it appears that the non-Hindus still hesitated to get into it. That perhaps explains why there has been only shrinking of the non-Hindus.

To begin with, the main policy and programme of this party was the unification and preservation of traditional culture of the country. It raised the slogan of 'one culture' 'one country' and 'one Bhartiya nation'. Later it raised an echo of the same slogan when it made a plea to 'Indianize the Indian'. Gradually it deviated from this cultural theme to the more matter of fact programme of the socio economic resurgence of the country. In the economic field, it pleads the cause of the middle class. It is therefore branded as a party of the right. It stands for self sufficiency in food, clothing, eradication of unemployment, inequality, narrowing the gap between the rich and poor. It stands to bring about whole-sale change in the Constitution abolishing the federal structure and substituting state in its place, and a very important plank in the progress is to go in for the atomic bomb and strict reciprocity in our relations with Pakistan and China. The breakaway faction of the Janata which came to be know as the Bhartiya Janata Party, comprises mainly the members of this party.

Bhartiya Janata Party not only chose its new name but also redrafted its policies, stressed on Gandhian socialism, positive secularism, political and economic decentralisation, positive non-alignment and national unity and intergrity.

The party draws its support from low middle, class Hindus-living in towns and cities of the Hindi speaking states. But now it has expanded its support base to other states also such as Gujrat, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and even West Bengal.

A recent important phenomenon in the Indian politics is the increasing popularity of BJP, although it is accused as the communal party. B.J.P.'s support to B.S.P. in U.P., in forming government (June, 1995) has further brought the party into limelight. From 1996, the party emerged at the national level as largest party in Lok Sabha and became the leading party of the coalition government at the centre. It will be worthwhile to know the electoral performance of the party in view of its increasing mass-base.

As far as the electoral performance of the party as Jan Sangh is concerned it secured during the first five general elections between 3% (1952) to 7.40% (1971) of the popular votes and won 3 seats (1952) to 22 seats (1971) in Lok Sabha. In 1977 and 1980 it contested the elections on Janata ticket and sent its 91 members in 1977 and 14 in 1980 in Lok Sabha and secured 14% (1977) and 8.6% (1980) of votes. After 1980 under its new name the party was keen to establish its secular image and its eagerness. It began even tolerant of the Sikh problem which was quite a change considering its past attitude towards minorities. The party had to suffer heavy losses. It secured only tow seats in 1984 elections with 7.66% of the votes. However in the

assembly election (1985) its performance was not so dismal, in 1989 elections BJP rose to new heights. It could play its Hindu Card well in view of the communalisation of politics due to Babri Masjid, Ram Janam Bhoomi Temple controversy issue. It won 88 seats and secured 11.4% votes. It gave outside support to the Janata Dal government, a minority government at the centre along with the left parties. After about an year the BJP withdrew its support leaving the minority government crumbling and the nation again had gone to the polls in 1991.

The biggest surprise of June, 1991 elections was that BJP emerged as a major party nearly doubling its national vote share from 11.4% to 19.9%. It came second after Congress (I) winning 119 seats. The party has fielded its candidates for an unprecedented 480 constituencies. In the November, 1991 parliamentary by elections. It won two more seats making a total of 121 seats in the Lok Sabha. BJP formed the government in four states of India-Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh, It followed a conciliatory approach to Babri Masjid controversy in U.P. and was trying to establish its non-partisan character. It was also trying to emerge as an alternative to Congress (I) at the national level. But the events took a reverse turn. On December 6, 1992 in the presence of BJP's top leaders, the mosque on the disputed area in Ayodhya was demolished by the Karsevaks who marched to Ayodhya for the construction of Ram Temple. This lead to communal violence and loss of life in the riot affected areas. The BJP was condemned nationwide and held responsible for communalisation of politics and damaging the secular credentials of India. The BJP leaders were arrested and U.P. assembly was dissolved and President's rule was declared for mishandling the Mandir Masjid issue. After a few days (Dec. 15) the President's rule was imposed in the three other BJP ruled States i.e. M.P., Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh and the State assemblies were dissolved on the ground of failure of law and order machinery in these states. The Central Government had also banned RSS, VHP and Bajrang Dal-The three Hindu organisations with which BJP has close ties and two Muslim organisations Jamait-e-Islami (Hind) and Islamic Sevak Sangh. The November, 1993 Assembly elections damaged the electoral performance of BJP in the four states in which it was installed into power in 1991 assembly elections. It has been able to form government only in Rajasthan (was 95 seats out of 200). It has been completely ousted in Himachal Pradesh. It got only 8 seats out of 68. The Congress got absolute majority winning 52 seats, in U.P., however, it has emerged as the largest party with a tally of 177 seats out of 425. In Delhi where the first elections for the newly created legislative assembly were held, it won absolute majority and won 49 out of 70 seats and has formed the government. Inspite of these electoral figures it may be noted that the-vote percentage of BJP has not been affected, rather it has increased. For example in U.P. it increased from 31% (1991) to 34% in 1993. In 1995 assembly elections BJP further strengthened its position. It emerged in Gujrat as the ruling party and in Maharashtra Shiv-Sena. BJP alliance has formed the government. In U.P. it supported BSP's government led by Mayawati-the first Dalit Chief Minister. BJP's popularity further increased in the 1996 poll. It secured 161 seats, 40 seats more than 1991 ejections although its vote percentage did not increase like the seats. It got 23.5 percent of the total valid votes as compared to 20.8 percent in 1991. There was only 2.7 percent all India swing in favour

of BJP. Another creditable point for BJP was that it came out as the largest group in the Lok Sabha. Being the largest group, President invited the leader of BJP, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee to from the government. BJP accepted the invitation and formed the government with the help of its allies Shiv Sena, Akati Dal, Samanta party and Haryana Vikas party. At the time of formation of government it had the support of 194 members in a house of 534 members (at that time election process was not complete in case of J & K). It helped to win new allies especially the regional parties' support but it could not do so. The government lasted only for 13 days, the time given to BJP to prove its majority in the house. The reason was the emergence of an unexpected unity in the third front (National Front-left Front parties) which elected Karnataka Janta Dal leader and CM H.D. Deve Gowda as its leader[*]. Regional parties as well some other smaller parties also joined hands on the issue of saving secular forces in the country by labelling BJP as the non secular party. Consequently BJP has to go a long way before it can claim that people of India have given a mandate in its favour. The reason is, the BJP's entire support is concentated in a belt which now extends from Bihar to Karnataka (north and central Bihar and Haryana were added this time). In this belt the BJP and its allies have an average vote share of 36 percent compared to 23 percent of Congress (I). In social terms, the BJP's vote share is much lower among marginalised groups like the Dalits, tribals, Muslims and uneducated. But one plus point in favour of BJP according to the Exit Poll conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing societies (CSDS) New Delhi- is that the BJP has done much better among the young and new voters as compared to other national parties-especially congress (I) and the left parties. This speaks well for the future of BJP. But the factionalism within Gujrat unit of BJP has done much harm to the party, strengthened its position. It emerged in Gujrat as the ruling party and in Maharashtra Shiv-Shena alliance has formed the government. In U.P., it supported BSP's government led by Mayawati- the first Dalit Chief Minister. In 1998 Lok Sabha poll BJP emerged as the largest group in Lok Sabha with 178 seats and formed the coalition government at the centre. In 1999 elections again BJP came out as the largest party with seats and BJP led alliance (N.D.A.) secured 304 seats which formed the coalition government.

The BJP captured the centre of Indian politics on the strength of being "a party with difference" because of its commitment to ideology. But after four years in power it does not remain a party with difference rather it has became a party with two many difference within its ranks. The factionalism and indiscipline is increasing within the party. Although the newly appointed BJP President Venkaiah Naidu refutes that there is an intra-party war but he himself remarked at a meeting of the office bearers. "Today the, BJP only has to fear BJP." The intra-party war is operating at various levels. First there are the old rivalries and monoeuvrings between second rung leaders of BJP like Arun Jaitley, Sushma Swaraj and Parmod Mahajan. Second, there are differences between individual ministers. Third, there are difference between hardcore and moderate wings. The elevation of Advani as Deputy Prime Minister further raises a question whether the rivalry begins at the top?"

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[*]   India today May 31, 1996. p-47.

Besides factionalism, the party has lost its clear image because of its involvement in various scams. The party that claimed to be holier than the rest is becoming one of them. Four years of power have led to the charges of various scams and scandals. The party has failed to manage the power it got in a historic mandate from the people. Since the revelations in March, 2001, of involvement of its leaders in the Teheleka Dot Com the image of the party is declining. The controversy over petrol and LPG allocation to BJP and RSS workers, allegations of favouritism in land allotments further eroded the party's image. The top leadership is worried and wants to manage the image Crisis of its life in power.

Besides allegations of factionalism, corruption & favouritism there are some more important issues which have been damaging for the party. One is the difference over disinvestment. Although no one questions disinvestment minister Arun Shourie's honesty and integrity but the others are not willing to implement his plans.

The second is the mishandling of Gujarat Godhara violence. Then the response of the government to the election commission's postponing of state assembly elections in Gujarat and sending it as presidential reference to the Supreme Court. It was reported that even Prime Minister was upset at his party's continuous campaign against the election commission. A highly placed sources says. "The Prime Minister is wary of the entire Gujarat issue whether it is defending CM Modi or challenging the Election Commission, But sending the issue for a presidential reference was the last straw as he did not want a constitutional crisis.[*] "Sources close to Vajpayee reveal that in the August 18, 2002 cabinet meeting Prime Minister quietly tried to resist the Gujarat poll issue being sent for presidential reference but the decision was taken inspire of that Gujarat is looked, after by Deputy Prime Minister Advani, the M.P. from Gandhinagar who was believed to be convinced by Arun Jaitely the legal brain of BJP for sending the Gujarat poll issue for presidential reference. According to media reports an upset Prime Minister had made up his mind to resign but he was dissuaded to take such a drastic step in the interest of party.[*]

Thus ideology is no longer the driving force of the party. Issues are raised in view of electoral gains. And when issue is power, politicians are always willing to make compromises in coalition politics-such compromises are made quite often.

20.3.4 Janata Dal

A new political party, Janata Dal, emerged in the Indian political arena in October 1988, on the pattern or Janata party formed in 1977. It is combination of three opposition parties namely Janata Party including Lok Dal (A), Jan Morcha established under the leadership of V.P. Singh, the former Congress (I) stalwart and the Lok dal (Devi Lal), Congress (S) and the. Bahuguna group (Lok Dal-B) has taken part in the deliberations for the formation of Janata Dal but finally kept aloof and did not join the new party. V.P. Singh was unanimously elected as the President of the

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[*]   Outlook, September, 2, 2002, p-35. Ibic PP- 34,35.

[*]   Ibic PP-34,35.

new party at a convention held in Bangalore on Oct. 11, 1988 in a venue named after Jaya Prakash Narayan. The Convention adopted resolutions on a document of policies. and programmes of the party prepared by a sub committee headed by Mr. Chandra Shekhar (Janata Party leader), it is considerably based on the Janata Party's 1977 election manifesto; The ideological basis of the party is democratic, decentralisation, socialism and secularism. In matters of foreign policy it is committed to non-alignment. It emphasis on the value based politics. The document gives top priority to agriculture and rural development and calls for a new thrust to end the unemployment problem.

The party ventured to provide an alternative to Congress (I) at the Centre in the 1989. General Election. In the Hindi heartland the predominant pull was that of V.P. Singh as a new honest alternative to Rajiv Gandhi. There was also the BJP's communal appeal. The two pulls worked along different axis but aimed at the same goal, i.e. the ouster of Congress(l) from power. Janata Dal put up 237 candidates next to Congress (I) in the 1989 elections and won 142 seats with 17.8% of popular vote. The 1989 elections returned, a 'hung' Lok Sabha in which no single party, had the majority to form the government. As the Congress (I) was not willing to form the government in the absence of a clear mandate from the people, the Janata Dal) formed the minority government under the leadership of Prime Minister V.P. Singh, with the outside support, of BJP and left parties. Within a year the government, had to resign because of factionalism within the party. The withdrawal of support by the BJP on the issue of construction of Ram Temple in Ayodhya and nation wide agitations due the implementation of Mandal Report regarding reservation in jobs. As a result Janata Dal was split. Janata Dal (S) under the leadership of Chander Shekhar formed the second Janta Dal government, with the outside support of Congress (I). Janata Dal was at the mercy of Congress (I) as the Janata Dal had only about 54 supporters. The crackdown came on March 6, 1991 when the vote on account was to be passed by Lok Sabha and the Congress (I) boycotted the session. Prime Minister Chander Shakher resigned and with this the era of Janata Dal government ended. Janata Dal emerged as the ruling party in Bihar and Orissa under the leadership of Laloo Prasad Yadev and Biju Patnaik respectively.

In the 1991 elections the Janata Dal had to cut a sorry figure for its non-performance, factionalism and lack of unity and team spirit. It won just 55 seats with 10.8% of the national vote. The expulsion of Ajit Singh from the Janata Dal for his alleged anti-party activities paved the way for another split in the Janata Dal. On August 7, 1992 a virtual split took place in the Janta Dal Parliamentary Party as 20 Lok Sabha members including Mr. Ajit Singh and another who were, expelled from the party, presented themselves before the Speaker and claimed that they should be recognised as the Janata Dal (Ajit) separate from the one led by V.P. Singh. The 20 members group was alloted separate seats in Lok Sabha by the Speaker.

Later on seven members of Janata Dal (Ajit) leaving the party announced the formation on new party on July 26, 1993. But on August 2, 1993 all these seven members joined Congress (I). On September 29, 1993 again Janata Dal (Ajit) and Janata Dal (Socialist) announced their merger into Janata Dal. But this unity could

not last long as the parties under Janata Dal decided to remain separate and on December 11, 1993, the party faced another split. Janata Dal (Ajit) on Dec. 30, 1993 joined Congress (I).

On June 21, 1994, 14 members of Lok Sabha belonging to Janata dal annonced the formation of separate party under the leadership of George Fernades. It claimed to be real Janata Dal and asked for the Janata Dal symbol. Election Commission did not accept its claim as the real Janata Dal and gave recognition to the new group under the name of 'Samata party' in November, 1994 as national party in the 1996 elections It was recognised as national party. It secured 8 seats in Lok Sabha and has an alliance with BJP at centre. In Haryana assembly it won 23 seats. Infact these seats were won by Samajwadi Janta Party.

The November, 1993 assembly elections again gave a jolt to Janata Dal. In U.P., which the party consider as its strong hold, it won only 28 seats. The S.P. and B.S.P. alliance emerged victorious in the State. In M.P. Janata Dal emerged as the ruling party. In Karnatka and this has enhanced the morale of the party. Again in 1995 assembly elections the Janata Dal won vote in Bihar but it could not do so in Orissa where Congress (I) emerged as victorious.

In the 1996 Lok Sabha elections it secured 45 seats. Although it is even lesser than its gain in 1991 elections, but the Janata Dal has come into limelight as it is the main alliance partner of United Front government at the centre. Karnataka Janata Dal leader and Chief Minister H.D. Deve Gowda was chosen as the leader of United Front and later appointed as the Prime Minister of the country. But Janata Dal is riven with factions. After taking over as leading position in the coalition government, senior Karnataka Janata Dal leader Ram Krishna Hegde and Mrs. Maneka Gandhi another prominent Janata Dal leader the former Environment Minister have been expelled from the party for their anti-party activities. There was split in the Dal. Janata Dal is headed by Sharad Yadev & Rasthriya Janata Dal's Chief is Laloo Yadev. In the 1998 Lok Sabha Poll Janata Dal got 6 seats. While RJD secured 17 seats. Again in 1999 (August) Janata Dal has been split into Janata Dal (Secular) headed by former P.M. Dave Gowda and Janata Dal (United) headed by Sharad Yadev on the issue of their alliance with BJP & allies. In 1999 election's RJD got 7 seats and Janata Dal (United) secured 20 seats former Janata Dal (S) got just one seat Janata Dal (U) became a partner of N.D.A. while RJD sided with Congress alliance, Janata Dal (S) did not join any of the alliance.

20.3.5 Bahujan-Samaj Party

Another political party which has come into limelight in the Indian political arena in recent years is the Bahujan Samaj Party. Considered to be the Party of scheduled castes, it finally came into being in 1984 under the leadership of Kanshi Ram. It was an attempt, to organise the low castes as the various groups based on the philosophy of Ambedkar like the Scheduled Caste Federation and different factions of Republican Party of India had declined and in view of the disenchantment of lower castes with the performance of Congress. The party began as Backward and Minority castes Employees Federation in 1978 under the leadership of Kanshi Ram. Thus in 1982 Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti was formed which led to the formation of

BSP in 1984. During one decade of its existence it has carved out an important place in electoral politics. In the eighties the BSP contested elections in a number of North Indian States like Punjab, Haryana, M.P., U.P., Maharashtra, Gujrat, J & K, Himachal Pradesh, the Union Territories of Delhi and Chandigarh. Its performance was most impressive, it secured merely 1.18 percent of the valid votes in the assembly election in Haryana in 1982. In Himachal Pradesh (1982) its score was even less, 34 percent only. But in 1985; its performance improved and it increased to 2.20 percent in Punjab Assembly and Lok Sabha election respectively, in 1985 in U.P. assembly elections the B.S.P. candidates secured 2.44 percent of the total votes. The main achievement of the B.S.P. during this period was not in terms of votes polled or the seats won out it was able to tilt the scale in favour or against a number of party candidates. According to one estimate it helped 30 Akali candidates in 1985 Punjab Assembly Elections. The founder of the party gained importance in 1988 Allahabad Parliamentary by-election when he was placed third to Janata Dal and the Congress (I). In 1989 Lok Sabha Elections its image further rose. It fielded candidates mainly in Northern States and won 3 Lok Sabha seats. At the All-India level the Party candidates scored 2.4 percent of the total valid votes from the 235 Lok Sabha constituencies and emerged as the sixth largest party in terms of votes secured at the all-India level next to CPI which got 2.67 percent. In 1989 UP, Assembly Elections it secured 13 out of 421 assembly seats for which the elections were held. The 1991 elections further enhanced the status of BSP and it emerged as a vigorous political force with a clear platform. But the real victory of the BSP was witnessed in the U.P. Assembly (Secured 11.11 percent of votes) (November) in terms of seats and capturing of power in U.P. It secured 69 seats in the assembly and joined the government as Coalition headed by Mulayam Singh Yadav the leader of Samajwadi Party (S.P.) formed by Mulayam Singh Yadev after the split in Janata Dal. The reasons for the formation of SP-BSP alliance and its success were from rapidly changing political scene in the Northern India, particularly in U.P. The S.P. and BSP tried to build a common platform for the Backward castes, scheduled castes and the minorities overcoming their class differences in order to defeat the BJP. And the strategy, worked out successfully. Thus the earlier Brahmin-Harijan-Muslim alliance which played a central role in making the Congress the ruling power in U.P. was replaced by a BC-SC Muslim combine. In by-elections for six assembly seats held on June 1, 1994, the SP-BSP alliance won four seats while the BJP got only two.

Another dramatic as well as unique event happened in the history of BSP in may-June 1995, the conflicts between the SP-BSP alliance became so serious that they could not be resolved by mutual understanding. Kanshi Ram the leader of BSP withdrew the support to Mulayam Singh Yadav's government and the SP-BSP alliance broke out. Ms Mayawati, another fiery leader of BSP put her claims to form the government with the outside support of BJP, the largest party in U.P. assembly with 177 seats. The Government after reviewing the situation in the state accepted her

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.   Pradeep Kumar, Political Mobilisation of the Lower Castes in the North BSP and DDP in UP Lok Sabha Polls 1989 Journal of Constitutional end Parliamentary Studies. Janaury-December 1990 pp. 147-48.

claim and Mayawati became the first Dalit Chief Minister of the most populous state of India. Although the factionalism within BSP was also witnessed as 25 M.L.As out of 69 walked out of BSP and formed their separate group under the leadership of Raj Bahadur, the leader of dissident BSP group. Afterwards 13 returned to the fold. Inspite of these developments Mayawati won the confidence vote in the assembly. But the government could not work long the after four and half months on 17 October, 1995, the BJP withdrew its support to Mayawati. In the 1996 Lok Sabha elections, BSP secured 11 seats in the Lok Sabha. In the U.P. assembly Poll it won 67 seats. In the 1998 elections the BSP's performance defined and it got 5 seats. In 1999 elections BSP's performance improved and it secured 14 seats. In the 2002 UP Assembly elections, it got 98 seats and formed the government with the support of BJP.

20.4 SUMMARY

India has multiple-party but Indian National Congress had a dominant position and it was the only party which had a mass base after independence. Therefore the Indian party system has been described as one party dominant system. The dominance of congress declined in states after fourth General elections and in 1977 Janata party replaced it for the first time at the centered level. It again established its dominance in -1980 and continued till 1996 with a short span of one and half years during 1989-90. With the formation of Janata Dal on the lines of Janata Party of 1977. Now this dominance has collapsed. An important development has been the emergence of strong regional parties. The left parties, the CPI and CPI (M), came to limelight after 1989 general elections. They gave support to the national Front government at the centre. After 1991 elections they have been an effective oppositions doubling its national vote share and coming next to Congress in Parliament. Since 1996 elections it has emerged as the largest party in Lok Sabha in three successive elections. Another national political party which has carved out an important place in the political arena is the Bahujan Samaj Party. It is considered a party. Representing the dalits.

Party Competition

To understand political significance of parties, we must go beyond examining them individually. A party system can be said to be strong or institutionalized when :

- The rules governing electoral competition are stable.
- The major political parties have deep roots in society.
- All significant political actors (judiciary, army etc.) accept the legitimacy of parties.
- Parties have strong organizations and their own resources.

A party system denotes the interaction between the significant political parties. In a democracy, parties respond to each other's initiative in competitive interplay. Also all the parties in the country are influenced by the political and constitutional system of which they are part.

20.5 FURTHER READINGS

1. O.P. Guaba. *An Introduction to Political Theory*, New Delhi, Palgrave, 2000.
2. O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

20.6 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Explain the support base and ideological base of BJP.
2. Evaluate the role of congress party in Indian Politics.
3. Write a critically essay on Political Participation.
4. Define Political Participation. Discuss its various characteristics.

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Structure

21.0 Objectives

21.1 Introduction

21.2 Nature and Implication of Group Theory

21.3 Non-Governmental Organisation

21.4 NGOs and Voluntary Action

21.5 Summary

21.6 Further Readings

21.7 Model Questions

New Social Movements emerged in the 70s and 80s and came to be identified with the following :

1) the challenge to the significance of the state.

2) new ideologies emerged as a response to fundamental changes in the social and economic structures of advanced industrial society.

3) The third aspect of new social movements is that it relates to the intellectual relationship of the new ideologies to the traditional ones.

21.0 OBJECTIVES

- To study and examine the nature of New Social Movements.

21.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent decades there has been a total rethinking of the developmental strategies was adopted in the post-independence period. This rethinking has been partly stimulated by the still persisting socio-economic problems of both rural and urban masses as well as the neglected tribes of the hilly regions. These developmental strategies have not only failed to solve the problems of poverty, illiteracy and health insecurities but also instead added newer problems to the existing list of issues.

In attempting for an introspection as to what went wrong with the whole exercise invariably the state emerges as the anti-hero at the end of most of the analyses. The state centric developmental approach followed by the post-colonial Indian state has been held accused for all the misadventures. Though the development has been carried out within the ideological framework of as well as the functioning of a vibrant democratic Indian polity, the central role given to the state and its bureaucracy in the development project seems to have precluded any real democratic participation of the masses-the local communities - whose living space has been the site of developmental activity. Though it was in their names it was not in their interests, critics complain.

This is the historical background, which is seeing the emergence of many new social movements and voluntary sectors focusing on specific issues for the furtherance of the values of democracy. A resurgence of the category of civil society has been the response to these experiential developments from the domain of theoreticians. The eclipse of civil society.

21.2 NATURE AND IMPLICATION OF GROUP THEORY

Recent studies of the role of pressure groups in the sphere of modern political analysis have appeared as a refined version of the Philosophical and deductive theories of pluralism. Here the atomistic liberalism of John Locke and idealistic socialism of T.H. Green that had their clear manifestation in the works of great pluralists like figgis, Maitland, Cole and Laski has been replaced by what may be called the analytical pluralism of David Truman V.O. Key, Jrand Earl Latham who have taken inspiration from Arthus Bentley's. "The process of Government" published in 1908. Truman made an improvement in this regard in his book 'Governmental Process' (1936). V.O.Key Jr. made even greater contribution in this field of study in his monumental work "Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups" (1943). The group theorists, as they are called take it for granted that society is a mosaic of numerous groups living in interaction with each other and that the groups make claims, on the government and the government in turn, acts as the adjuster of the balancer of the interests of the social groups.[75]

Obviously, the group, theory shows a great deal of interest in the internal organisation and process of various, groups and discusses questions relating to their boundaries, size territoriality and other forms of integration. Matters dealing, with the degree of organisation, patterns of control and fluidity of membership are also discussed. Society is described as a framework within which group struggle can proceed in the presence of certain overarching boundaries and limits. According to group theorist, the government can be distinguished from other groups in terms of the mechanics and process of adjustment they, provide for the purpose of handling the on-going struggle for interest groups. The government thus comprises groups representing within its framework broader social process, as well as interests and claims thus making available to outside groups a number of points of access, at which it is open to influence.[76]

A pertinent question may be asked as to what is a group? In simple words, a group means a collection of individuals. However, in terms of group theory, it has a different commutation. According to Bentley the author of this theory, a group, "means a certain portion of men of a society taken, however, not as physical mass cut off from other masses of men, but a mass of activity, which does not preclude the men who participate in it from participating likewise in many other group activities."[77] Truman says that a group is a collection of individuals which "on the basis of one more, shared attitudes, makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for me establishment,

75.   Benard E. Brown, 'New Direction in comparative politics', p. 16.

76.   S.P. Verma, Modern Political Theory p. 151.

77.   Bentely "The Process, of Government A Study of the Social Pressures" p. 211.

maintenance or enhancement of forms of behaviour that are implied in the shared attitude. The shared interests constitute the claims."[78] Though one may discover; certain elements of difference between the views of Bentley and Truman, it may be pointed out that according to both group. "It is a mass of activity directed by interests and social system, which consists of a large number of groups, make the arena for the interaction of groups activity."[79]

The group, theory, thus, leads logically to a particular concept of the social system and of political behaviour and it is through the social system that the various groups seeks to realise or maximise their interests. The society is "a single universe of groups, which combine, break, federate and form coalition and constellations of power in a flux or restless alteration and is kept going by me push and resistance between groups."[80] Like other behaviourists, the exponents of this theory are interested in the fact that the society keeps going in order to explain in how it can keep going in spite of the perpetual conflict among groups in which each is frantically pursuing its own narrow self interest, the theory of a king of automatic Glance, of power is brought in, the theory of the balance of the group pressures, as Bentley has described it."[81]

General Strategy of Pressure Group Politics of India :- A study of the Indian politics from the view point of group theory reveals that just as our society is composed of several interests groups so our government itself is actually composed of number of groups. These groups are organised on the basis of some specific interest and, for this reason, that response and adopt to the structure of power in the political system.

It can also be discovered that our government, like the government of any other 'open' country, in addition to functioning as an adjustor of the over-all group struggling going on in the social sphere tends to harbour a variety of interest groups that are themselves in conflict with each other, if for this reason that our government, in the words of Arthur Bentely. "is a microcasm of broader social processes, often a source of interests and claims that become ingredient in the total political process of society, and a multifaceted mass of activity offering of variety of points of access to outside groups."[82]

It should be pointed out at the very outset that though group theory can be applied to the study of Indian politics on account of this essential fact ours is a plural society and democratic state, it can not be applied in a manner as we find in the developed and affluent countries of the West. It is true that changes in the structure of government relation within the society and the channels of access available to them.[83] It should also be carefully noted that ours is a developing country where any study in

78.   David Truman, "The Government Process" pp. 33-34.

79.   S. P. Verma. Op. cit. p. 248.

80.   Latham. 'The Group Basis of Political A Study is Basing Point Legislation p. 49.

81.   S. P. Verma. Op. cit. p. 249.

82.   Stanley A. Kochanck, Business and Politics in India. p. 52.

83.   O.R. Young 'System of Political in India'. p. 85.

regard to the public pressure and political response should be made in the light of a different political culture that informs a leading writer like Myron Weiner to designate it as the 'politics' of scarcity. It shall, therefore, be in the natural fitness of thing to point out general characteristics of the pressure groups in relation to their role in the politics of our country.

They are :

1. As we have a loose, disorganised and fragmented multi-party system, so we have numerous groups, big and small with long as well as ephemeral durations of life, living in conflict with each other, appearing and disappearing in response to the prevailing condition and above all, riven with shifting political allegiances. Though we may make a catalogue of such groups for the sake of a convenient study, it is a rather quite tedious job to present their typological illustration as most of them may be found cutting across the boundaries of their real political character. Not merely that, the shifting affiliations of the groups with political parties and the penetration of the influence of the political leader into the functioning of these groups further adds to our difficulty.

2. The political behaviour of pressure groups indicates political bi-culturalism. That is there is the dichotomy of tradition and modernity. In simple words, it means that while most of the groups try to follow modern developed techniques for the sake of protecting and promoting their specific interests the financing political parties, inducing of their confidents into the legislative and executive departments of the government, winning over or keeping in good humour the bureaucrats by paying them in cash and kind and in return for the services rendered by them and doing much for the sake of achieving their political purposes, they are not wholly free from the shackles of primordial loyalties. Thus the element of traditional creates its own problems. It is owing to this that the functioning of a group is considerably influenced by its loyalties to a particular-religion caste or regional issue than by the consideration of ideological factor or national integration.

3. Organised groups playing, their part in the politics of country lack definite, political commitments. That is, their political loyalties, are shifting leads to their unstable political culture. Their attitude towards political, parties as well as their faith in strategies and techniques lack, definite commitments in respect of which certain norms can not be tied down. If we take up the case of business interests, we shall find that they are divided politically and have conflicting views about strategy towards particular parties and also about the potential consequences of the support they give to any of the major parties. Similar is the case with the labour groups. Leaving aside the case of the Indian National Trade Union Congress all other groups have been in favour of methods from effective moderatism to rank militancy.

4. The lack of ideological commitments has its essential consequence in making most of the groups like anomic organisation.[84] That is most of the groups fee interesting in creating conditions of anarchy and lawlessness without having any ideologists consideration. They have less, rather very little faith in the use of methods like lobbying as adopted by the groups of the developed democratic countries they have no hesitation in indulging in activities of mob violence. Strike is the favourite, weapon, in their hands that sometimes takes the form of bandhs. Often there are held demonstration and long hatches. It is on account of this that violence has come to occupy a special place in the politics of the country.

5. Unlike the groups of a developed western country groups in India have neither an independent existence, nor do they play an autonomous role in the politics of the country. They are so much dominated by the weight of political apprehensions that they desist from openly supporting any political party or its programme. Leaving aside the case of Congress dominated "groups, whether in the world of workers or students and some Communist dominated organisations, thriving on the clandestine support of some foreign superpower, all the other groups prefer to live under the camouflaged protection of political parties rather than to come all out openly in the world of politics. The fear psychosis has its indelible effects so much so that while, playing the definite role in the politics of the country, they not only, pretend to be neutral in political matters; they try to change the labels of their political affiliation in response to the requirements of a rank opportunistic policy.

While discussing the interaction, between the pressure groups and the political process Kohanek observed: "Thus the interrelationship between the interest groups and the political processes in India is much more complex than that implied by the early elaborations of group theory which conceptualized society as nothing more than a mosaic of interacting groups, which, individually understand" would elucidate the whole. As the Indian case reveals the political system itself sets the parameters for groups activity and groups can be understood only as a part of[85] a larger and more complex set of relationships which compose the larger political system.

Varities of Pressure Groups and Methods of Lobbying :

There are various types of pressure groups in India. There cannot be any particular basis of their classification. Here we discuss some of the important organised groups.

Business Groups

The politics of business pressure groups reveals this important fact that while in the Pre-independence days "had to choose between collaborating with a colonial regime

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84.   As Myron Weiner defines : "An anomic outbarst is enclanned and is analogous to the fantrum of a child where violence is directed at all objects reach" op. cit. p. 204.

85.   S A Kochanek. op cit.p.xii.

that often had the power to make or break an enterprise and identifying themselves with nationalist movement." In the post[86] independence period, the organised business in turn between alignments of ideological pursuits and alignments of convenience between holding on to what they have left of influence with the ruling party and switching allegiance to some party whose clear-cut sympathy with private sector ambitions would promise easy success and certain influence at some future date.

An examination of the historical background shows that the political role played by business interests in India, whether at the regional or at the national level, is inextricably tied up with development and role of organised business associations. Thus the history of business associations should be looked in a manner that finds its start in the establishment of Calcutta Chamber of Commerce in 1834 and other similar bodies in metropolitan cities like Bombay and Madras. The founding of the Indian Merchants Chamber of Bombay in 1907 and Southern Indian Chamber of commerce of Madras in 1909 can be cited as further instances in the same direction, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce (later known as the Bharat Chamber of Commerce) and Bengal National Chamber came into being afterwards. Though himself a Marwari, G.D. Birla founded his Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta in 1926. In post-independence period, there emerged three leading business groups-Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and industry- FICCI (having its major constituents like Indian Merchants Chamber of Calcutta and Southern Indian Chamber of Commerce of Madras), Associated Chamber of Commerce (having its major constituent in Bengal Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta) and its lobby (Central Commerce Organisation) in Delhi and All-India Manufacturers Organisation with its headquarter in Delhi and branches at Calcutta and Bombay, to give voice to the smaller industrialists in India.

As a natural development, Indian business organisation activity sought to influence the policies and decisions of the Government from the very beginning. For this reason, they increasing turned their attention towards the nationalist movement in the hope that an independent India would adopt policies more sympathetic to the growth of the Indian economy in general and Indian business in particular. Situation underwent a fundamental change after the advent of independence. To support or not to support the only towering party (Congress) became the crucial question. Moreover, the growing trend of the Congress party towards socialism under the unassailable leadership of Nehru made the issue more delicate. All leading industrialists, criticised the planning policy of Nehru and looked at his doctrine of the socialist pattern of society with ample alarm. However, the way, they reacted to Nehru's socialism show that they took to two different lines. While a great business magnate like G.D. Birla adopted a sensible and realistic approach in emerging as soft critic of the Nehru Government, J.R.D. Tata took to the course of making, open attacks on the economic policies of the Congress Government, though both adhered to the strategy of appreciating the 'Congress misrule' in varying measures.

What is really astonishing about the role of organised groups in Indian politics is that, in spite of their having anti-socialistic over-tones, they have desisted from

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86.   Myron Weiner. 'op cit'. p. 105.

tendering open and whole-hearted support to the rightist parties like Bharatiya Jana Sangh (now the Bhartiya Janata Party) and Swatantra (now merged with the Janata Party) for the obvious reason that have looked at both of them as quite ineffective agencies to offer a viable alternative to the Congress misrule. The organised business has ever studied the issue of law and order condition as the sine qua non for the conduct of any business activity and thus come to realise, that none but the Congress can give protection against lawlessness and anarchy. Confronted with a situation of Hobson's-choice, the organised business has come to take the congress as the least socialist among all socialist organisations even though it has proclaimed many things, big and small, in the direction of bringing about a socialist pattern society.

Let us look at the techniques that the organised business groups employ for the purpose of protecting and promoting their specific interest. They are direct correspondence with the government, contacts with the legislators and the administrators, participation in the consultative committees of various departments, supplying expertise to the minister and their permanent officials and lobbying that may cover payment of gratification in cash and kind. None but the European Associated Chamber of commerce has its organised lobby in the form of Central Commercial Organisation in New Delhi. It shows that the Indian business groups do not count upon lobbying techniques on the lines of the American counter parts both on account of financial limitation and the system of the parliamentary government having been run by an all powerful Congress party. Highly significant is the area of political funding. What astonishes a student of politics in this regard is that Indian business groups have paid massive donations to the Congress Party at the time of elections in spite of the fact it has declared its commitments to bring about a socialist co-operative common wealth in the country.[87]

Besides these business groups, the multinational companies in India also play the role of business pressure groups. With the liberalisation of economic policies, their role has become more significant.

One more business group which is playing an important role in India is that of Non-Resident Indians. The Non-Resident Indians have formed an Indo-N.I.R. Chamber of Commerce and culture in India. This chamber pressurises the government for special facilities and concessions to non-resident Indians. This Chamber has also established a N.I.R. Lobby in Parliament. Front time, to time this lobby has demanded right to vote in India and right to be elected in both houses of Parliament.

Labour Groups

As in the case of the business groups so is the case of the trade union politics, the history of their political involvement dates back to the pre-independence period. Its start should be taken from the formation of the All-Indian Trade Union Congress in 1920 under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai. This labour organisation looked towards the emancipation of the country as the sine qua non for its own 'Swaraj' and this became sort of a labour wing of the Indian National Congress. A split in the A.I.T.U.C.

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87.   See. J.C Joohari. "Organised Business and Indian Stastology" in 'Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies. 'New Delhi Vol. VI No. 1, 1972 p. 115.

became a natural event when the communists intensified their activities in the direction of capturing its leadership. By 1928 the Communists managed to establish their control over the Red flag Textile Unions of Bombay that cleared the way for the seizure of the leadership of the A.I.T.U.C. It happened in 1929 as a result of which the Congress dominated unions broke away to form their Indian Trade Union Federation. It made the A.I.T.U.C. very weak the result that the Communist left it to form their Trade Union Congress. Neither the Congress nor the Communist could carry on their trade union movement effectively after severing their connection from the mother body the A.I.T.U.C. Their realization of this fact encouraged them to think in terms of rejoining the A.I.T.U.C. Thus Communists disbanded their separate organisation and returned to the A.I.T.U.C. in 1935 and the Congress dominated labour unions did the same five years after. The issue of Indian's joining the Second World War became very crucial. While a section of the workers organised itself into the Indian Federation of labour in 1940 under the leadership of M.N. Roy to render support to the English Government in a war against Fascism, the Congress dominated unions left the A.I.T.U.C. for every by forming their I.N.T.U.C. in 1944. Following the pattern of the Congress dominated unions, the socialists also defected from the A.I.T.U.C. and they formed their Hindu Mazdoor Sabha, while some ultra-Communists set up their United Trade union Congress. Thus there "emerged shortly after Independence, four national trade union federation controlled by one or more political parties."[88]

The history of the trade union movement in India in the post independence period, has been quite chequered. Splits after splits have occured in response to the ideological orientation of the labour unions. As a result, leading political parties have come to have their labour wings as Congress in the I.N.T.U.C. Communists in the A.I.T.U.C. Marxist Communist in the UTUC, Socialists in the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and Jana Sangh in the Hind Mazdoor Prishad. Apart from these major organisations, there are numerous affiliated as well as unaffiliated local organisations. It has ever intensified for the demand for the unification of the labour wings and also made the trade union movements accused to being parallel to the fragmented party system of India.[89]

So far as the subject of techniques is concerned, the trade unions have been in favour of diverse stands from the sensible points of moderatism to the insensible point of extreme militancy. Three distinct directions can be discerned in this regard. While the Congress dominated INTUC has been 'workers' support to the Congress government and for this reason it has adhered to an anti-strike policy, the Marxist-Communist-dominated UTUC as been for strikes with a view to paralyse the Congress rule with the support of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha that has equally found favour with militant methods in the forms of bandhs and gheraos. The Communist-dominated A.I.T.U.C. has followed the opportunistic strategy of being in and being out, that is taking to this line or that as it considered best in the direction of support the Congress government on one and opposing it on another occassion.

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88. Myron Weiner. op cit. p. 22.

89. Harold Crough. "Trade Union and politics in India", p. 239.

Agrarian Groups

Study of the agrarian, interest groups in relation to their role in the politics of India leaves the impression of a very low political culture. While the trade unions can be accused of being poorly organised with a heavy membership turn-over on the midst of limited and irregular dues payments and mainly following the policy of the agitating for demands by adopting the techniques of strikes, demonstrations, gheraos, bandh etc. The case of the agrarian organisations is still more hopeless in view of the fact that the peasants in this country have not been able to organise themselves, and where they could do it to some extent, the organisations have not been strong enough to articulate their interests inspite of their larger-number. It is equally true that if only they could unite, they would be able to influence political decision to a considerable extent if not alter the policies of the country, completely. While Industrial labour and blue and white collar workers in India have been able to make their presence felt. It is all the more a pity that peasants have not been able to get their due".[90]

The week end almost disorganised agrarian movement in the post-Independence period is a legacy of the past. While the All-India Kisan Sabha is the oldest and the largest national organisations that claims to speak for the peasants cause there are numerous peasants organisations in the country having local and regional bases and pulling in different directions on account of the attachment with different political parties. The names of such organisations are : Hind Kisan Panchayat controlled by the Socialists and United Kisan Sabha controlled by the Communists (Marxist) of the country. The resolution of the Indian National Congress Party in regard to co-operative farming system and State trading in food grains created a new wave of reaction that resulted in formation of the Swantatra party with whose help some new organisations came into being to fight for the cause of agriculturists, the most important of them being the All India Agriculturalists Federation and the Khedat Sangh of Gujarat. In 1967 the CPM organised Revolutionary Peasants Convention with the idea that any revolution in the country must be spearheaded by the Kisans. It is this kind of an idea that gave birth to the extremists Naxalbari movement to create revolutionary peasant bases for the ultimate seizure of power.

What is Peculiar about the politics of agrarian organisations that most of them fell under the charm or case, regional and ideological trimming that forced them either to live in close affiliation with some political party or to enhance their status from the position of a pressure group to that of a political party. The names of the Jharkhand Party in Bihar and Workers and Peasants Party in Maharashtra may be cited in this regard. The agrarian interests received in the background when caste and regional interests came into the forefront. The Kisans of the Telengana region, for example, became more interested in having a separate State of their own instead of fighting for the cause of the Peasantry. In addition to this, what also effected the movement of the peasant association was their rural-based character given with the evil of factionalism. It is due to this that the peasants failed to unite and thus to articulate their special interest qua Kisans: they were any things but pressure groups. They were not even

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90.   D.N. Singh. "Pressure Group Politics in India. A Case Study of the Peasant Organisations". In Journal of the Society for the Study of the State Government. Varanasi. Vol. No. 2. 1974.

interest group because, though called Kisan groups, there were too many, pulls in other directions, especially from the caste and ideological considerations. During the recent past" in Bhartiya Kisan Union has been trying to articulate Kisan interests in an impressive manner.

Community Associations

Under this head, we may take up the case of several organisations playing their part in the politics of the country, no manner they have their bases in the religious, caste, tribal linguistic and ethnic factors. Even the student and youth organisations can be covered here as these have a community of their own. While referring to the case of religious groups, we may mention the names of Shiromani Akali Dal and Arya Samaj in Punjab, Muslim League in Kerala, Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat in Utter Pradesh, Anglo-Indian Association, Association of the Roman Catholics etc. It is a different thing that some of the religious groups like Akali Dal and Muslim League may be treated as political parties in view of their open political commitments and unpretended role in political matters. While taking up the cases of caste associations we may deal with the D.M.K. in Tamil Nadu and Jharkhand in Bihar. The Naga National Council constitutes a case of tribal organisations. The Jharkhand party along with its breakway wing the Jharkhand may also be placed in this category. Finally, while referring, to the cases of students and youth organisations, we may mention the names of Students Federation, Samajvadi Yuvjan Sabha, Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad and National Students Union of India etc.

A very long list of community associations can be prepared in order to deal with the role of institutional as well as non-institutional organisations. These organisations may be placed in four categories-institutional, associational, non-associational and anomic. However, such a division shall be just a tentative affairs as most of the organisations cut across the boundaries of each other. It should be further pointed out that a cursory reference to such organisations will be enough and that their so-called political role needs interpretation in view of the fact that many of the political movements present in India" are political overflows of community tension."[91]

Criticism

What we have seen so far shows that several interests groups operate in the Indian political system in order to protect and promote their specific interests despite the fact that they are like loose dis-organised and fragmented organisations having-some common political commitments. We have also seen that most of the groups should be treated as anomic organisations, since they are more interested in creating conditions of lawlessness without any regard for ideological moorings. However the most important fact of the politics of interest groups, should be discovered in their being and operating in a constellation system in which Congress occupied the position of the central planet. It was none but the Congress ground which all other political parties, with interest groups revolving around them. Thus, it depended upon the capacity of a group to take as many rewards as possible by revolving around the

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[91.]   Myron Weiner. op. cit. p. 41.

Congress regardless of its numerical strength. It was on account of this fact that a better group was organised and more it was able to exert its pressure, the more could affect the decision making process of an amorphous organisation like the Congress.

While critically discussing the role of the interest group in the Indian political system an important point should be borne in mind. The existence and articulation of organised interest groups in our political system, as in any other democratic system of the world, may be construed as a sinister development or as an exercise in partial as opposed to total representation and the interplay of unprincipled and corrupt forces under-mining the existence of what Rousseau called the General will. In the politics of the pressure groups, it is the shrewd and corrupt leadership that enjoys a position of special advantage. This is general criticism that can be applied to the role of pressure groups in any political system.

We can safely assess the point that what the Congress party of India had defined during its Raj was that no serious challenge should come to its power from the side of any other party and group. For this sake it has either managed to weaken its opponents by the charm of its resources, or seen to it that they play a role that is sensible and responsible but by no means formidable to its position. The only viable solution to this political problem is that the legacy of Nehru, that the Indian people must be able to govern themselves, be fulfilled. Let us, therefore, "hope for the day when trade unions and peasant organisation will not be controlled by outside leadership when caste; tribal and linguistic and religious organisations will disappear. When all political groups will cease to agitate and will direct their energies towards developments activities, when a sense of responsibility and rationality will pervade all political controversy."[92]

21.3 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOs)

Non-Governmental organisations (NGOs) are playing a very crucial role in the process of development in the social sector in the country. Considering the magnitude of the problems that our country faces at various levels, no government can cater to the needs independently even if it spends huge amount of money for the purpose. involvement of NGOs, civil society and people in the process of development to supplement the activities of government is an important factor.

Background : Voluntary movements in Pre-lndependent India

India has a unique tradition of social work. The beginning of nineteenth century saw the starting of social reform movement in India. A number of voluntary organisations came into existence during this period. For instance, Brahmo Samaj was established by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828. Another social reform organisation, Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in 1875 in Bombay. Mahatma Phule founded Satya Shodhah Samaj in 1873 for the upliftment of depressed classes. Another voluntary organisation called Arya Mahila Samaj, which worked for emancification of women was established in 1880. A home for widows was started in Madras in 1898. Subsequently, Ramakrishna Mission, Servants of India Society and

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[92].   Myron Weiner. op. cit. p. 226

Friends-in-need society have emerged to take care of welfare of the women children and downtrodden classes. This voluntary action in twentieth century can be considered as based on the foundation of social reform and social welfare in the nineteenth century India.

The Concept of NGO

NGO was not in general currency before the UN was formed. When 132 international NGOs decided to cooperate with each other in 1910, League of Nations officially referred to its liaisons with private organisations. Many of the bodies of that time referred to themselves as international institutes, international unions or simply international organisations.

Types of NGOs

The role of NGOs in voluntary sector of development can be listed in five categories :-

First is that of a Public service contractor, who provides services, for a fee in areas like education, where NGOs can before effective than the government.

Second is as collaborator with the government and private sector in activities like watershed management, where community participation is essential.

Third is a social innovator, experimenting with new technologies, service (such as small savings of self-help groups) and methods of social organisation.

Fourth role of NGOs is as social critic and policy advocate of specific issues.

Fifth category of NGOs helps build civil society institutions, which enable and strengthen people's organisations.

Popularly the NGOs are known though several terms as follows :-

GONGOs : Government NGOs largely responding to government scheme.

DONGOs : Donor-driven NGOs

FANGOs : Family-led NGOs are termed as Fongos.

PONGOs : Politically-driven NGOs are called Pongos, and

CONGOs : Commercial-driven NGOs are referred to as Congos.

Self Assessment Questions

1. What are NGOs?

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   _____

   _____

2. Two characteristics of labour groups.

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Reach of NGOs

Success of any development initiative depends on appropriateness of the activity and reaching out to the real beneficiaries. NGOs play a vital role with their policy of 'Participatory' development. Being in close contact with the community, NGOs implement need-based programmes that benefit people at the bottom of the society. Government of India has realized the critical role of the NGOs and assigned to them a place of prominance in the implementation of development programmes. Juvenile Justice care and Protection Act 2000 is the best example of such a partnership.

Despite the commendable efforts of NGOs there are certain pitfalls and the NGOs are not free from criticism. The substantial increase in the number in recent years has brought doubts on the credibility of many organizations. The rise spurious NGOs has affected the image of the sector. For example Bihar alone has 17,000 NGOs yet Bihar remains the most backward state in India. Another example is about government grant: in 2004. the Ministry of Tribal Affairs of the Government of India sanctioned 40 lakh rupees to a Jharkhand - based NGO for undertaking development work, but soon after releasing the money, the Secretary of the NGO transferred the whole amount to his mutual account and the organization collapsed in Mizoram, the state government has blacklisted more than 800 NGOs for keeping direct link with extremist groups. These instances and many others have created doubts, and raised questions regarding the issue of credibility of NGOs.

Due to these pitfalls, many social activists believe that what is needed in India and PEGNGOs (or people's NGOs) which can with stand phasing out of or withdrawal of donors.

21.4 NGOs AND VOLUNTARY ACTION

The modern notion of voluntary action has its origins in Protestant Christianity Conceptually, it just means anything we involve out of our own choice without any compulsion. Having a purpose or meaning in the action is important for an action to be voluntary. The need for voluntary action arises when individuals feel that the existing socio-political and economic structures of the society are not paying sufficient attention towards some aspects of the society. Or it could be that those structures are not in a position to respond to some issues arising in the society. The motivation to do such action is very often unrelated to one's self-interest.

However, Rajni Kothari argues that voluntarism is the essence of Indian civilisation. He argues that the core of the Indian civilisation is cultural rather than political. He further argues that historically in India states were always marginal and limited in their sphere of action. The real functioning of the society was enabled by voluntary organisations that are based on caste, religion and commercial interests. He also claims that "If one says that voluntarism has been an enduring feature of India, it only means that many people at many places are engaged in multifarious action without being asked to do so by an external agent-political bureaucratic or market propelled. The perception of a dichotomy between state-directed and voluntary initiatives has arisen only in recent decades after the modern state and its institutions either began to impede the voluntary ethos or Indian society or forced themselves on

what people did on their own". So Rajni Kothari finds the contemporary interest in voluntary action as something like going back to indigenous Indian tradition of community management of social life.

Now let us have a brief look at the present day voluntary organisations, which are considered synonymous with Non-governmental Organisations, though there is a suitable difference. NGOs are not the only form of voluntary action. NGOs could be a part of voluntary sector. Being non-governmental is only one among the many aspects of voluntary action. The activities of the Christian missionaries in providing health, education and various other facilities are also viewed upon by some, to be the first of voluntary actions in India. But their marked difference lies in the value framework within which they function. Their services are located within the Christian worldview of spreading the message of Christ and ensuring redemption to all. The contemporary NGOs have their origins in 1970s and 80s. This is the period when the state initiatives were increasingly being looked, at with skepticism. It was a response and reaction to the failure of the State and its policies. From then on there is a virtual multiplication of NGOs. Though only about 15,000 NGOs have been registered, it is estimated that their number could range anywhere between 50,000 to 1,00,000 NGOs ere increasingly being viewed as having an indispensable role to play in supplementing the developmental initiatives of the state.

The co-opting, of NGOs by governmental agencies in implementing its policies has evoked mixed response from the scholars. While some view it as a positive development some do not share this view. They feel that this is an encroachment in the sphere of civil society by the state and it is done by the state for encouraging neo-liberal agendas. Sarah Joseph claims that "the spurt in voluntarism, or what came to be called 'grass roots politics', after the emergency in the late 70s provided the hope for a while that a new style of politics was emerging which would regenerate democratic institutions in India. A more participatory model of democracy would emerge it was hoped as a result of popular pressures and the work of voluntary organisations which were involved in organising and mobilising the people, was extolled. Their intervention could, it was felt, help to articulate the needs and priorities of the people and lead the state to devise more people-friendly schemes". Though the governmental and the international agencies also have noted the phenomenon of grass roots activism and the role of NGOs she points out that the official interest was in using them as sum-contractors for more targeted and efficient delivery since it was felt that they might be more committed and honest and acceptable to the people than the bureaucracy.

The importance of NGOs in the development terrain does not, however, lie in the quantity of their work but in quality. As Anil C. Shah and Sudarshan Iyenger point out there have been many instances where the people once served by the NGOs subsequently demand the same standard in the performance of the government apparatus and agitate for the same. Though, by way of quantity their share has been negligible when compared with that of the government, the quality of the work done by them is impressive. The works done by the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) in Gujarat is telling in this regard. They propose six parameters in judging the quality of NGO activities which are as follows :

(i)   People's participation

(ii)   Technical excellence

(iii)   Cost-effectiveness

(iv)   Equity-concern for the deprived, and for women

(v)   Institutional, financial and environmental sustainability

(vi)   Accountability

They argue that the greatest of the NGOs is their approach and method for enlisting people's participation. "Working information in a friendly manner, they do not undertake development as government agencies generally do, with the primary concern being the achievement of a certain target irrespective of the needs and priorities of the people", this shows the need for a change, in the attitude of the government agencies involving in the task of development. However, emphasis on the attitude instead of larger socio-economic structural changes is seen by the advocates of a radical change as a neo-liberal conspiracy to legitimise its expanding role and also to bail out the state, which is collaborating to this effect.

21.5 SUMMARY

The catapulting of civil society to the centre stage of political discourse on political processes is like a double-edged sword. While it holds the promise of democratising the development phenomena by increasing popular participation it also possesses the danger of undermining the legitimacy of the state. Though many NGOs are doing commendable service in the promotion of the values of freedom, democracy, social justice and sustainable development. It has to be kept in mind that they can never have the reach of the governmental apparatus. As one author notes, 'even thousands of NGOs cannot replace the role of the government'. The accountability of the NGOs is also another issue of concern. As already noted, a majority of them are not registered under the Foreign Currency Regulations Act (FCRA). But their importance lies, in demonstrating to the public the possible democratic ways of development with their participation and thereby make the people to pressurise the government to bring constructive changes in the modes of development. One also has to share the optimism of Rajni Kothari towards voluntary action. He claims that though the contemporary interest in voluntary action is seen as a reaction to the failure of the state, we are very soon likely to discover a more positive and liberated sense of what voluntarism involves. Only the political events of the future can either vindicate or refute such claims.

21.6 FURTHER READINGS

3. O.P. Guaba. *An Introduction to Political Theory*, New Delhi, Palgrave, 2000.

4. O.P. Guaba. *Constitutionalism in a Changing Perspective*, New Delhi, Segment Books, 1996.

21.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Define social movements and its characteristics.

2. Discuss new social movements.

PRESSURE GROUPS II - ROLE OF NGOs

Structure

22.0   Objectives

22.1   Role of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)

22.2   Summary

22.3   Further Readings

22.4   Model Questions

22.0   OBJECTIVES

-   To study and examine the role of pressure groups.

22.1   ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS (NGOS)

Besides the political parties and the pressure groups, the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been important role in the last few years in India. Because of ideological vacuum in society, the role of NGOs became all the more crucial. The NGOs claim to be working for the disadvantage and the poorer sections of society. They are seen as idealists and the conscience keepers of our society outside the corrupt world of electoral politics. "Conceptually voluntary organisation derive their strength from being near to the local communities having roots in the life of the people. Being non-bureaucratic, they are able to introduce innovations and experimentation in organisation of services and securing participation of people, in the organisation of service and are able to collect funds from the community for sustaining services."[93]

The NGOs cater to various types of services and there are numerous NGOs working at different levels in the country. According to Madhu Kishwar NGOs can be divided into two broad categories.[94] The first are NGOs which are providing valuable services to specific vulnerable groups and communities. Outstanding examples to this kind include SEWA in Gujrat headed by Ms Ela Bhatt and Mazdoor Kisan Sangharsh Samiti in parts of Rajasthan led by Ms. Aruna Roy. They tend to provide the most constructive critiques and suggestions for economic and political reforms. The second kind of the NGOs are those whose main tasks seems to be to hold and participate in conferences and workshops, 'networking' and propaganda campaign in the media and lobby at the national and international level on various issues. They have vast resources available to them both from foreign and government funds but they do very little concrete work. The leaders from these NGOs have become very important because

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[93].   Role of NGOs in the Changing Public Management Scene, Member C.Nanavatty. The Indian Journal of Public Administration. Jan, March 1996. P. 18.

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of their connections in the media bureaucracy. In the recent years they have come to form a powerful lobby, against economic reforms. They oppose liberalisation and campaign to prevent the entry of foreign capital and collaborations between Indian and foreign companies but strangely they themselves accept foreign aid and encash on India's poverty abroad. They propagate the view that priviatisation will lead to large scale unemployment, insecure conditions of work for workers and fall in real wages of workers. They allege that many welfare benefits for the poor will be withdrawn and as a result there will be worsening of health services' and denial of access to the poor in the sphere of education and other civic services. They are of the view that, state is the primary vehicle for social engineering and ordinary-people have not the capacity to resolve their conflicts. They still favour the state socialism in India although it has been discredited all over the world including the socialist and the communist countries. Although they criticise the government for introducing liberalisation and privatisation but they depend on the government for their survival and get funds by aligning themselves with the bureaucracy which wants status quo and not change in economic policies. The NGO documents opposing economic reforms currently have been prepared by NGOs working on woman issues. The major documents came out of the United Nations Conference on women held in Beijing (China) in 1995. A perspective from the Indian Women's Movement and the Economic agenda. Both are attacks on economic reforms.

The reality is that Globalisation of market economy and the process of industrial development by relaxing government created a more suitable role for NGOs to play in the development process in India especially in the field of social welfare. There is a thinking on the part of government to endower the management of programmes of social services, especially where direct contact with people living marginally is involved to voluntary organisations. Already the system of grants-in-aid by the Central Social Welfare Board and by a number of Ministries including social welfare. Health, Human Resource Development and Labour has been introduced. By this system the voluntary sector has been facilitated to help the development process in more effective manner. But it has also affected the spirit of innovation and experimentation. The voluntary organisations getting grants have lost their independence of operation.

Therefore it is necessary to examine the capacity and voluntary nature of operation of NGOs before transferring services to them. Transfer of management of government services calls for mutual understanding and trust among the bureaucracy and voluntary agencies or the NGOs. There is a mutual distrust and suspicion among the NGOs and the bureaucrats especially at the local level. As far as the NGOs are concerned they traditionally consider government to be rigid stubborn and unhelpful in its attitude. The bureaucrat's view NGOs as very small and adioc kind of organisations'. The reason, being that there have emerged some bogus organisations as NGOs who only want to have the government funds and they are not really interested in the social uplift. But this attitude of mutual antipathy needs to be changed in the present set up. In today's context, especially in social sector, the government and NGOs should play complementary role in achieving effective and sustainable development. There are some NGOs who are not interested only in funds but they want to be associated with a development scheme, since they feel they can

contribute to make its implementation more effective. Such NGOs raise their own resources and at times depend upon, national-and international agencies for funds. There is also misgiving about NGOs that they can implement only small projects and cannot operate large scale projects which require professionals and managerial skills. However this theory has been proved a myth. In many countries NGOs have been successful in big operations also. In Bangladesh, Bangladesh Research Action Committee (BRAC) is currently running about 25,000 primary schools virtually a parallel programme to the government effort. BRAC is a professionally run organisation just like any private sector firm. In India, too there are many large scale organisations which not only do the mobilisation activities but do the constructive activities. In Madhya Pradesh a NGOs named Eklavya has taken a big turn in the field of education in the state. It has made a programme for schools in science and social sciences which is going on in 14 districts of MP today. It has evolved innovative curricular, teaching methodology and educational material for sciences, social science, primary and non-formal education. It proceeds with the understanding that the science and technology are powerful instruments of change and development. From primary education programmes to science popularisation, from technical education to environment monitoring "Eklavya" has a vast area of work. It is a non-profit voluntary organisation. It does not accept and foreign funds or any other institutional funding. It raise its own funds through sale of publications and toys with local material for encouraging scientific temper amongst children.[95]

Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define pressure groups.

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2.   Two roles of pressure groups.

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    Thus the role of NGOs in the developmental process cannot be denied. All services of education, vocational training, food and nutrition, health and recreation can be provided by NGOs in more effective manner by their active participation. If transfer of certain services is to be made to NGOs this should be made initially only in the areas in which NGOs can work with ease and efficiency, adopting humane and caring approach towards the marginalised and the down-trodden. These services may cover child welfare, women welfare, welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backwards classes. All these services are meant to empower people with self-reliance generating an atmosphere of growth.

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22.2 SUMMARY

A pressure Group is a collection of individuals which on the basis of one or more shared attitudes makes certain claims upon other groups in the society and puts pressure on the government for the protection of its interests. In India pressure groups look definite political commitments as well as lack of ideological commitments. Unlike the groups of a developed country in India group have neither an independent existence nor do they play on autonomous role in the politics of the country. However there are numerous pressure groups both big and small, organised as well as anomic which try to interact with the political process in the country. Different group employ different techniques and strategies for the promotion of their interests. These include petitions, propaganda a lobbying strikes, strikes and use of violence. Business groups have been very successful in India although India adopted the mixed economy path of development. They have large financial resources at their disposal and by having direct correspondence with the government and by lobbying they have been able to protect their interests. Labour unions have shown their presence in the politics of working class. The peasant groups although are not well organised but they are trying to articulate their interests is an impressive manner. Besides there are many professional groups. There are many community associations which are based on religions, caste, tribal, injustice and other factors which have informed the Indian Politics.

Besides pressure groups there are NGOs which claim to be working for the disadvantaged and poorer sections of society.

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22.4 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the role of pressure groups in India Politics.

2. Evaluate the working of Business Groups in India.

3. Discuss role of NGOs in supplementing the development task of the Government Agencies.

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

New Social Movements emerged in the 70s and 80s and came to be identified with the following :

1)   the challenge to the significance of the state.

2)   new ideologies emerged as a response to fundamental changes in the social and economic structures of advanced industrial society.

3)   the third aspect of new social movements is that it relates to the intellectual relationship of the new ideologies to the traditional ones

Structure

23.0 Objectives

23.1 Introduction

23.2 Civil Society : Changing Notions

23.3 New Social Movements

23.4 New Social Movements as Agents of Radical Democracy

23.5 NGOs and Voluntary Action

23.6 Summary

23.7 References

23.8 Further Readings

23.9 Model Questions

23.0 OBJECTIVES

-   To study the role of new social movements and civil society.

23.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent decades there has been a total rethinking of the developmental strategies we adopted in the post-independence period. This rethinking has been partly stimulated by the still persisting socio-economic problems of both rural and urban masses as well as the neglected tribes of the hilly regions. These developmental strategies have not only failed to solve the problems of poverty, illiteracy and health insecurities but also instead added newer problems to the existing list of issues.

In attempting for an introspection as to what went wrong with the whole exercise, invariably the state emerges as the anti-hero at the end of most of the analyses. The state-centric developmental approach followed by the post-colonial Indian state has been held accused for all the misadventures. Though the development has been carried out within the ideological framework of as well as the functioning of a vibrant democratic Indian polity, the central role given to the state and its

bureaucracy in the development project seems to have precluded any real democratic participation of the masses-the local communities -whose living space has been the site of developmental activity. Though it was in their names it was not in their interests, critics complain.

This is the historical background, which is seeing the emergence of many new social movements and voluntary sectors focusing on specific issues for the furtherance of the values of democracy. A resurgence of the category of civil society has been the response to these experiential developments from the domain of theoreticians. The eclipse of civil society due to the towering figure of the state is held to be responsible for the developmental approach not reaching its proclaimed destination of the welfare of the masses. So a revival of and reconstruction of an active civil society supposed to be a precondition for the realisation of true democracy and development, are advocated by the proponents of such views. In this unit we will attempt to look into the conceptual as well as the practical issues that inform this kind of alternative framework of development and democracy.

23.2 A CIVIL SOCIETY: CHANGING NOTIONS

The contemporary hype about civil society has been caused by the break-up of the socialist regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe and the revival of Tocquevillian tradition of celebrating the associational pluralism in the U.S. It has been surmised that the Soviet-type experiments have failed because of the absence of civil society in such states. Civil society has been hailed as the property of the liberal democratic states and a flourishing civil society has been considered as the precondition for the existence of democracy.

The concept of civil society has an interesting history. It has always been a part of liberal democratic theories. The liberal notion conceives of civil society as a sphere independent of but to be protected by the state wherein the rights-bearing individuals are free to pursue their private interests in free association with others. This definition reduces civil society to that of free market or free economy. Later liberals like J.S.Mill and Alexis De Tocqueville conceived civil society as a domain of social associations, which would check the excesses of the state. They were concerned about the growing power of the state and held the view that without active social associations, even democracies could become despotic regimes.

The early Marxist conception of civil society as one, which plays a facilitating role for the functioning of the capitalist economy, delimits the scope of civil society too much. But it was successful in its attack on Hegel for subordinating the civil society to the state. Hegel saw in civil society the mediating domain where the particular interests of the individual and the universal interests of the state could be reconciled in producing an ethical basis for the modern society. Hegel was concerned about the loss of morality in modern society due to the non-availability of traditional community relations to the modern humans. However, civil society characterised by its particular tendencies if left alone will destroy itself. So, in Hegel's view, though civil society embodies the unique achievement of modernity that of the individual, it has to be organised and institutionalised through the state.

Gramsci deepened our understanding of the civil society by extending the Marxian logic. Instead of depicting civil society as only embodying the practices of production and exchange relations, the Gramscian notion characterises it as a set of social relations that stand between the individual and the state. Consent is produced for the dominance of the state through the hegemonising impulses of the various institutions, practices and the concomitant myths and symbols at the site of civil society. Gramsci claims that a hegemonised civil society or captive civil society is responsible for revolutions not taking place even under classic cases of the presence of required economic crises. According to Gramsci, hegemony is a strategy which could very well become a property of the proletariat and the subaltern masses. In his revolutionary strategy Gramsci demands an alliance of all the opponents of the bourgeoisie to be led by the proletariat. This alliance, Gramsci argues, should hegemonise the civil society in order to challenge and reorder the political society.

The political implication of the Gramscian notion seems to be crucial. Though historically the space provided by the civil society has been appropriated and hegemonised by the dominant classes, it suggests possibilities for the reappropriation of civil society by other social actors as well. However, in recent times, theorists like Partha Chatterjee and Sudipta Kaviraj have given interesting arguments regarding civil society in the third world countries in general and India in particular. They point out the fallibility and incompatibility of the Western ideas and forms of governance that have been imposed through colonial intervention. At the same time, this imposition, for quite a long time has initiated various processes in its attempt to introduce political modernity in these societies. So the western notions of the state and civil society are not useful categories in understanding the Indian situation since the nature of these institutions have become substantially different from those of their European counterparts. The uncritical application of the concepts of state and civil society to evaluate the Indian situation has caused many distortions. They view with skepticism the attempts of those scholars who are privileging the civil society by decrying the dominant role of the state. According to them, the state in India is less extensive than those its Western counterparts. Using the western critique of the state to argue for the withdrawal of the state is spurious. Partha Chatterjee hopes to understand the Indian situation by devising a new concept called 'political society' distinguishing it from civil society. He attributes the rise of various forms of populism within Indian democracy to the evolution of political society by which he signifies the special relationship between the state and the masses. Kaviraj's final statement about the debate on civil society is quite instructive which is as follows :

"It is in the nature of the problem that the debates about civil society remain inconclusive; but these are not, for that reason, fruitless. After all these debates form parts of a collective reflection on the nature of the conditions which political democracy requires to take root and flourish. Precisely because of its elusiveness and intractability the idea of civil society in the third world forces us to think about the social terrain behind explicit political institutions and try to explicate what happens in that essential but relatively dark analytical.

Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define new social movements.

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2.   The differences between old and new social movements.

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23.3 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The earliest of social movements in India could be traced to the Gandhian efforts of Sarvodaya. Gandhi recognised the need for social change. But he believed that the change has to come from the bottom to top if it has to be non-violent, successful and permanent. Sarvodaya was the direct offshoot of Gandhi's constructive programme. According to Radhakrishna, the ideological paradigm of Sarvodaya sought to create a stateless and classless society of Gram Swarajya, establish the principle of sharing voluntarily such as through Bhoodan and Gramdan, develop village industries and agro-industrial communities and apply the Gandhian concept of trusteeship in industrial activities. But the limitations of this approach of moral persuasion have been well documented by history. Though it evoked much hope in the beginning the gross failure of Bhoodan in land redistribution through voluntary means has evaporated that hope.

Since 1970s a number of social movements emphasising on a range of basic issues have come to animate the sphere of civil society. They are 'new' in contrast to the old trade union and working class movements, which were political in the sense of having an alternate political vision of the state itself with revolutionary ideals. But the people's movements, as they are called, are the result of broader-based people's responses to ecological or gender or caste conflicts. The distinguishing feature of these movements is that they are not homogeneous and differ in their origins. As Wignaraja notes, some are the result of romantic and idealistic approaches taken by charitable institutions, religious institutions, the 'small is beautiful' advocates, etc., which have tried to teach the people to do 'good' things often treating the village as a harmonious entity or community. In many cases the local initiatives merge and give rise to the formation of a large-scale movement at the intervention of intellectuals backed with media support.

As Wignaraja further points out only 'some of the people's movements have been sustained over time, others are eruptions and die down after a while........ Similarly some of the grassroots experiments represent seeds of change, while others are mere bubbles'. He further elaborates on how to differentiate between a seed and a bubble. A

seed can be identified with such broad aims as equality and access to resources; equality of social, political, cultural rights; real participation in all social decisions affecting work, welfare, politics etc; the end of division between mental and manual labour and the use of technology appropriate for this purpose. It is not, however, merely a matter of stating these objectives: genuine participation, self-production and self-management, autonomy, solidarity and innovativeness. A bubble on the other hand, is a soft process and may not last, for a variety of reasons. However, he alerts us to the fact that bubbles should not be outrightly dismissed as they may represent entry points to change and some can be transformed into seeds through additional sensitisation and conscientisation programmes, training of facilitators and change agents. Self-employed Women's Association (SEWA), the Chipko movement, the Kerala Science movement (KSSP) and the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) Samiti are seeds in point. There are innumerable other movements as well differing in degrees of mobilisation, conscientisation and organisation for development and democracy.

All these initiatives may not always proceed in a uniform pattern of development. Within the political space available, there have been interventions in the socio-economic system. In the case of smaller experiments, someone with an advanced consciousness initiates dialogue and a group activity, for example, landless labourers, poor women or a (youth) group trying to do something as a means of living, or a social activity, such as a health or environmental sanitation programme; the process can move forward to become a seed or stay as a bubble until it bursts.

Now we shall look into some of the movements that have highlighted issues of great concern to people and ecology. Chipko deserves to be listed foremost them all. Chipko as a spontaneous movement started in the early 70s and got organized under the able leadership of Sunderlal Bahuguna. It was ignited by the opposition of the people of the Tehri-Garhwal region to the felling of trees by outside contractors. In the Himalayan regions forests form an indispensable source of livelihood for the mostly tribal population living there. Chipko literally means 'hugging' the trees. The movement articulated the concerns of forest-based communities such as depletion of forests, erosion of soil and consequent landslides, drying up of local streams and. other water resources and shortages of fuel and fodder for domestic consumption. It also fought against the construction of the Tehri dam which threatened the eviction of around 25,000 hilly residents. Though the movement has not succeeded in all its endeavours it has achieved some commendable victories. Getting ban on felling trees above an altitude of 1000m and making the government to announce certain forest areas as protected regions are some of the successes of the movement.

Chipko being a non-violent resistance movement embodies the Gandhian spirit of struggle. Chipko movement inspired green cover movements elsewhere in the country the most important being the Appika movement in the Western Ghats against the over-felling of trees and covering forest lands with commercial trees replacing the natural ones. The slogan of Chipko movement is 'ecology is economy'.

Another major social movement has been that of Anna Hazare who has been fighting since more than two decades for bringing about transparency in bureaucratic apparatus of the state. His movement has changed his village Ralegon Siddhi in

Maharashtra into a model village. His movement emphasises the right of the common people to know the information regarding government initiatives and the implementation procedures of the welfare schemes. The government is being pressurised to enact the 'Right to Information" act. This legislation would entail the right of the people to gain access to government records and thereby bring transparency and accountability in the functioning of the government. This would ultimately serve to check corruption and rent-seeking practices.

Yet another important movement of the present times is Narmada Bachao Andolan Samiti. This movement, led by Medha Patkar, has sensationalised the issue of building huge dams as a solution for growing stress on water resources. This movement is in opposition to the construction of nearly 3000 major and minor dams across the river Narmada which would submerge an estimated 3,50,000 hectare of forest land and 2,00,000 hectares of cultivated land. About one million people are estimated to become ousters.

There have been a number of other struggles prioritising issues related to women, dalit empowerment, land use and pollution related issues. Women's movements, though lacking a tradition equivalent to that of French and English feminist movements, have reached a point where they are able to identify common cause with all those movements which would further the advancement of the values of democracy and sustainable development. Dalit movements are also heading forward in the same direction.

However, movements fighting for separate statehoods and autonomy also come under the broad rubric of social movements. Though their source of origin could be the same that of uneven development and the failure of the state to respond to their specific problems, these sub-nationalist and autonomy movements fundamentally differ from other types of social movements. Whereas all other social movements are inclusive i.e. open to all, these movements are exclusive and have particular objectives rather than universal principles.

23.4 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AS AGENTS OF RADICAL DEMOCRACY

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe have attempted to theorise the phenomenon of the emergence of new social movements. Their primary concern is to offer an alternative social imaginary to both capitalism and socialism as they view both the systems to be retaining the elements of domination and unfairness. Taking the cue from Gramsci, Laclau and Mouffe call for hegemony through a process of political coalition of various discrete social groups but without the assertion of leadership within the coalition by any specific group such as working class as it is in the Gramscian revolutionary strategy. Thus they call for the construction of a consensus acceptable to all rather than a quest for supremacy by some ideology or group over other ideologies or groups, in consistent with their radical egalitarianism. Also influenced by the Foucaultian notion of power they argue that social power can no longer be seen as centrally located in the state or the economy but instead it is exercised as well as resisted at the societal level. The political implication of such an argument being the negation of any privileged arena of political struggle. Laclau and

Mouffe praise the new social movements for their particularities as against a unified vision or project.

The new social movements are indicators of the pulse of the people that they are no longer ready to accept the developmental paradigms that keep them out and preclude their participation. They may not be concerned with the capturing of the state power through revolution. Yet they may be building consciously or unconsciously a countervailing power to the dominant state power. The new social movements also represent ways to humanise the larger macro developmental processes in order to demonstrate the fact that the modes of incorporation into the modern world at all levels could be altered. These movements also show how people cope with multiple and simultaneous crises and move on.

People's movements are emerging out of peculiar contradictions within societies and cultures in transition. They may also arise out of contradictions and weaknesses that appear in the role of the state and in the division of labour resulting from the intervention of transnational capital. The new social movements are also bringing about the horisontal integration of people instead of hierarchical integration. According to Rajendra Singh, "ecology movements constitute transnational, biophilic, universalised and moral movements. Their basic commitment and fundamental ideology not only transcend the human categories of caste, class, race, religion and nations but also the categories of species divisions and the divisions of the organic and inorganic world also. This movement is a unique event which brings together the otherwise divided humans on one platform around a single issue, mobilises them to struggle for one cause the defence of all living beings born and unborn".

23.5 NGOs AND VOLUNTARY ACTION

The modern notion of voluntary action has its origins in Protestant Christianity. Conceptually, it just means anything we involve out of our own choice without any compulsion. Having a purpose or meaning in the action is important for an action to be voluntary. The need for voluntary action arises when individuals feel that the existing socio-political and economic structures of the society are not paying sufficient attention towards some aspects of the society. Or it could be that those structures are not in a position to respond to some issues arising in the society. The motivation to do such action is very often unrelated to one's self-interest.

However, Rajni Kothari argues that voluntarism is the essence of Indian civilisation. He argues that the core of the Indian civilisation is cultural rather than political. He further argues that historically in India states were always marginal and limited in their sphere of action. The real functioning of the society was enabled by voluntary organisations that are based on caste, religion and commercial interests. He also claims that "if one says that voluntarism has been an enduring feature of India, it only means that many people at many places are engaged in multifarious action without being asked to do so by an external agent-political, bureaucratic or market-propelled. The perception of a dichotomy between state-directed and voluntary initiatives has arisen only in recent decades after the modern state and its institutions either began to impede the voluntary ethos of Indian society or forced themselves on what people did on their own". So Rajni Kothari finds the contemporary interest in

voluntary action as something like going back to indigenous Indian tradition of community management of social life.

Now let us have a brief look at the present day voluntary organisations, which are considered synonymous with Non-governmental Organisations, though there is a subtle difference. NGOs are not the only form of voluntary action. NGOs could be a part of voluntary sector. Being non-governmental is only one among the many aspects of voluntary action. The activities of the Christian missionaries in providing health, education and various other facilities are also viewed upon by some, to be the first of voluntary actions in India. But their marked difference lies in the value framework within which they function. Their services are located within the Christian worldview of spreading the message of Christ and ensuring redemption to all. The contemporary NGOs have their origins in 1970s and 80s. This is the period when the state initiatives were increasingly being looked at with skepticism. It was a response and reaction to the failure of the State and its policies. From then on there is a virtual multiplication of NGOs. Though only about 15,000 NGOs have been registered, it is estimated that their number could range anywhere between 50,000 to 1,00,000. NGOs are increasingly being viewed as having an indispensable role to play in supplementing the developmental initiatives of the state.

The co-opting of NGOs by governmental agencies in implementing its policies has evoked mixed response from the scholars. While some view it as a positive development some do not share this view. They feel that this is an encroachment in the sphere of civil society by the state and it is done by the state for encouraging neo-liberal agendas. Sarah Joseph claims that "the spurt in voluntarism, or what came to be called 'grass roots politics', after the emergency in the late 70s provided the hope for a while that a new style of politics was emerging which would regenerate democratic institutions in India. A more participatory model of democracy would emerge it was hoped as a result of popular pressures and the work of voluntary organisations which were involved in organising and mobilising the people, was extolled. Their intervention could, it was felt, help to articulate the needs and priorities of the people and lead the state to devise more people-friendly schemes". Though the governmental and the international agencies also have noted the phenomenon of grass roots activism and the role of NGOs, she points out that the official interest was in using them as sub-contractors for more targeted and efficient delivery since it was felt that they might be more committed and honest and acceptable to the people than the bureaucracy.

The importance of NGOs in the developmental terrain does not, however, lie in the quantity of their work but in quality. As Anil C. Shah and Sudarshan Iyengar point out, there have been many instances where the people once served by the NGOs subsequently demand the same standard in the performance of the government apparatus and agitate for the same. Though, by way of quantity their share has been negligible when compared with that of the government, the quality of the work done by them is impressive. The works done by the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) in Gujarat is telling in this regard. They propose six parameters in judging the quality of NGO activities which are as follows:

i)   People's participation

ii)   Technnical excellence

iii)   Cost effectiveness

iv)   Equity-concern for the deprived, and for women

v)   Institutional, financial, and environmental sustainability

vi)   Accountability

They argue that the greatest of the NGOs is their approach and method for enlisting people's participation. "Working informally in a friendly manner, they do not undertake development as government agencies generally do, with the primary concern being the achievement of a certain target irrespective of the needs and priorities of the people". This shows the need for a change in the attitude of the government agencies involving in the task of development. However the emphasis on the attitude instead of larger socio-economic structural changes is seen by the advocates of a radical change as a neo-liberal conspiracy to legitimise its expanding role and also to bail out the state, which is collaborating to this effect.

23.6 SUMMARY

The catapulting of civil society to the centre stage of political discourse on political processes is like a double-edged sword. While it holds the promise of democratising the development phenomena by increasing popular participation it also possesses the danger of undermining the legitimacy of the state. Though many NGOs are doing commendable service in the promotion of the values of freedom, democracy, social justice and sustainable development, it has to be kept in mind that they can never have the reach of the governmental apparatus. As one author notes, 'even thousands of NGOs cannot replace the role of the government'. The accountability of the NGOs is also another issue of concern. As already noted, a majority of them are not registered under the Foreign Currency Regulation Act (FCRA). But their importance lies in demonstrating to the public the possible democratic ways of development with their participation and thereby make the people to pressurise the government to bring constructive changes in the modes of development. One also has to share the optimism of Rajni Kothari towards voluntary action. He claims that though the contemporary interest in voluntary action is seen as a reaction to the failure of the state, we are very soon likely to discover a more positive and liberated sense of what voluntarism involves. Only the unfolding political events of the future can either vindicate or refute such claims.

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23.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

1) Do you share the arguments of many of the critics regarding the supposed negative role of governmental apparatus in India's development process? Give valid arguments for your stand.

2) Discuss the changing notions of civil society and critically evaluate the contemporary importance attached to it in this era of globalisation.

3) Critically analyse the role of new social movements in promoting the values of sustainable development and empowerment of marginalised communities.

4) Discuss the role of NGOs in supplementing the developmental task of the governmental agencies and the promise held out by the voluntary sector in the present global era.

5) Write a brief note on the new social movements.

6) Discuss the differences between traditional and new social movements.

CONSTITUTIONALISM

Structure

24.0   OBJECTIVES

- To study and examine constitutionalism.

Liberal democratic governments started off with written constitutions, thereby being subtitled as constitutional governments or constitutionalism. A constitution defines the duties, responsibilities and functions of various institutions of governments and establishes the relationship between government and the individual. More simply, it is rules which govern the government.

In most liberal democracies constitutional rules are co-defined in a single document -the written constitution which is the highest law of the land. **Secondly**, the government is limited by the fact that power is fragmented through a number of institutions which create an internal system of check and balance. **Thirdly**, the government is limited by existence of an independent civil society. Consisting of autonomous groups such as businesses, trade unions, pressive groups and so on.

24.1   DEFINITION

Constitutionalism has a variety of meanings. Most generally, it is "a complex of ideas, attitudes, and patterns of behavior 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 "contain[s] 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 described by political scientist and constitutional scholar *David Fellman:*

Constitutionalism is descriptive of a complicated concept, deeply imbedded in historical experience, which subjects the officials who exercise governmental powers to the limitations of a higher law. Constitutionalism proclaims the desirability of the rule of law as opposed to rule by the arbitrary judgment or mere fiat of public officials. Throughout the literature dealing with modern public law and the foundations of statecraft the central element of the concept of constitutionalism is that in political society government officials are not free to do anything they please in any manner they choose; they are bound to observe both the limitations on power and the procedures which are set out in the supreme, constitutional law of the community. It may

therefore be said that the touchstone of constitutionalism is the concept of limited government under a higher law.

Usage

Constitutionalism has prescriptive and descriptive uses. Law professor Gerhard Casper captured this aspect of the term in noting that: "Constitutionalism has both descriptive and prescriptive connotations. Used 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.... Used prescriptively ... its meaning incorporates those features of government seen as the essential elements of the ... Constitution."

Descriptive use

One example of constitutionalism's descriptive use is law professor Bernard Schwartz's 5 volume compilation of sources seeking to trace the origins of the U.S. Bill of Rights. Beginning with English antecedents going back to the Magna Carta (1215), Schwartz explores the presence and development of ideas of individual freedoms and privileges through colonial charters and legal understandings. Then, in carrying the story forward, he identifies revolutionary declarations and constitutions, documents and judicial decisions of the Confederation period and the formation of the federal Constitution. Finally, he turns to the debates over the federal Constitution's ratification that ultimately provided mounting pressure for a federal 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.

Prescriptive use

In contrast to describing what constitutions are, a prescriptive approach addresses what a constitution should be. As presented by Canadian philosopher 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. This idea brings with it a host of vexing questions of interest not only to legal scholars, but to anyone keen to explore the legal and philosophical foundations of the state." One example of this prescriptive approach was the project of the National Municipal League to develop a model state constitution.

Authority of Government

Whether reflecting a descriptive or prescriptive focus, treatments of the concept of constitutionalism all deal with the legitimacy of government. One recent assessment of American constitutionalism, for example, notes that the idea of constitutionalism serves to define what it is that "grants and guides the legitimate exercise of government authority." Similarly, historian Gordon S. Wood described this American constitutionalism as "advanced thinking" on the nature of constitutions in which the constitution was conceived to be "a 'set of fundamental rules by which even the supreme power of the state shall be governed.'" Ultimately, American constitutionalism

came to rest on the collective sovereignty of the people - the source that legitimized American governments.

Fundamental Law Empowering and Limiting Government

One of the most salient features of constitutionalism is that it describes and prescribes both the source and the limits of government power. William H. Hamilton has captured this dual aspect by noting that constitutionalism "is the name given to the trust which men repose in the power of words engrossed on parchment to keep a government in order."

Constitutionalism vs. Constitutional Questions

The study of constitutions is not necessarily synonymous with the study of constitutionalism. Although frequently conflated, there are crucial differences. A discussion of this difference appears in legal historian Christian G. Fritz's *American Sovereigns: The People and America's Constitutional Tradition Before the Civil War*, a study of the early history of American constitutionalism. Fritz notes that an analyst could approach the study of historic events focusing on issues that entailed "constitutional questions" and that this differs from a focus that involves "questions of constitutionalism." Constitutional questions involve the analyst in examining how the constitution was interpreted and applied to distribute power and authority as the new nation struggled with problems of war and peace, taxation and representation. However,

> [t]hese political and constitutional controversies also posed questions of constitutionalism - how to identify the collective sovereign, what powers the sovereign possessed, and how one recognized when that sovereign acted. Unlike constitutional questions, questions of constitutionalism could not be answered by reference to given constitutional text or even judicial opinions. Rather, they were open-ended questions drawing upon competing views Americans developed after Independence about the sovereignty of the people and the ongoing role of the people to monitor the constitutional order that rested on their sovereign authority.

A similar distinction was drawn by British constitutional scholar A.V. Dicey in assessing Britain's unwritten constitution. Dicey noted a difference between the "conventions of the constitution" and the "law of the constitution." The "essential distinction" between the two concepts was that the law of the constitution was made up of "rules enforced or recognised by the Courts," making up "a body of 'laws' in the proper sense of that term." In contrast, the conventions of the constitution consisted "of customs, practices, maxims, or precepts which are not enforced or recognised by the Courts" yet they "make up a body not of laws, but of constitutional or political ethics."

Constitutional Economics

Constitutionalism has been the subject of criticism for its previous ignorance of economic issues but this criticism is now taken into account by the development of constitutional economics. Constitutional economics is a field of economics and constitutionalism which describes and analyzes the specific interrelationships between

constitutional issues and the structure and functioning of the economy. The term "constitutional economics" was used by American economist - James M. Buchanan - as a name for a new academic sub-discipline. Buchanan received in 1986 the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences for his "development of the contractual and constitutional bases for the theory of economic and political decision-making.'' Buchanan rejects "any organic conception of the state as superior in wisdom, to the individuals who are its members." This philosophical position is, in fact, the very subject matter of constitutional economics.

A constitutional economics approach allows for a combined economic and constitutional analysis, helping to avoid a one-dimensional understanding. Buchanan believes that a constitution, intended for use by at least several generations of citizens, must be able to adjust itself for pragmatic economic decisions and to balance interests of the state and society against those of individuals and their constitutional rights to personal freedom and private happiness. Constitutional economics draws substantial inspiration from the reformist attitude which is characteristic of Adam Smith's vision, and that Buchanan's concept can be considered the modern-day counterpart to what Smith called "the science of legislation." Concurrently with the rise of academic research in the field of constitutional economics in the U.S. in the 1980s, the Supreme Court of India for almost a decade had been encouraging public interest litigation on behalf of the poor and oppressed by using a very broad interpretation of several articles of the Indian Constitution. This is a vivid example of a *de facto* practical application of the methodology of constitutional economics.

The Russian school of constitutional economics was created in the early twenty-first century with the idea that constitutional economics allows for a combined economic and constitutional analysis in the legislative (especially budgetary) process, thus helping to overcome arbitrariness in the economic and financial decision-making: for instance, when military expenses (and the like) dwarf the budget spending on education and culture. In the English language, the word "constitution" possesses a whole number of meanings, encompassing not only national constitutions as such, but also charters of public organizations, unwritten rules of various clubs, informal groups, etc. The Russian model of constitutional economics, originally intended for transitional and developing countries, focuses entirely on the concept of state constitution. In 2006, the Russian Academy of Sciences officially recognized constitutional economics as a separate academic sub-discipline. Since many a country with transitional political and economic system continues treating its constitution as an abstract legal document disengaged from the economic policy of the state, the practice of constitutional economics becomes there a decisive prerequisite for democratic development of the state and society.

Examples

Descriptive use

Used descriptively, the concept of constitutionalism can refer chiefly to the historical struggle for constitutional recognition of the people's right to "consent" and certain other rights, freedoms, and privileges.

United States

American constitutionalism 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, according to one analyst, derive from "a dynamic political and historical process rather than from a static body of thought laid down in the eighteenth century".

In U.S. history, constitutionalism—in both its descriptive and prescriptive sense—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. While state constitutions and the federal Constitution operate differently as a function of federalism—the coexistence and interplay of governments at both a national and state level—they all rest on a shared assumption that their legitimacy comes from the sovereign authority of the people or Popular sovereignty. This underlying premise—embraced by the American revolutionaries with the Declaration of Independence— unites the American constitutional tradition. Both the experience with state constitutions before—and after—the federal Constitution as well as the emergence and operation of the federal Constitution reflect an on-going struggle over the idea that all governments in America rested on the sovereignty of the people for their legitimacy.

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 seventeenth-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.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

From the mid-sixteenth to the late eighteenth century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth utilized the *liberum veto*, a form of unanimity voting rule, in its parliamentary deliberations. The "principle of *liberum veto* played an important role in [the] emergence of the unique Polish form of constitutionalism." This constraint on the powers of the monarch were significant in making the "[r]ule of law, religious tolerance and limited constitutional government... the norm in Poland in times when the rest of Europe was being devastated by religious hatred and despotism."

Prescriptive use

The prescriptive approach to constitutionalism addresses what a constitution should be. Two observations might be offered about its prescriptive use.

- There is often confusion in equating the presence of a written constitution with the conclusion that a state or polity is one based upon constitutionalism. As noted by David Fellman constitutionalism "should not be taken to mean that if a state has a constitution, it is necessarily committed to the idea of constitutionalism. In a very real sense... every state may be said to have a constitution, since every state has institutions which are at the very least expected to be permanent, and every state has established ways of doing things." But even with a "formal written document labelled [sic] 'constitution' which includes the provisions customarily found in such a document, it does not follow that it is committed to constitutionalism...."

- Often the word "constitutionalism" is used in a rhetorical sense - as a political argument that equates the views of the speaker or writer with a preferred view of the constitution. For instance, University of Maryland Constitutional History Professor Herman Belz's critical assessment of expansive constitutional construction notes that "constitutionalism . . . ought to be recognized as a distinctive ideology and approach to political life.... Constitutionalism not only establishes the institutional and intellectual framework, but it also supplies much of the rhetorical currency with which political transactions are carried on." Similarly, Georgetown University Law Center Professor Louis Michael Seidman noted as well the confluence of political rhetoric with arguments supposedly rooted in constitutionalism. In assessing the "meaning that critical scholars attributed to constitutional law in the late twentieth century," Professor Seidman notes a "new order ... characterized most prominently by extremely aggressive use of legal argument and rhetoric" and as a result "powerful legal actors are willing to advance arguments previously thought out-of-bounds. They have, in short, used legal reasoning to do exactly what crits claim legal reasoning always does put the lipstick of disinterested constitutionalism on the pig of raw politics."

Self Assessment Questions

1. Define Constitutionalism.

   _____

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2. Constitutional economics.

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   _____

United States

Starting with the proposition that 'Constitutionalism' refers to the position or practice that government be limited by a constitution, usually written," analysts take a

variety of positions on what the constitution means. For instance, they describe the document as a document that may specify its relation to statutes, treaties, executive and judicial actions, and the constitutions or laws of regional jurisdictions. This prescriptive use of Constitutionalism is also concerned with the principles of constitutional design, which includes the principle that the field of public action be partitioned between delegated powers to the government and the rights of individuals, each of which is a restriction of the other, and that no powers be delegated that are beyond the competence of government.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The Constitution of May 3, 1791, which historian Norman Davies calls "the first constitution of its kind in Europe", was in effect for only a year. It was designed to redress long-standing political defects of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and its traditional system of "Golden Liberty". The Constitution introduced political equality between townspeople and nobility (szlachta) and placed the peasants under the protection of the government, thus mitigating the worst abuses of serfdom.

United Kingdom

Constitutionalist was also a label used by some independent candidates in UK general elections in the early 1920s. Most of the candidates were former Liberal Party members, and many of them joined the Conservative Party soon after being elected. The best known Constitutionalist candidate was Winston Churchill in the 1924 UK general election.

Dominican Republic

After the democratically elected government of president Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic was deposed, the Constitutionalist movement was born in the country. As opposed to said movement, the Anti-constitutionalist movement was also born. Juan Bosch had to depart to Puerto Rico after he was deposed. His first leader was Colonel Rafael Tomas Fernandez Dominguez, and he wanted Bosch to come back to power once again. Colonel Fernandez Dominguez was exiled to Puerto Rico where Bosch was. The Constitutionalists had a new leader: Colonel Francisco Alberto Caamano Deno.

Criticisms

Constitutionalism has been the subject of criticism by numerous anarchist thinkers. For example, Murray Rothbard, who coined the term "anarcho-capitalism," attacked constitutionalism, arguing that constitutions are incapable of restraining governments and do not protect the rights of citizens from their governments. Rothbard wrote that

> It is true that, in the United States, at least, we have a constitution that imposes strict limits on some powers of government. But, as we have discovered in the past century, no constitution can interpret or enforce itself; it must be interpreted by men. And if the ultimate power to interpret a constitution is given to the government's own Supreme Court, then the inevitable tendency is for the Court to continue to place its imprimatur on ever-broader powers for its own

government. Furthermore, the highly touted "checks and balances" and "separation of powers" in the American government are flimsy indeed, since in the final analysis all of these divisions are part of the same government and are governed by the same set of rulers.

24.3 SUMMARY

The scope and limits of constitutionalism in Muslim countries have attracted growing interest in recent years. Authors such as Ann E. Mayer define Islamic constitutionalism as "constitutionalism that is in some form based on Islamic principles, as opposed to constitutionalism that has developed in countries that happen to be Muslim but that has not been informed by distinctively Islamic principles." However, the concrete meaning of the notion remains contested among Muslim as well as Western scholars. Influential thinkers like Mohammad Hashim Kamali and Khaled Abou El Fadl, but also younger ones like Asifa Quraishi and Nadirsyah Hosen combine classic Islamic law with modern constitutionalism. The constitutional changes initiated by the Arab spring movement have already brought into reality many new hybrid models of Islamic constitutionalism.

See also

- Constitution
- Constitutional economics
- Constitutional law
- Social contract
- Libertarianism
- Rule of law
- Separation of powers
- Judiciary
- Rule According to Higher

24.4 FURTHER READINGS

1. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Constitutions and Constitutionalism in the Slaveholding South* (University of Georgia Press, 1989) at p. 1. ISBN 978-0820311197.

2. Gordon, Scott (1999). *Controlling the State: Constitutionalism from Ancient Athens to Today.* Harvard University Press, p. 4. ISBN 0674169875.

3. Philip P. Wiener, ed., "Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas", (*David Fellman*, "Constitutionalism"), vol 1, p. 485, 491-92 (1973-74) ("Whatever particular form of government a constitution delineates, however, it serves as the keystone of the arch of constitutionalism, except in those countries whose written constitutions are mere sham. Constitutionalism as a theory and in practice stands for the principle that there are—in a properly governed state—limitations upon those who exercise the powers of government, and that these limitations are spelled out in a body of higher law which is

enforceable in a variety of ways, political and judicial. This is by no means a modern idea, for the concept of a higher law which spells out the basic norms of a political society is as old as Western civilization. That there are standards of, lightness which transcend and control public officials, even current popular majorities, represents a critically significant element of man's endless quest for the good life.")

24.5 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Write a critical essay on constitutionalism.

2. Discuss constitutionalism and its various characteristics.

STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY : RECENT DEBATES

Introduction :

The nation state remains the key crucible of power in terms of elections, public policy and in international negotiations. But it faces serious new challenges. Territory and power no longer align. Boundaries within and without the state are shifting continuously. Every boundary is an expression of power and relates to question of justice, division of power between public and private domain. The debate between centrality of trust in social and political life has become reactivated. The role of civil society within the state is being reshaped.

Structure

25.0   Objectives

25.1   Introduction

25.2   Meaning of Civil Society

25.3   Definitions of Civil Society

25.4   Liberals' View on Civil Society

25.5   Hegal's View on Civil Society

25.6   Karl Marx's view on Civil Society

25.7   Gramsci's view on Civil Society

25.8   Analysis

25.9   Contemporary debate on Civil Society

25.10 Conclusion

25.11 Summary

25.12 References

25.13 Further Readings

25.14 Model Questions

25.0   OBJECTIVES

-   To study and analyse the state and civil society.

25.1   INTRODUCTION

The concept of civil society has today captured the imagination of a wide global community. This idea is related with concepts such as empowering citizens for problem solving, counter-balancing the state, preserving individual's privacy and deepen people's participation in government to increase effectiveness and improved

governance (Elliott, 2006). Civil society plays important role in three interrelated areas i.e. economic, political and social.

The economic role of civil society centers on securing livelihood and providing services where state and market have left a vacuum. It also strengthens the social values, networks and institutions, which underpin market economics. In social role the civil society cultivate cultural life, social norms, intellectual innovations and in its political role, it is seen as, a counterweight to state, on essential pillar in promoting transparency, accountability and other aspects of good governance (Edwards, 2004:13-15).

> Today civil society refers to the private realm of individual and non-government associations that perform much of the economic, social and religious activity in west. Current western thinking holds that healthy, and diverse civil society is necessary to stabilize-progress in economy, and responsiveness of the government. The tendency to have the State run more and more of private life has diminished in most Western-democracies (Sheldon, 2005: 63).

Civil society has certain distinctive features. Thus unlike segmentary societies, civil society excludes stifling communalism and is free of ritualism of communities. Unlike religious theocracies civil society is a moral order, which the society makes for itself without any force or ambiguity, Unlike, communism, civil society represents separation from the economy (Planner, 1995:171).

Civil society consists of voluntary organizations and groups and, also defines, the relationship of such groups to the state in a manner, which at least guarantees their autonomy. This further strengthens the basis of the civil society (Johari, 2006: 46), Civil society exists in every state, i.e. democratic or authoritarian or any other. But its size varies from one type of state to another. More the civil society, more liberal the state is, and conversely less the area of civil society the less liberal the state is.
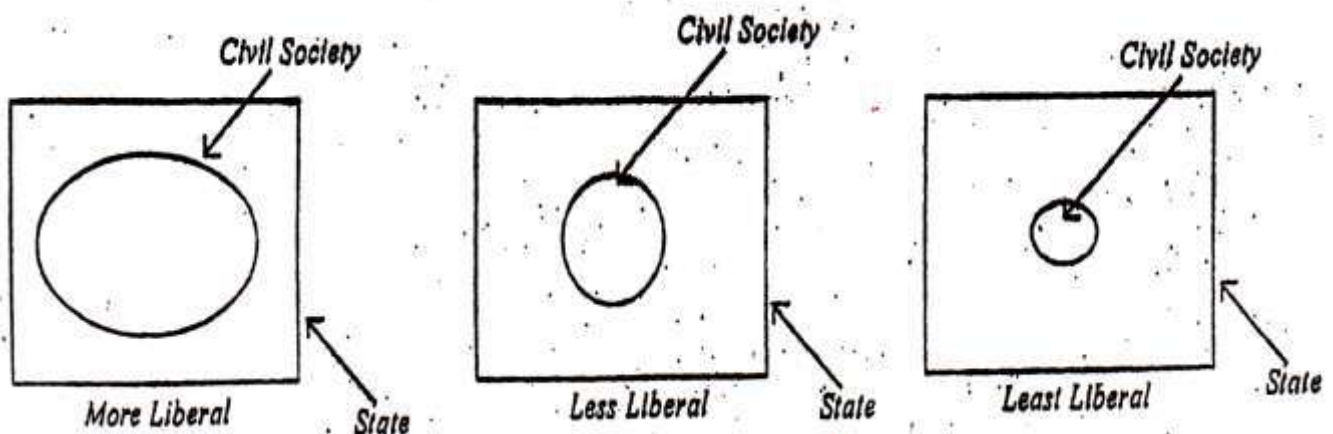
Self Assessment Questions

1.   Define civil society.

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2.   Two differences between state and civil society.

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The existence of civil society does not mean that it will always challenge the state but it can act as a check on state's undue power and also an inactive civil society leads to unresponsive state. On the other hand, politically self-conscious civil society imposes limits upon state power (Chandhoke, 1995:10). Thus through the civil society, the potential excesses of the centralized state in democratic societies can be controlled. Hence the civil society is a necessary constraint on the power of the state. But civil society does not aim to capture the state or transform state power, its aim is to expand the sphere of individual and collective life outside the preview of the state (Ibid: 34-32).

25.2 MEANING OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The term civil society is linked to the concept of civility, which means respect for individual autonomy. It is also based on security and trust among people. It is a society in which strangers act in a civilized way towards each other. It also requires regularity of behaviour, rules of conduct, respect for law, and controls over violence. Hence there is no difference between civil society and polite society i.e. a society in which mutual respect, rational debate and discussion become possible (Kaldor, 2003:17). Nevertheless, civil society is an ambiguous concept, which has various meanings. Originally it was considered to be synonymous with political society, but recently it has been used in the context of social and economic agreements, codes and institutions apart from the state (Vermani, 2005:108). Civil society is, thus, set of intermediate associations, which are covered neither by the state nor the family. It includes voluntary associations and firms and other corporate bodies. (Mclean and Mcmillan, 2006:82)

It is the network of institutions and practices in society that enjoy some autonomy from the state and through which groups and individuals organize, represent and express themselves to each other and to the state. These include the media, education system, churches, voluntary organizations etc. (Baylis and Smith, 2005:236). Civil society is accordingly conceptualized as a space where people can pursue self-defined ends in an associational area of common concerns and it is conceptualized as space which nurtures and sustains its inhabitants rather than

exercise control over them and their relationship. We can also designate it as an area in which modern man legitimately gratifies his self interests and develops his individuality. But the individual also learns the values of group action, social solidarity, and dependence of his welfare on others, which educate him for citizenship and prepare him for participation in the political area of the state (Chandhoke, 1995: 32-34).

But civil society is a very sensitive affair, and it is not to be forced upon the people. It is the body of the eternally vigilant people who recognize their identity and know about the parameters of civil and political life. They make public opinion on the basis of freedom of thought and expression, which they have. This way, they prevent their state from over-reaching and also have the capacity to roll the state back. This is possible through the free flow of information and ample scope for dialogue, debate and discussion in civil society (Johari, 2006: 43).

25.3 DEFINITIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

David Held

Civil society is made up of areas of social life, the domestic world, the economic sphere, cultural activities and political interaction which are organized by private or voluntary arrangements between individuals and groups out side the direct control of state (Vermani, 2005: 108).

Neera Chandhoke

Neera Chandhoke defines civil society as the public sphere where individual come together for various purposes both for their self interest and for the reproduction of an entity called society it is a sphere which is public because it is formally accessible to all, and in principle all are allowed entry in to this sphere as the bearer of rights (Ibid).

Adam Ferguson

He viewed it as the new commercial civilization while displacing the older clan-based feudal order of the Scottish highland and enhancing individual liberty through the introduction of 'Civil society', 'Civil life' and 'economic society' (Darity, 2008: 552).

Karl Marx

Marx views Civil society as morally decadent, oligarchic society rife with greed, egoism, individualism and alienation that benefited only the privileged class of the "Bourgeoisie" who lived off the labour of the rest of society especially the industrial working class (Ibid: 553).

Mahatma Gandhi

For Gandhi, Civil society meant a new social order, which was based on mutual respect and tolerance, open and secular institutions where people learn the lesson of accommodating each other. Gandhi described civil society as an arena of self-rule or self-management based on self-sacrifice for the pursuit of common good. He hoped that civil society will be based on the truth and non-violence on the one hand and the notion of cooperation and social feeling on the other and also a place of deliberation

where people understand each other and respect the views of others (Pathak, 2008:276).

25.4 LIBERALS VIEWS ON CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society as a particularly modern concept emerged between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. In modern-liberal thought of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke civil society is contrasted with pre political state of nature where individuals roam around, compete with one another and injure each other. Civil society, civilized the natural humans, who through reason, created social contract that established organized society and delegated government (Sheldon, 2005: 62). Hobbes and Locke use terms civil and political inter changeably. Civil society to these theorists was conceptual opposite of the state of nature or we can say the anti thesis of state of nature. It emerges as an artificial creation through social contract by the people (Chandhoke, 1995:80).

(a) Thomas Hobbes

Hobbes uses the term 'civil society' for a political set-up or state to distinguish it from the lawless 'state of nature'. So the Hobbsian civil society is contact created civil and political society which is opposite to state of nature. His use of term 'civil society', is a misnomer (Jayaram, 2005:70).

In Hobbes's theory civil society is actually to be found in the freedom that an individual enjoys in his/her day to day life in which the sovereign does not interfere. Individual has two types of rights which the state has to respect. State can not interfere with the right of individual to self preservation and self preservation includes not only right to life but right to the means of subsistence such as access to food. This right imposes the positive limits on the powers of sovereign. On same time individual has negative rights where the state law is silent. And in this case where sovereign prescribed no rule individual has full liberty. These areas constitute the market economy, the personal freedoms and the freedom to develop culture in the society (Chandhoke, 1995: 84).

(b) John Locke

Locke too like Hobbes uses term 'civil society' erroneously for state. In Locke's liberal context every state is a limited state and hence the residual powers accrue to the individual. Limited powers or rights were surrendered to the state on the condition that the state would protect rest of the rights of the individual. These rights were life, liberty and property. According to Locke these rest of powers or freedoms of individual constitute civil society (Gauba, 2005: 122).

Locke also feared that sovereign could behave irresponsibly and can act against the interest of society so he made two contracts. One among the members of civil society and other for formation of government. He gave right to revolt against government to civil society and also argues that dissolution, of government does not mean dissolution of civil society (Vermani, 2005:110-111).

25.5 HEGEL'S VIEW ON CIVIL SOCIETY

Hegel was the first thinker who distinguished civil society from the state. For Hegel civil society represents 'universal egoism' and the Estate stood for "universal altruism". For him the civil society is an organization in which an individual competes with all other individuals, to serve his selfish interests. It is the sphere of economic activities in which an individual tries to satisfy the needs of other in order to satisfy his own needs (Gauba, 2005:122). Hegel presented an innovative and state centered Concept, of civil society. He introduces a tripartite division of society-the family, the civil society and the State in which the family stands for private domain and both civil society, and state stand for public domain. Hegel considers family as thesis, civil society as antithesis and state as synthesis. He termed, civil society as progressive realization of ethical life, which could be realized only in state (Vermani; 2005:11-13).

He viewed family as the first and civil, society; as the second ethical root of the state. The state, according to Hegel is the true ground of both family and civil society, supporting the sanctity of the former and saving the latter from its own atomization. Progress consists in formation of civil society in the first place and the state, in the second (Jayaram, 2005:73). Hegel find's civil society in between state and family. Civil society or bourgeoisie society is the realm of individuals who had left the unit of family and entered in the market. Though civil, society gave rise to state, it is inevitable that state supersedes civil society as the embodiment of society's general interests stands over and above the particular interests both in the family as well as in civil society (Ibid: 126).

Hegel considered civil society as an achievement of modern world. He expanded the notion of civil society, and rescued it from being excessively identified with the economy. To him civil society is a set of social practices, which are constituted capitalist economy, and also in the respect of the ethos of the market. It is the theater where two principals of modern society 'particularity' and 'universality' are negotiated and tensions, between them are worked out. The state, according to Hegel, synthesizes particularity and universality. To Hegel, civil society is an important moment in the transition from the family as a mode of social organization to the state as the supreme and the final form of such organization (Chandhoke, 1995:117,118).

25.6 KARL MARX'S ON CIVIL SOCIETY

According to Marx, civil society belongs to the base or sub structure and it controls the superstructure. For Marx, the political reality of state, is in economic life. What Marx means is that the relationships of production and class struggle are formed in civil society. Marx contends that state is part of the structure, which is controlled by the productive forces and productive relations in civil society (Jayaram, 200.5:46). He, therefore, assumes that the state is a product of civil society and it is also affected by it. Marx asserts that before the emergence of civil society, individuals were part of many different societies like guilds and estates. He says that when these societies broke down civil society emerged and its emergence signified the struggle of each against all and the individual became all important. According to Marx the dominant class in civil society requires the protection of the state (Ibid: 126). Marx criticizes Hegel's philosophy because it justifies the protectionist role of the state. Marx narrows

down the meaning of civil society and in its relationship with state, he said, that the state is partisan and biased towards the rich. He recognized the distinction between Estate arid civil society and rejected the view that state is all-inclusive political community. He considered state as subservient to the conflicting but dominant forces of civil society. According to Marx, civil society emerged in the post-feudal separation of the political sphere of the state from the sphere of private production. He makes civil society very much, synonymous with bourgeoisie society arid he considers civil society nothing but animalization and dehumanization of man. For Marx, civil society itself should resolve its own contradictions without the interference or help of the state (Vermani, 2005:114-115).

25.7 GRAMSCI'S VIEWS

Gramsci expressed his views on civil society in trying to understand as to why the Italian workers were not going for the socialist revolution as was predicted by Marx. And he finally found his answer in the notion of hegemony. For Gramsci, civil society is a sphere in which battle for and against capitalism is fought. It is sphere, which is occupied by struggle for material, ideological and cultural control over all societies including state. Gramsci contends that the state is not the expansion of universal will but the instrument of domination by capitalism. He argued that civil society represents broader community interests instead of being simply a sphere of selfish and egoistic individual needs. He calls it a trench system, which protects state from being challenged by the dominated classes especially during economic crisis. Gramsci's contention is that the state is protected by hegemony of the dominant classes in civil society while the coercive state apparatus fortifies the hegemony of the dominant class. Gramsci thus admitted the superior power of state (Jayaram, 2005:127).

Gramsci called civil society a second line of defense for capitalism against revolution. According to him, civil society and political society both belong to superstructure. Civil society is a set of institutions like churches, parties, trade unions, universities, press, publishing houses and voluntary, organizations which disseminate the ideology of dominant class in order to ensure its cultural and spiritual supremacy: over the subordinate classes which give consent for this. On the other, hand the state exercises coercive power in case if spontaneous consent has failed in the civil society (Kaviraj and Kailnani, 2002:140).

Thus for Gramsci state and civil society are the two levels of superstructure of the capitalist society and together they form the structure of domination. Civil society which is nearer the base embodies structure of legitimation and political society or state embodies the structure of coercion. Capitalist society according to Gramsci largely depends on efficiency of civil society for its stability (Gauba, 2005:122).

Gramsci also differentiates between the political, and civil society and also makes distinction between the sites and forms of power. Political society has its location where the coercive apparatus of the state is concentrated such as prisons, judicial system, armed forces and police. On the other hand, civil society is located where invisible, intangible, and subtle form of power dominates through educational, cultural, religious systems and other ideological institutions. The bourgeois state

prefers consent to coercion, and if consent is operative and present, then the coercion is just not required except in the moment of crisis. Gramcsi advises the revolutionaries to build counter-ideology which he calls counter-hegemony to confront the domination of the dominant classes (Chandhoke, 1995:149).

25.8 ANALYSIS

In its modern form, the beginning of the conception of civil society concept can be traced to the period between seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, Thomas Hobbs and John Locke, the two major exponents if social, contract theory "can be regarded as pioneers in the matter of formulation of the concept of civil society. Locke was the first to introduce the notion of private property as a condition for civil society.

Hegel enlarged the notion of civil society from the liberal emphasis on the market to include social practices distinct from economic life. For Hegel civil society was the terrain where individuals seek their particular interests. According to Hegel civil society is egoist, selfish and fragmented. He was skeptical about the capacity of individual to overcome self, serving interests. He emphasized the need for organizations, law and an overarching organization to integrate individuals into a community and provide a sphere of freedom within which they could pursue particular interests.

Marx rejected Hegel's celebration of the state and called it instead an instrument of domination linked in an unholy, alliance with bourgeois elements in civil society to protect propertied interests. Marx made a critique of the illusion of freedom created by the distinction between civil and political society.

Gramsci extended understanding of modes of domination in modern society by showing how intellectual and cultural organizations create non violent modes of hegemony. He proposed that civil society could also provide the possibility of liberation as a terrain where rising social groups may challenge the power of the state and the dominating class associated with it.

25.9 CONTEMPORARY DEBATE

As the concept of civil society enters in a new millennium it involves diverse actors who are motivated by different goals. The economic vision which is represented by the business groups and trade unions. The social logic of civil society is manifested by the work of non governmental organizations, grass root organizations and associations of volunteers and ethnic groups. The political viewpoint includes the subversive, paramilitary and other armed group movements. On the basis of all these concepts we can define civil society as the totality of organizations formed by citizens outside the state and the market to support aspects of social life where common interests exist (Civicus; 2005:88).

❖ In democracy, civil society has both demand and supply side of governance functions. On demand side it monitors the state's exercise of power and broadens citizen participation in public policy making. On supply side it shares the function of implementing public policy with state institutions and undertakes, this function outside of but with the sanction of state institutions (Ibid: 195).

❖ The increasing linkages between civil society organizations in different countries and the formation of cross border networks, alliances and movements suggests that civil society must now look beyond national boundaries (Kaldor, 2006:53).

❖ The creation of global civil society is an answer to war, a way of addressing the problem of war and it also can act as a vehicle for overcoming the gap between civil societies and uncivil part of the world or the gap between Europe and rest of the world (Ibid: 144).

❖ In the era of globalization the concept of civil society by consisting of different movements, networks and non-governmental organizations, express the reflexivity of the contemporary world (Ibid: 108).

25.10 CONCLUSION

Civil society has successfully performed two important functions. At one place it has acted as a zone of contestation to bringing down authoritarian tendencies and on the other hand it has acted as a protector for safeguarding the democratic institutions. Today, the liberal-individualistic approaches dominating on contemporary debate of civil society. It occupies the place as standard vision of civil society in opposition to the state. Civil society got separated from the state as a sphere of articulation and organization. Though this concept has its origin in Europe and North America during the process of industrialization and capitalist developments but it successfully acquire the characteristic of universality by owning the problems of rest of the world.

25.11 SUMMARY

❖ **Meaning of Civil Society :** The concept of Civil Society is related to the concept of empowering the citizen for problem solving counter balancing the state, preserving individual's privacy and deepening people's participation in government in order to increase effectiveness and improved governance.

❖ Various definitions of Civil Society

❖ Analysis of concepts of Civil Society

❖ Contemporary debate on Civil Society

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25.14 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by the concept of Civil Society?

2. Write note on contemporary debate on Civil Society?

3. Define state and its various characteristics.

4. Critically discuss state and civil society.

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UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF OPEN LEARNING

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Students Response Sheet No. 1

Enrollment No............................   Subject : Political Science

Class : M.A. IInd Sem.

Paper: II   Lesson No. : 1-9

RESPONSE SHEET INSTRUCTIONS

Detach this Response Sheet, write on it your name and address in capital letters in English script, tag with it your answer sheet and then either despatch it by post or deposit personally at the counter of this department. It should be addressed to the Chairperson, University School of Open Learning, Panjab University, Chandigarh - 160014 and should reach this office within one month of the despatch of this lesson-block to you. Each of the response-sheets be tagged separately, though mailed in the same envelope. Use foolscap paper for your answers.

(DO NOT TEAR AWAY QUESTIONS PLEASE)

Time : 2 hours   **Max. Marks : 20**

Attempt any two Questions

1.   Discuss the meaning and scope of comparative Politics, and make a distinction between Traditional and Contemporary perspective.

2.   Critically examine the Comparative method to the study of Comparative Politics.

3.   What improvements has Almond made over his earlier Structural Functional Approach ? To what extent his Approach is applicable to Comparative Politics ?

(TO BE FILLED IN BY THE RESPONSE SHEET EVALUATOR)

Name of the Evaluator ....

Address ....

Remarks ....

Signature ....

NAME ....ENROLMENT NO. ....

ADDRESS ....

....

UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF OPEN LEARNING

PANJAB UNIVERSITY, CHANDIGARH - 160 014

Students Response Sheet No. 2

Enrollment No............................   Subject : Political Science

Class : M.A. IInd Sem.   Paper: II

RESPONSE SHEET INSTRUCTIONS

Detach this Response Sheet, write on it your name and address in capital letters in English script, tag with it your answer sheet and then either despatch it by post or deposit personally at the counter of this department. It should be addressed to the Chairperson, University School of Open Learning, Panjab University, Chandigarh - 160014 and should reach this office within one month of the despatch of this lesson-block to you. Each of the response-sheets be tagged separately, though mailed in the same envelope. Use foolscap paper for your answers.

(DO NOT TEAR AWAY QUESTIONS PLEASE)

Time : 2 hours   **Max. Marks : 20**

Attempt any two Questions

1.   Give the various traditional classifications of political systems.

2.   Briefly describe the salient features of Almond's classification of modern political systems.

3.   Make a comparative analysis of the pattern of voting behaviour as it obtains in U.S.A. and Britain.

(TO BE FILLED IN BY THE RESPONSE SHEET EVALUATOR)

Name of the Evaluator ....

Address ....

Remarks ....

Signature ....

CENTRE FOR INTERNAL QUALITY ASSURANCE (CIQA)
USOL, PANJAB UNIVERSITY, CHANDIGARH

FEEDBACK PROFORMA FOR POSTGRADUATE CLASSES

Dear Learner,

Centre for Internal Quality Assurance (CIQA) is making a modest attempt to seek your feed-back on the study material of this paper. Your feedback is sought on the parameters given below. Please do take out few minutes to provide your valuable feedback as it shall go a long way in improving our study material.

Please submit the duly filled-in **Feed-Back Proforma** along with 'your assignments' in your respective departments.

Best Wishes

Convener, CIQA, USOL

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FEEDBACK PROFORMA FOR STUDY MATERIAL

Class...........................Semester........................Subject....................................Paper...........................

Your Enrolment No............................ Mobile No................................ E-mail ID....................................

Please give your opinion on the following parameters by putting a tick in the appropriate column.

Sr. No.	Parameters	Yes	No (Please specify the problems/suggestions along with the title/no of the lesson. You may write overleaf also.)
1.	Content is sufficient for self study		
2.	Content coverage is as per syllabus		
3.	Content is up to date		
4.	Presentation of the topics is good		
5.	Printing quality is good		
6.	Study material is student friendly		
7.	Any other suggestions		