

**M.A. (Political Science)  
SECOND YEAR  
MAPOLS-505**



**INSTITUTE  
OF DISTANCE  
EDUCATION** **IDE**  
Rajiv Gandhi University

**MODERN POLITICAL ANALYSIS**

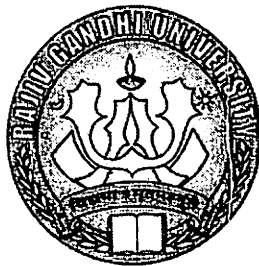
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# **MODERN POLITICAL ANALYSIS**

**MA [Political Science]**

**Second Year**

**MAPOLS 505**



**RAJIV GANDHI UNIVERSITY**  
Arunachal Pradesh, INDIA - 791 112

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 Phone: 0120-4078900 • Fax: 0120-4078999  
 Regd. Office: 576, Masjid Road, Jangpura, New Delhi 110 014  
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## About the University

Rajiv Gandhi University (formerly Arunachal University) is a premier institution for higher education in the state of Arunachal Pradesh and has completed twenty-five years of its existence. Late Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, laid the foundation stone of the university on 4th February, 1984 at Rono Hills, where the present campus is located.

Ever since its inception, the university has been trying to achieve excellence and fulfill the objectives as envisaged in the University Act. The university received academic recognition under Section 2(f) from the University Grants Commission on 28th March, 1985 and started functioning from 1st April, 1985. It got financial recognition under section 12-B of the UGC on 25th March, 1994. Since then Rajiv Gandhi University, (then Arunachal University) has carved a niche for itself in the educational scenario of the country following its selection as a University with potential for excellence by a high-level expert committee of the University Grants Commission from among universities in India.

The University was converted into a Central University with effect from 9th April, 2007 as per notification of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

The University is located atop Rono Hills on a picturesque tableland of 302 acres overlooking the river Dikrong. It is 6.5 km from the National Highway 52-A and 25 km from Itanagar, the State capital. The campus is linked with the National Highway by the Dikrong bridge.

The teaching and research programmes of the University are designed with a view to play a positive role in the socio-economic and cultural development of the State. The University offers Undergraduate, Post-graduate, M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes. The Department of Education also offers the B.Ed. programme.

There are fifteen colleges affiliated to the University. The University has been extending educational facilities to students from the neighbouring states, particularly Assam. The strength of students in different departments of the University and in affiliated colleges has been steadily increasing.

The faculty members have been actively engaged in research activities with financial support from UGC and other funding agencies. Since inception, a number of proposals on research projects have been sanctioned by various funding agencies to the University. Various departments have organized numerous seminars, workshops and conferences. Many faculty members have participated in national and international conferences and seminars held within the country and abroad. Eminent scholars and distinguished personalities have visited the University and delivered lectures on various disciplines.

The academic year 2000-2001 was a year of consolidation for the University. The switch over from the annual to the semester system took off smoothly and the performance of the students registered a marked improvement. Various syllabi designed by Boards of Post-Graduate Studies (BPGS) have been implemented. VSAT facility installed by the ERNET India, New Delhi under the UGC-Infonet program, provides Internet access.

In spite of infrastructural constraints, the University has been maintaining its academic excellence. The University has strictly adhered to the academic calendar, conducted the examinations and declared the results on time. The students from the University have found placements not only in State and Central Government Services, but also in various institutions, industries and organizations. Many students have emerged successful in the National Eligibility Test (NET).

Since inception, the University has made significant progress in teaching, research, innovations in curriculum development and developing infrastructure.

## About IDE

The formal system of higher education in our country is facing the problems of access, limitation of seats, lack of facilities and infrastructure. Academicians from various disciplines opine that it is learning which is more important and not the channel of education. The education through distance mode is an alternative mode of imparting instruction to overcome the problems of access, infrastructure and socio-economic barriers. This will meet the demand for qualitative higher education of millions of people who cannot get admission in the regular system and wish to pursue their education. It also helps interested employed and unemployed men and women to continue with their higher education. Distance education is a distinct approach to impart education to learners who remained away in the space and/or time from the teachers and teaching institutions on account of economic, social and other considerations. Our main aim is to provide higher education opportunities to those who are unable to join regular academic and vocational education programmes in the affiliated colleges of the University and make higher education reach to the doorsteps in rural and geographically remote areas of Arunachal Pradesh in particular and North-eastern part of India in general. In 2008, the Centre for Distance Education has been renamed as "Institute of Distance Education (IDE)."

Continuing the endeavor to expand the learning opportunities for distant learners, IDE has introduced Post Graduate Courses in 5 subjects (Education, English, Hindi, History and Political Science) from the Academic Session 2013-14.

The Institute of Distance Education is housed in the Physical Sciences Faculty Building (first floor) next to the University Library. The University campus is 6 kms from NERIST point on National Highway 52A. The University buses ply to NERIST point regularly.

### Outstanding Features of Institute of Distance Education:

#### (i) At Par with Regular Mode

Eligibility requirements, curricular content, mode of examination and the award of degrees are on par with the colleges affiliated to the Rajiv Gandhi University and the Department(s) of the University.

#### (ii) Self-Instructional Study Material (SISM)

The students are provided SISM prepared by the Institute and approved by Distance Education Council (DEC), New Delhi. This will be provided at the time of admission at the IDE or its Study Centres. SISM is provided only in English except Hindi subject.

#### (iii) Contact and Counselling Programme (CCP)

The course curriculum of every programme involves counselling in the form of personal contact programme of duration of approximately 7-15 days. The CCP shall not be compulsory for BA. However for professional courses and MA the attendance in CCP will be mandatory.

#### (iv) Field Training and Project

For professional course(s) there shall be provision of field training and project writing in the concerned subject.

#### (v) Medium of Instruction and Examination

The medium of instruction and examination will be English for all the subjects except for those subjects where the learners will need to write in the respective languages.

#### (vi) Subject/Counselling Coordinators

For developing study material, the IDE appoints subject coordinators from within and outside the University. In order to run the PCCP effectively Counselling Coordinators are engaged from the Departments of the University. The Counselling-Coordinators do necessary coordination for involving resource persons in contact and counselling programme and assignment evaluation. The learners can also contact them for clarifying their difficulties in then respective subjects.

## SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE

### Modern Political Analysis

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<b>UNIT 1: Approaches to Political Analysis</b>	<b>Unit 1: Approaches to Political Analysis</b> (Pages 3-31)
– Traditional Approaches and their Critique	
– Emergence of scientific approach and Value-Fact Dichotomy	
– Nature of Political Analysis and its Orientations, Normative, Empirical and Semantic.	
<b>UNIT 2: Behaviouralism</b>	<b>Unit 2: Behaviouralism</b> (Pages 33-56)
– Development and Decline	
– Post-Behaviouralism	
<b>UNIT 3: Systems Theory and Approach</b>	<b>Unit 3: Systems Theory and Approach</b> (Pages 57-78)
– David Easton's Model	
– Gabriel Almond's Structural-Functional Model	
– Karl W Deutsch's Communication Model	
<b>UNIT 4: Decision-Making Approach</b>	<b>Unit 4: Decision-Making Approach</b> (Pages 79-86)
– Richard Snyder	
<b>UNIT 5: Game Theory</b>	<b>Unit 5: Game Theory</b> (Pages 87-98)
<b>UNIT 6: Political Culture and Political Socialization</b>	<b>Unit 6: Political Culture and Political Socialization</b> (Pages 99-130)
– Political culture – Meaning, Determinants and Typology	
– Political Socialization – Meaning and Agents	
<b>UNIT 7: Political Development</b>	<b>Unit 7: Political Development</b> (Pages 131-151)
– Meaning and Determinants (Liberal approach)	
– Meaning and Determinants (Marxist approach)	
<b>UNIT 8: Centre-Periphery and Dependency Model</b>	<b>Unit 8: Centre-Periphery and Dependency Model</b> (Pages 153-166)
– Genesis, Application and Relevance	
<b>UNIT 9: Social Change: Concept and Approaches</b>	<b>Unit 9: Social Change</b> (Pages 167-196)
– Approaches (Evolutionary and Structural)	
<b>UNIT 10: Political Modernization: Concepts and Approaches</b>	<b>Unit 10: Political Modernization</b> (Pages 197-209)
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# INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, political science as an academic discipline has tried to address issues of institutional governance and functioning of structures of authority. Recently, there is an evident shift of emphasis in the realm of political analysis, fundamentally, in terms of its focus on a scientific investigation of behaviour of individuals as members of larger groups functioning in the political system. Further, political analysis at present takes cognizance of the interactions between the various variables of the political system operating against the backdrop of the larger socio-political environment.

This book, *Modern Political Analysis*, contains topics such as approaches to political analysis, behaviouralism, systems theory and approach, decision-making approach, game theory, political culture and political socialization, political development, political analysis, concepts related to social change and the centre-periphery and dependency model.

This book has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the **Introduction** followed by the **Unit Objectives** for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with **Check Your Progress** questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of **Questions and Exercises** is also provided at the end of each unit. The **Summary**, **Key Terms** and **Activity** further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

This book is divided into ten units:

**Unit 1:** Describes different approaches to political analysis.

**Unit 2:** Discusses the concept of behaviouralism.

**Unit 3:** Covers the systems theory and approach.

**Unit 4:** Discusses decision-making approach.

**Unit 5:** Introduces you to game theory.

**Unit 6:** Explores the concepts of political culture and political socialization.

**Unit 7:** Familiarizes you with the idea of political development.

**Unit 8:** Covers the Centre-Periphery and Dependency model.

**Unit 9:** Describes the concepts and approaches associated with social change.

**Unit 10:** Discusses concept and approaches in relation to political modernization.

## NOTES

# UNIT 1 APPROACHES TO POLITICAL ANALYSIS

## NOTES

### Structure

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will learn about the various approaches to political analysis. Political analysis is that part of social analysis which deals with the foundations of the state and principles of government. The study of political science is, hence, referred to as political analysis. This science is concerned with matters of the state and seeks to explore, understand as well as comprehend the state in its various conditions — in the nature of its existence and the manifold forms in which it develops itself. Basically thus, this is an exploration of the state and the government.

Political scientist Richard Glenn Gettell termed it the historical investigation of the state; an analytical study of the matters of the state and what constitutes it as well as a politico-ethical understanding of what a state should be like in its ideal form. "The study of politics limited itself with the life of man in relation to organized states," said British political theorist Harold Joseph Laski. On the other hand, British political scientist Sir George Edward Gordon Catlin argued that "political science means the study of activities of political life and activities of various organs of the government". In the same breath, American political science professor James Wilford Garner said, "In short, political science begins and ends with the state." These arguments by some of the best scholars in political science suggest that it is the study of state, government and political organizations.

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At the same time, however, these definitions have viewed political science from the traditional realm of the narrow legal institutional approach. After the end of the Second World War, a popular approach adopted to this study was the Behavioural Revolution approach. This approach brought a change to the analysis in the field of political analysis. Rather than institutional dynamics, this approach stressed on political behaviour. In the beginning of the 20th century, social scientists like Arthur Bentley, Graham Wallas and Charles E. Merriam used this approach and emphasized on some crucial aspects of political analysis like the social and psychological aspects.

### 1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the nature of political analysis
- Describe the emergence of scientific approach and value-fact dichotomy
- Explain the orientations of political analysis from normative, empirical and semantic aspects

### 1.2 POLITICAL ANALYSIS: NATURE, SIGNIFICANCE AND SCOPE

Political phenomena and its analysis has a long history. Classically, its roots are traced to Greece, where famous Greek philosopher Aristotle termed politics as master science. Through this statement, Aristotle referred to political analysis as an activity through which individual lives could be improved and a greater society be built.

However, the study of political analysis involves two complexities. First, bias can easily enter it and the need to reduce it increases manifold. It is important to remember that political analysis is not an ethical activity which is undertaken in order to make a utopian society. At the same time, it is not completely evil. Therefore, the study of political analysis can only be meaningful when it is freed from every preconceived bias.

Second, the term political analysis is itself defined in different ways and there is no agreement on one. There are many debates and differences about its usage. For instance, is political analysis about making decision? Does it lead one to allocate scarce resources better? Due to these uncertainties, the different viewpoints of political analysis need to be elaborated upon.

Different perspectives define political analysis differently but commonly it refers to the analysis of the political phenomena. The subject originated in Greece, which was divided into numerous independent city-states in the ancient times. The most important city-state at that time was Athens. Therefore, the definition originating from Greece could be taken to mean the analysis of the affairs of the 'polis' or the state. Since it is a government which conducts the affairs of the state, politics is also taken to refer to the affairs of the government. Therefore, politics itself is taken to refer to the affairs of the state and government.

However, this is an extremely narrow view of political analysis. While it is true that politics refers to the affairs of the state, yet it cannot be deemed to be state-bound. In the present times, it is no longer possible for the state only to manage all the complex matters of a society and it is supported by a number of organizations in its day-to-day

affairs. Those theorists who argue that political analysis is limited to the state believe that politics is not played out in the realm of the civil society.

The civil society comprises all non-state bodies such as family and kinship organizations as well as class, educational and business organizations. While the state can be referred to as a 'public' entity, the civil society is called the private entity. However, even this view is not complete in itself. It can be argued that civil society is the realm of the private since it is not funded by public money. Civil society is also public because its membership is open for all. At the same time, the civil society strongly influences public policies since it has the backing of the public. Civil society, hence, carries a lot of legitimacy or moral standing.

Feminists, on the other hand, argue against the belief that politics is solely public-centric. They criticize view-points that believe that the state must not enter the 'private' domains of families. Feminists say since within society, women are dominated by men, the state must come to end the oppression and manipulation of women at the hands of men. The feminists though reject this division of the public and private. They assert that power is not limited to the realm of the state but also is found in non-state bodies like the family and other organizations. Kate Millet, in her book *Political Analysis* (1969), argues that power-structured relationships define political analysis; it is an arrangement wherein one group of persons control the other. Feminists, thus, view the relationships within families, between husbands and wives, and between parents and children, as much political relationships as those which are between employers and workers, or between governments and citizens.

Political analysis has often been referred to as the 'art of the possible', because it is possible for the state to take care of the law and order without the usage of force. While dissent may not be welcome, it is not necessary to crush it and conflicts could be resolved with negotiation and even compromise. Thus, political analysis with this viewpoint is considered to be as a civilized and civilizing force and not evil. Conflict is perpetuated when there is a scarcity of resources and is supported by infinite interests. Politics, therefore, becomes a struggle for power over scarce resources and power also becomes a means through which this struggle is carried forward.

Marxists too view political analysis in terms of class. They view political power as the superstructure while economic relations become the sub-structure. They argue that economic is political. However, for both the feminists and Marxists, political analysis is not completely a negative force. They believe it can be turned into a positive force. While the feminists call for a sexual revolution to end patriarchy or domination of women by men, the Marxists believe a revolution by the proletariat will end class struggle and lead to the formation of a classless society.

In his famous book titled *Introduction to the History of the Science of Politics*, Sir Frederick Pollock has differentiated between theoretical analysis and applied analysis through the following steps.

In theoretical political analysis, these are the steps taken:

- Different aspects of the state can be understood through theoretical knowledge
- It gives theoretical education about government and administration
- Theoretical meaning of law-making can be understood
- The presumption is that the state is made up of individuals and this model deliberates upon relationship between the state and individuals as well as international law.

## NOTES

## NOTES

### Applied political analysis:

- It gives a good idea about state formation
- It gives real knowledge about the administration and functions of the government
- It discusses law making and powers of the judiciary
- The real relations among states are described

American political scientist Harold D. Lasswell and philosopher Abraham Kaplan have argued that in the study of political science, "political analysis is policy science. Political science, in the analysis of politics, is a study of shaping and sharing power." Its aim is to establish the harmony between 'power' and 'freedom'. It believes that the power of the state and freedom of the individual are indispensable. This, thus, makes political science too indispensable for the organized and constructive life of human beings. In this way, political analysis becomes the science of who gets what, when and why. In his famous work *Political Analysis in The Study of Political Science Observes: 'Who Gets What, When, How?'*, Harold Lasswell makes the same note. Eminent social scientist Max Weber observed: "Political science is both positive and normative and studies human behaviour in its justice seeking aspect." For David Easton, "Political science is concerned with the authoritative allocation of values for a society."

More recently, the word state has been replaced by political system. This marks a shift in the perspective of study of political science, where it is no longer confined to the study of the state. Now, it covers even those subjects which were traditionally not considered to be within the realm of political analysis. It is believed that politics concerns itself with 'legitimate coercion'. Robert Dahl has observed: "The political system is any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent power, rule or authority." Politics ensures integration and harmony among citizens only with the help of legitimate power. Merki has observed: 'Politics is the process through which man orders the society in which he lives according to his political ideas about the ends of man.'

The philosophers quoted above have all dealt with political analysis within the domain of the state, government and legal system. These have been the traditional focus of political analysis. However, with time, its scope has widened. Political behaviour now finds an increased focus in the study of political analysis than institutions and laws. In social sciences, political analysis has emerged as an important branch. Present theorists contend that the main objective of political analysis is to forge a relationship between individuals and also to establish a relationship between individuals on one side and the society and state on the other. The primary motive is to establish harmony between the power of the state and the freedom of the individual. Yet, in the present times, political analysis now also studies international relations and cooperation among states.

### Significance of political analysis

The study of political analysis has assumed greater popularity and significance in modern times. Man is a political animal and in his actions he is directly concerned with politics. The study of political analysis has proved socially useful on a number of counts.

Political scientist Robert A. Dahl rightly observes: 'Political analysis is one of the unavoidable facts of human existence. Everyone is involved in some fashion at sometime in some kind of political system.' Study of political science imparts knowledge to the individual with regard to the state, government and a host of other political institutions and processes. State is the most universal and powerful of all social institutions and politically enlightened people are capable of playing a useful part in social and political affairs.

Statesmen, legislators, administrators and diplomats who conduct the affairs of the state require sound knowledge of political analysis. E. Asirvatham writes: 'If it is true that where there is practice, there should be theory also, a study of political theory is invaluable to political practice.' Political analysis is the science of statecraft. If the political system can be shaped and improved by positive human effort, no study is more valuable than political analysis. Politics was taught in Plato's 'Academy' and Aristotle's 'Lyceum' with a view to preparing prospective statesmen and administrators.

The same tradition is being followed in modern state to impart knowledge of political analysis to administrators and diplomats. Good citizenship and knowledge of political science go together. Political science has high educative value for citizens in all democratic countries. The study of political science makes the citizens politically conscious which is a prerequisite for the successful operation of democracy. Citizens must be alert, vigilant and intelligent to safeguard their rights and check the despotic tendency of the government. Political science equips a citizen to understand the complexities of modern government and make his own contribution to the proper working of the political system. The citizen can develop a sense of participation in the affairs of his state if he is intellectually equipped by studying political science.

One of the main objects of the study of political science is to find a proper balance between the individuals and the state. The liberty of individuals and the authority of the state should be properly reconciled. Political analysis determines the limits of political control and the area of freedom in each politically organized society. Again it teaches the lesson of cooperation, toleration and national integration. It broadens the outlook of people by freeing them from narrow bounds of parochialism, regionalism, casteism, communalism and aggressive nationalism. It aims at a just world order characterized by peaceful coexistence and a high degree of cooperation among nations.

Apart from these utilitarian considerations, the study of political science enriches man's mind and makes a rich contribution to the realm of knowledge. Knowledge of political analysis expands the intellectual horizon of man and enables him to understand the happenings in the world around him. British historian A. L. Rowse writes: '...is that a people that neglects politics cannot as a people be happy.' George Bernard Shaw stresses the crucial significance of political science when he says: 'Political analysis is the science by which alone civilization can be saved.'

The framework and theories for political analysis are legion. While each theory has certain distinct advantages over the other, it is not possible to accord a universal status to one theory. For, this would amount to paying scant attention to social reality and applying it indiscriminately on every political phenomenon. Political life defies strait-jacketing under any fixed schematic framework. It eludes all attempts at confining social reality in any over-arching theory so far developed in the social sciences. Hence, all efforts to organize the entire range of low level, middle level and over-arching theories under one cosmic political theory end up as 'utopian' construction at best. It is, therefore, not possible or even correct to judge the fundamental premises of these analytical frameworks in absolute terms. But a discussion on the strength and weaknesses of each of these frameworks is both imperative and worthwhile. It would enable us to spell out in clear terms what level and what kind of theories are meaningful and relevant today.

Political theory tends to isolate the parts from the whole in the course of investigation and the danger in this approach is quite obvious. For, in doing so, it may lose sight of the whole whose parts are being put to observation. The outcome is not only unrealistic and partial but sometimes harmful. All behavioural and empirical theories suffer from this weakness.

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Another shortcoming is a proliferation of partial theories having no relation whatsoever with one another. These unrelated partial theories have been compared with planes flying at different altitudes and in different directions. To link and expand all these disparate partial frameworks, a general theory is needed. A general theory is in the nature of philosophical reflection. The aim of such a general theory is to connect earth-bound partial theories with sky-bound theories of the middle and broad range. In the absence of general theories, partial theories remain scattered, unrelated and aimless. They lose much of their relevance. However, when they are brought under the concept of a general theory, these partial theories acquire much needed coherence, orientation and relevance.

A general theory seeks to provide us with a conceptual framework for asking relevant questions in our area of research. It enables us to ask pertinent questions about politics, society, universe or man in general. A general theory of politics presupposes a general theory of society. This in turn calls for a general theory of man and human nature. Such a general theory or meta theory can be built only in the context of a general theory of the universe.

This explains why a philosophy of life is found permeating the works of Plato, Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. It is also seen manifested in the writings of political philosophers like Hegel, Marx, Aurobindo and Gandhi in the form of reflections on the universe, man and his nature as well as society and politics, in a single sweep. Any attempt at theory building in social sciences without such an eschatological 'theory of theory' will be in vain.

Manipulative theory is also known as policy science. It is the outcome of an invasion of scientism into the social sciences. It claims that whatsoever is possible in the physical science can be accomplished in social sciences as well. This theory is spurred by two forces, viz., political science and the accompanying public administrative science. It has grown largely out of a reform-zeal or curative urge, on the one hand, and an engineering-itch among the social scientists on the other. Nonetheless, this theory seems to have outgrown these curative urges. Still it continues some of its older tendencies. For example, the old scientific dream of a discipline endowed with power to predict and build a scientific society is still a dominating trend. Many of its present day adherents hope to become something like the spiritual leaders in this movement.

Notwithstanding the zeal of the technocrats or exponents of the manipulative theory, it suffers from two obvious shortcomings, one being at the practical level and the other at the ethical level. At the practical level, policy scientism is often the advocacy of policies based on a view of the situation which is both narrow and limited. Policy scientism is only one form of impatience and is the worst enemy of systematic theory in any field. Stanley Hoffman rightly points out that concentration on the policy periphery of our discipline is premature. As long as we know little about the theoretical centre that commands the periphery, our efforts at theory-building will not bear fruit.

The perspective provided by the manipulative theory or policy science is limited on account of three reasons:

1. Only certain factors have been taken into account.
2. The assumptions behind the measures proposed have not been made sufficiently explicit.
3. The value implications of such advice have not been spelt out.

Thus, ethically speaking, the present day theory suffers from a possible shift in the wrong direction. The social scientist is now moving away from the quest for truth to

the study of efficiency in political life. While it is legitimate to study the ways in which certain values can be realized, the social sciences today are facing the danger of policy-ideology, particularly when the social scientist switches over to a study of manipulation. He attempts to accomplish this through excessive insistence on the skills of policy-making available to the decision-makers or the political elite to whom advice is offered. From this, it is only too easy to slip into the task of justifying the decisions made by such elite. Thus, from a profession of serving truth the social scientist ends up in the cult of elite behaviour. He is thus, quality of policy idolatry.

However, this does not mean that manipulative concerns have no role to play in our efforts at theory-building. Our foremost concern, in fact, should be to build such theories as would expose the hidden reality and, thus reveal the concrete and puzzling problems of our field of enquiry. In laying bare hidden truth plus concrete problems in their complexity, manipulative theory becomes not only legitimate, but also a necessary follow up to theory-making in general. Behavioural or empirical theory insists on separation of the 'is' dimension from the 'ought' dimension in the social sciences. Here one may ask the question: Should we limit ourselves to concerns of causative or empirical theory or should we also engage in normative theory-building? An answer to this question calls for a critical appraisal of behaviouralism with special focus on this question. Behaviouralism is a mood, an orientation and a protest movement in the social sciences. It is marked by at least six distinctive characteristics.

By the end of the Second World War, the theoretical and methodological approaches of political sociology and psychology had been subsumed in political analysis. With the emergence of new states all over the world—in Asia, Africa and Latin America—the need for a proper understanding of the political developments in these countries was felt in great proportion. It was realized the development could not be broken in parts, but had to be studied in its totality and comprehensiveness. Consequently, a real movement towards the social science rather than social sciences began to take shape. Various approaches and frameworks that had their origin in sociology and anthropology such as the systems approach and the structural functional approach were now adapted to the analysis of political phenomena. The discipline moved to policy science and action-oriented research, from abstract theorizing and philosophical speculation. In so far as the policy decisions had a bearing on the problems of poverty, race or urban government, greater reliance was placed on the application of resources in an optimum way to obtain certain agreed objectives within the system. Moreover, there was an increasing acceptance of the utility of mathematical and statistical models, sophisticated and refined tools and techniques of analysis. In this way, various social sciences like economics, sociology, anthropology and psychology were brought closer to political science. Thus, the inter-disciplinary research became the new trend in social sciences and this shift of focus came to be visibly reflected in modern political analysis.

### Alternative conceptions of political analysis

The meaning of politics has never been precise or static. There is a wide variety of interpretations and conceptions of politics.

We can classify these into five major sections for analytical convenience.

1. **Classical conceptions of Greece and Rome:** Greek masters of political thought like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle interpreted political analysis as an activity of the 'polis' (city state). According to Ernest Barker, English political scientist, polis is all-inclusive. It includes all aspects of life, such as economic, cultural and ethical. The Greek conception of political analysis in the study of

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politics was primarily philosophical and idealistic as the governing ideals of politics, society and individual conduct were goodness, virtue and knowledge. In contrast, the ancient Romans gave a juristic or a legal interpretation of politics. Politics was an activity concerning the empire (*Regnum*). It was governed by a set of general and definite rules.

During the middle ages, 'politics became a branch of theology'. There was a dual centre authority — empire and church. Political authority took care of the material well-being of society while the church took care of spiritual and religious matters. Political authority was subordinate to the authority of the church and as such not autonomous.

2. **Liberal conception:** The Liberal view is a product of Renaissance and Reformation. It has dominated Western thinking from the 16th century to the present. This view was developed by the writings of Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Mill, and Green. The task of politics is to maintain peace, order, and harmony so as to enable competing individuals and groups to have free play. Modern liberals stress upon the role of the political system to serve the common good of the community and to secure justice and welfare. They look upon it as a mediator between diverse group interests or at best as the final arbiter between them.
3. **Marxian conception:** Marxism puts forth a sociological analysis of politics. The modes of production or economic factors are most fundamental in determining the political, legal, social, moral and cultural conditions of societies. On the basis of relations of production, class divisions (haves and have nots) of society take place and politics reflects the struggle between classes. The state becomes an instrument of the economically dominant class over the economically weaker sections. The ultimate goal for exploited and oppressed people is to achieve a classless society which can be brought about by revolutionary struggle. In a classless society there is no need for the state and hence it 'withers away'.
4. **Indian conceptions:** In ancient India, the study of political analysis was called 'Rajaniiti' or 'Rajyashastra'. 'Dandaniti' and 'Nitishastra' were other terms used for the subject. The most effective term for the science of politics, however, was 'Arthashastra' used by Kautilya. All the different schools of political analysis shared a common emphasis on 'dharma', that is, obligation to the doctrine of natural justice on the part of the ruler. Political analysis in ancient India remained mostly ethical. Politics in medieval India was more autonomous than in the medieval West. During the freedom movement, activist politics replaced philosophical orientation. In recent times Indian politics combines political theory with political practice as in the West.
5. **Modern conceptions:** The views of modern political scientists bring out three marked elements of political analysis, namely power, conflict and consensus.
  - (i) *Politics as influence and power:* Machiavelli, Max Weber, Bertrand Russel, Lasswell, Kaplan, Catlin and Morgenthau interpret politics in terms of power. Lasswell and Kaplan write: 'The concept of power is perhaps the most fundamental in the whole of political science; the political process is shaping, distribution and exercise of power.' One advantage that power has over earlier concepts of politics is that it

focuses attention on a process, not on a legal abstraction such as state. Political science studies the way power is accumulated, used and controlled in modern society.

- (ii) *Politics as conflict and controversy:* J. D. B. Miller writes, 'Politics is a natural reflex of the divergences between the members of a society.' American political scientist Quincy Wright says, 'Political analysis exists only when ends or means are controversial.' Karl Marx viewed conflict as the central subject in the study of politics. Alexi de Tocqueville was the first to support the idea that 'democracy involves a balance between the forces of conflict and consensus.'
- (iii) *Political analysis as cooperation and consensus:* Human interests not only clash but also coincide. Sometimes fundamentals are agreed on and only specifics are the subject of argument but there are times when even the basics become the area of debate. Political systems encompass not only the competing demands but also aggregative and integrative forces. There is scope for consensus and harmony among groups and individuals because the interests of each party are acknowledged and accommodated. The integrative function of the political system promotes the much needed consensus in society.

The subject matter of political analysis has grown both in nature and in scope with the passage of time. With modernization, more and more political factors have come to acquire significance in various types of political systems across the world.

### 1.2.1 Scope of Political Analysis

The scope of political science implies its area of study or subject matter. It is a very comprehensive and expanding social science. An attempt was made by the International Political Science Association in Paris in 1948 to delineate its scope. It classified the same into four zones, namely political theory, political institution, political dynamics and international relations. We may attempt to describe its scope as follows:

1. **Political theory:** It deals with the definition and meaning of fundamental concepts of political science like state, government, law, liberty, equality, justice, sovereignty, separation of powers, methods of representation, forms of government, grounds of political obligation and various ideologies. A clear understanding of these basic terms and concepts is essential for the study of political science.
2. **Political philosophy:** It is concerned with the theoretical and speculative consideration of the fundamental principles used by political science. Eminent political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, Mill, Marx and Gandhi have expressed their views on the nature and functions of political philosophy.
3. **International relations and international law:** International Law Commission is a body of general principles and specific rules which regulate the relationship among states and international institutions. The study of international relations is a growing area of political science. It covers important subjects such as diplomacy, international politics, foreign policies and international organizations. In view of world peace, cooperation and even 'world government,' the need for strong international laws and sound international relations can hardly be exaggerated.

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4. **Relationship between state and individual:** The perennial and central problem, with which political science in the study of political analysis is concerned, is to establish proper relationship between the state and individuals. The state guarantees certain rights and freedoms to individuals and regulates their conduct and actions through the legal system. The proper adjustment between the authority and power of the state and liberty of the individuals is a tricky problem. Political science deals with the proper sphere of state action, the limits of political control and the area of individual freedom.

Thus, the scope of political analysis covers studying political phenomena from different diverse perspectives. It has been expanding in recent times. The social life of man has direct or indirect influence on his political life. Political analysis enters any sphere of life which has political implications. Modern political science in the era of post-behaviouralism deals with both empirical facts and value preferences. It is a combination of both science and philosophy. Hence, it is a dynamic social science and its scope is ever-expanding.

### 1.2.2 Traditional Approaches

#### Philosophical nature of political analysis

The philosophical nature of political analysis concentrates on the values which a political system should set for itself. It emphasizes that a political system should be based upon certain ideals and that it should strive to give shape to them. Plato, the Greek philosopher, represented best this philosophical tradition of politics. He said it was the duty of the philosopher-king to establish the ideal society based on justice. In the medieval period, this tradition was continued by Augustine and Aquinas.

The philosophical approach of political analysis is also known as the traditional approach. It involves an analytical study of ideas and doctrines which have long formed the core part of political thought. However, this approach has been criticized on grounds that it cannot be scientific as it ignores objective reality.

#### Empirical nature of political analysis

The empirical approach stresses on 'experience' or ground reality in the study of politics. Though this approach took a systematic theoretical shape in the 17th century as a result of the influence of John Locke and David Hume, this approach is almost as old as the philosophical approach. The first practitioner of this approach is almost as old as the a large number of constitutions in order to prepare a classification of constitutions. Machiavelli's 'Prince', which is an objective account of statecraft and Montesquieu's sociological theory of government and law belong to this empirical tradition.

Behaviouralism in politics has been a product of the empirical tradition. It focuses on the study of political behaviour. The philosophical approach is normative; it is based on values and norms. On the contrary, the empirical approach is based on ground reality. Further, the philosophical approach is prescriptive, because it makes judgments and recommendations. But the empirical approach is descriptive because it tries to objectively study political analysis without any bias and prejudice.

#### Critique of Traditional Approaches

To study the state, government and law, Plato and Aristotle adopted the traditional approaches to the study of political science which were widely prevalent till the outbreak

of the Second World War. These approaches were primarily normative and idealistic. Plato laid emphasis on universal values and reasoning. He had his own concept of the ideal state which was the embodiment of morality, justice and truth. He drew his conclusions on the basis of the first major premise. In other words, Plato proceeded from the universal to the particular, which is the main characteristic of the deductive method.

Aristotle on the other hand, used the inductive method in the study of political science. He preferred to proceed from a particular to a general conclusion. He observed, analysed and compared different constitutions of the city-states and then drew the model of an ideal constitution. In this case, a general conclusion was established from the particular facts. This is the inductive method. Aristotle was the first political philosopher who adopted this method in the study of political science. Since the early days, both deductive and inductive methods were used for the study of political science and afterwards the other methods used for its study are historical method, comparative method, philosophical method, observational method, experimental method, psychological method, statistical method, sociological method and juridical method. These are known as the traditional methods used for the study of political science.

Modern political scientists like David Easton, Lasswell, Kaplan, Almond, and Robert Dahl have suggested some new methods and approaches to the study of political science. The modern or contemporary approaches are concerned with a scientific study of political science. Among them, the behavioural method, the system analysis and the structural-functional analysis are important. What the traditionalists call 'methods', the modernists call 'approaches'. An 'approach' is a set of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data for economic purposes. In short, methods or approaches are nothing but looking at problems from different angles.

Despite the seeming triumph of the empirical approach among modern political scientists, many influential contemporary political thinkers continue to defend and uphold the traditional classical political theory. Their criticism of the empirical-analytical approaches remains unabated. Despite their small number, their influence over contemporary thought is noteworthy. Michael Oakeshott, Hannah Arendt, Bertand de Jouvenal, Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin are some of the exponents of the theme of the revival of political theory in modern times. Oakeshott took over the chair of political science in London School of Economics and political science from Harold Laski in 1951. He has been identified with the resurgence of conservative thinking in England. Oakeshott's major effort is directed towards the resurgence of political theory as a tradition of enquiry. He has been keen to achieve for political science the possibility of a critical theoretical analysis: Philosophical analysis has to be based on experience, its chief objective being to rediscover the multi- dimensionality of experience denied to it by ideological and positivistic writers.

Philosophy and science are basically two different kinds of activities. Oakeshott, therefore, discounts any attempt to transfer the methods and concerns of one to the other. The notion that philosophy has anything to learn from the methods of scientific thought is altogether false. As a tradition of enquiry, philosophy, therefore, must be pursued for its own sake. It must maintain its independence from all extraneous interests, and in particular, from practical interest.

Political philosophy is a limited activity. It is comprehensible only within the context of the larger role of philosophy. This limits seeing one particular mode of experience, i.e., practical experience from the standpoint of the totality of experience. Reflection about

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political life is possible at a variety of levels, and is prone to flow from one level to another. But in political philosophy, Oakeshott believes, our concern is not only with the world of political activity, but also with another world. Our aim is to explore the coherence of two worlds together. Political philosophy is the consideration of the relation between politics and eternity.

Political philosophy fulfils an end which it cannot itself bring about. It is not, as the behaviouralists claim, a progressive science. It does not accumulate solid results and reach conclusions upon which further research can be based. On the contrary, political philosophy has a close link to history. In a sense, it has nothing but a history, a history of doctrines. It is a history of problems which philosophers have discovered and the manner of solution they have proposed.

Hannah Arendt is a prolific writer of enormous erudition. She has written at length on the major problems of political theory. She is widely acclaimed as a thinker of exceptional originality. Being a believer in the uniqueness and responsibility of the individual human person, she is an implacable opponent of totalitarianism of all kinds. She is also a bitter critic of the behaviouralist approach in social sciences. She blames this approach in paving the way for totalitarianism. She warns that behaviouralism in its search for uniformity in human behaviour will itself contribute to the making of a uniform stereotyped man. Commenting on behaviouralism and the validity of its 'laws', Hannah Arendt says that the more people there are and the more likely they are to behave, the less likely they are to tolerate misbehaviour.

Following Hannah Arendt, another notable thinker well known for the revival of political theory is Bectand de Jouvenal. Jouvenal considers politics as a potentiality for creative activity. He believes that politics should not be changed into the dead uniformity of administration. Both Arendt and Jouvenal are opposed to totalitarianism. They provide an analysis of its moral and intellectual roots. Both believe that political science cannot and should not be value-free. Instead of attempting to discover mere uniformities in human behaviour, political science must evolve valid criteria for evaluating major developments in the life of society. Jouvenal defines politics as an activity that builds, consolidates and helps the well-being of aggregates of men. In his view, society 'ultimately rests on authority rather than on force or consent.' Consent is not something spontaneous, but has to be aroused or promoted.

Some scholars these days draw a distinction between methods and approaches. For example, they prefer to speak of historical, philosophical, sociological and behavioural approaches do not like to use the word 'methods'. It is difficult to point out a clear distinction between methods and approaches, as the former include the latter also. Political scientists are not unanimous regarding the connotation of the word 'method'. According to Salvadori, 'It needs no more than a glance to observe that the word "method" is understood in many different ways.' Only a few authors deal with method, properly so called, that is rational workings of the mind in its quest for knowledge for political reality . . . sometimes 'method' is used in the sense of technical devices for gathering data. More often it implies the points of view adopted by 'specialists'. An 'approach' simply means a particular orientation or point of view. At times, it may be expressed in the form of technique or method.

The terms 'method' and 'approach' are often used as synonyms. The dichotomy between 'methods' and approaches' is a matter of degree and not of kind. It is mainly based on traditional and modern political analysis. A method is a way of investigation for

arriving at a particular result. It implies a systematic study of a subject. It helps to verify facts and examine the results and generalizations made on the basis of facts. Various methods have already been examined which help in proper understanding and study of political science.

What are called 'approaches' to the study of political science imply different modes of political analysis which are usually associated with modern thinking. Approaches imply different types of perception of political phenomena in systematic manner. They constitute a variety of orientations of looking at the world of political science. The approaches are helpful in organizing and ordering the apparently disorganized and fragmented political phenomena. They proceed on the basis of a set of assumptions and explanations of certain political factors. Using a model or a particular set of concepts, an approach seeks to provide a frame work for explanation and predictions.

It is familiar to study political science in recent times through different approaches. While traditional political analysis is normative, philosophical legal and institutional bias, modern political analysis, on the other hand, is supposed to be empirical, value-free and behavioural.

## 1.3 EMERGENCE OF SCIENTIFIC APPROACH AND VALUE-FACT DICHOTOMY

There is no unanimity about the way political analysis should be studied. Over the years opinions on this have varied. For a long time politics was considered as coming within the scope of philosophy, history or law. However, in the late 19th century, there was a shift in this view.

### 1.3.1 Scientific Approach

An attempt was initiated to make the study of political analysis scientific. The philosophical tradition of political analysis gradually yielded to the scientific tradition of political analysis.

Emphasis was shifted from political norms and values to political behaviour. Since late 19th century, behaviouralism has dominated the study of political analysis. However, of late, emphasis on values in the study of political analysis has been revived. It is now realized that while scientific method is useful for studying politics, the study of politics would be directionless and meaningless if it does not aim at realizing some values. This renewed emphasis on norms and values in studying politics has given birth to post-behaviouralism.

Those who sought to make the study of political analysis scientific argued that for every analysis hypotheses could be verified on the basis of objective quantifiable data. In 1950s and 1960s, the study of politics assumed a new form called 'behaviouralism' or 'behavioural persuasion in politics'. This doctrine, marking the theoretical development of the scientific tradition of the study of politics, made a big impact. But before long it faced criticism and challenge. In 1970, a group of scholars argued that behaviouralism narrowed down the scope of political science and undermined its quality by ignoring the value or values and norms in the study of politics. They stood for going back to political values and norms without discarding the scientific method of collecting and processing data. This new phase in the study of politics has been known as post-behaviouralism. The writings of John Rawls and Robert Nozick reflect this trend.

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### Check Your Progress

1. How did the International Political Science Association in Paris classify political science, in 1948?
2. What areas are covered by the study of international relations?
3. How did Robert A. Dahl define political analysis?

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### Scientific nature of political analysis

Scholars have argued for a long time if political analysis was a science or an art. For Aristotle, political analysis was the master science. On the other hand, modern writers like who termed it just a science included Godwin, Hobbes, Vico, Hume, Frederick Pollock, John Seely, and Lord Bryce. Critics like Mosca, Burke, Buckle, Comte and Maitland have questioned the judgments behind referring to it as a science, stating that political analysis failed in every aspect to live up to the 'standards of science'.

Questions have thus been asked: how far legible is it to call political analysis a science? However, we must remember that no science, whether 'natural' or 'social', is completely scientific at all times and under all the circumstances. Two propositions can be stated when it comes to political science. The first is that it is futile to believe that political science will become scientific. Secondly, it is true that it is more scientific than it was in the past.

Below are the arguments that have been advanced against the claim that political analysis should be treated as a science:

1. Political scientists do not agree on its methods, principles and conclusions.
2. Universally valid uniform principles or laws are lacking to political science. Laws are frequently described as the generalizations of natural sciences. However, those generalizations that are forwarded by social sciences, including political analysis, are often disputed. It is contended that they do not possess the same degree of certainty or universality. They are often called just 'tendencies' and not 'laws'.
3. It is difficult to unearth the exact and definite views and conclusions when it comes to the political behaviour of man, which is unpredictable. Predictability is a quality that generalizations in social sciences lack. This is a major characteristic of 'laws' of natural sciences because it makes forecasts about future developments possible.
4. Rigorous scientific methods of investigation cannot be applied to political analysis. It is also difficult to establish general statements because verifiability always remains a problem. It is said that uncertainty, variability and a lack of order and continuity characterize political phenomena. In political science, laboratory experiments are not possible as in the case of physics or chemistry. However, social phenomena are much more complex. They are based on human behavior, which are constantly undergoing change. Therefore, political analysis is not about experimentation but has more to do with the science of observation.
5. Political science lacks objectivity that characterizes the study of physical sciences. A total impartial, value-neutral attitude cannot be taken by political analysts while dealing with political issues and affairs. A political observer's judgment of political problems, which are subjective, can be coloured by his/her biases and thus their opinions can be one-sided.

Therefore, these arguments reveal that unlike physics, chemistry and mathematics, political analysis cannot be an exact science. Political analysis is a social science like sociology, psychology and economics. Science can be broadly defined as 'a body of systematized knowledge'. In so far as it uses the scientific methods, political science can legitimately claim to be a science.

Some of the essential features of this method are: (a) Nothing is taken for granted; (b) Generalizations should be based on the basis of observed facts; (c) No generalizations

are accepted as final and irrevocable; (d) A scientist should be objective. He/she should not get carried away by personal preferences or subjective bias in the formulation of the findings of research.

However, despite arguments, one can contend that it has the valid claim of being called a science because its principles have been formulated after a systematic study of political phenomena. It is, however, generally agreed upon that principles of all social sciences, including that of political science, are neither universally valid nor always exact and precise. It is for this reason that Lord Bryce equated political science to meteorology, which was a relatively underdeveloped and inexact natural science at that time. On the other hand, Sir Frederick Pollock argued that 'there is a political science in the same sense that there is a science of morals.'

Ever since political analysis underwent a behavioural revolution, political studies has been enriched with the usage of advanced tools and techniques of research, concepts and models borrowed from other sciences. This has imparted even a greater scientific character to political analysis. Thus, while the claim of political science to be accepted as a science is legitimate, the reservation that like all social sciences, it is also an inexact or non exact science has to be maintained.

The practical application of knowledge in order to achieve a particular end is popularly now defined as political analysis. A systematized body of knowledge is political science, which can be used to draft a constitution, in daily state administrative businesses, in legislation and foreign policy but most importantly in ensuring all round development of the state. Therefore, political science and its knowledge is used by statesmen, diplomats, administrators, social reformers and activists to reach their own objectives. One can thus see that the knowledge of political science has practical utility and is not limited to theory only.

### 1.3.2 Value-Fact Dichotomy

It is said that an attempt at concept control led to the development of the doctrine of value-fact dichotomy. Starting with the eighteenth century, few Enlightenment thinkers contended that values (for example moral obligations) were devoid of facts. Howard Kendler has observed: 'The naturalistic fallacy rejects the possibility of deducing ethical statements from non-ethical statements. This principle, more precisely described as the value-fact dichotomy, denies the possibility of logically deriving what ought to be from what is.'

For instance, it is a fact that citizens of a nation where education levels are high enjoy better lives than people in those countries where education was rare. However, it did not seem to imply and also that it failed to imply that education was good and it should be adopted as a public policy choice. Such a claim could be called a value choice.

Logical positivists, who were a group of scientists-turned-philosophers, elaborated upon the idea of value-fact dichotomy in the twentieth century. It is said that they were uneasy with the idea of god, religion and morality being discussed in the 'scientific world'. Thus, they developed philosophy that not only explained the dichotomy between value-fact but held that only the 'fact' disjunction was of any worth. Ernest R. House has observed:

The logical positivists thought that facts could be ascertained and that only facts were the fit subject of science, along with analytic statements like '1 plus 1 equals 2' that were true by definition. Facts were empirical and could be based on pristine observations, a position called foundationalism. On the other hand, values were

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something else. Values might be feelings, emotions, or useless metaphysical entities. Whatever they were, they were not subject to scientific analysis. People simply held certain values or believed in certain values or did not. Values were chosen. Rational discussion had little to do with them.

For the positivists, truth was what was derived out of facts, which in turn were taken from experiment and observation. They also rejected anything to do with values, i.e. ethics, morals, religion, philosophy, calling them preferences without foundation and also meaningless, non-cognitive babble. Values were termed as only matters of taste and things which could not be discussed rationally or objectively. For instance, to ask whether one prefers a chocolate or an ice-cream and the answer in turn is only a matter of personal taste, without any foundation in truth or reality because no experiment was performed to reach this understanding.

After philosophers pointed that positivism's foundational claim was involved in a self-referential absurdity, the movement died out.

Obviously, if the only kinds of statements capable of meaning are synthetic statements [statements of observable fact], then the answer is going to be along the lines that a statement is meaningful when it is either directly confirmed by experience, or reducible to such direct confirmation. Such a criterion is itself not directly confirmable, and so the criterion of meaning renders itself meaningless.

The claim of the positivists that only those statements which have been made out of observable facts have meanings was itself not made out of observation. Their claim thus stands no meaning. The philosophical basis for positivism was thus refuted. However, the end of the philosophy did not end the value-fact dichotomy. The ideas of the positivists remain popular to the present day. Philosopher Hilary Putnam, in his book *The Collapse of the Value-fact dichotomy*, has observed:

There are a variety of reasons why we are tempted to draw a line between 'facts' and 'values'—and to draw it in such a way that 'values' are put outside the realm of rational argument altogether. For one thing, it is much easier to say 'that's a value judgment,' meaning, 'that's just a matter of subjective preference,' than to do what Socrates tried to teach us: to examine who we are and what our deepest convictions are and hold those convictions up to searching test of reflective examination.

Any insistence on complete dichotomy between fact and value is also a ploy to avoid involving values in scientific or other activity. This dichotomy, however, does not lead to the removal of values from existence and also from science. What this does is to allow the dichotomist to ignore his/her own values rationally or on the basis of how well or even whether they work. No dichotomist will accept value judgments in a discussion if offered by a critic but it is true that it is not necessary for a dichotomist to identify or examine his/her own values. Putnam has concluded: 'The worst thing about the value-fact dichotomy is that in practice it functions as a discussion-stopper, and not just a discussion-stopper, but a thought stopper.'

### Errors resulting from the value-fact dichotomy

While it is true that value judgments are rejected by people who instead insist on relying on facts, the dichotomy of value-fact involves a cornucopia of errors. The statements below have been derived from dichotomy thinking, which are false:

- Since facts and values are separate, with facts being solid and provable and values being matters of personal taste, values play no role in the realm of facts (that is, in science)

- Values are not involved in the determination of what is a fact
- Values are not involved in scientific descriptions of fact
- Values are not intermixed in the statement of scientific theories or facts
- Values, being matters of personal taste, cannot be reasoned about
- Values are completely subjective and have no objective qualities

When explored in detail, one can see not only why these are errors but also the dichotomy in the value-fact perspective and why it fails to represent accurate reality.

## 1.4 ORIENTATIONS OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS — NORMATIVE, EMPIRICAL AND SEMANTIC

Political analysis has been considered from normative empirical and semantic aspects as we shall discuss subsequently.

### 1.4.1 Normative Political Analysis

Normative political analysis is characterized by the philosophical foundations of the state. It is value-based political theory where there is value and fact analysis. Teaching of normative political science in Plato's *Academy* and in Aristotle's *Lyceum* was done with a view to preparing future statesmen, administrators, demagogues and constitutional experts for the Greek city-states. Even these days, students are studying political science with a similar motive. The primary aim of the study of political science is to inculcate the knowledge of the state: its origin, nature, structure and functions. Knowledge about the state is of great significance to modern man. Moreover, in democratic states all citizens must possess at least rudimentary knowledge about political science and its principles. This will make them conscious of the state. They will be able to keep a vigilant eye over the rulers and assert their supremacy over them.

The classical political theory, by and large, was philosophical, normative, idealistic and to some extent, historical. Ideologically, modern political theory can be classified into two opposing divisions the liberal, including the individualist, the elitist and the pluralist on the one hand, and the Marxist, including the dialectical-materialist on the other. The liberal tradition, beginning from 15th–16th centuries, arose as a reaction against the classical political theory and after travelling through its institutional–structural voyage reached scientific–positivist–empiricist goals to give way for the behavioural and the post-behavioural political theory. The Marxist political theory offered a diametrically opposite view to the one advocated in whole of the West.

Having found the classical political theory, sufficiently inadequate to answer the questions posed by the changing times of the 18th and 19th centuries in the West, the modern political theory, as it came to be expressed in the institutional-positivist, imperialist-behavioural and post-behavioural trends, dubbed the whole classical tradition as dull. Their advocates, from lowest, Merriam and Key down to Dahl, Lasswell, Easton, deplored the historical–normative–evaluative tradition of the classical political theory. Instead, they laid emphasis on the scientific–empirical–behavioural study as the most plausible one to understand the intricacies of politics. They sought to lay stress on 'present' rather than 'past', 'living' rather than 'dull', 'immediate' rather than 'remote', 'objective' rather than 'subjective', 'analytical rather than 'philosophic', 'explanatory rather than 'descriptive', 'process-oriented' rather than 'purpose-oriented', 'scientific' rather than

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### Check Your Progress

4. Who was the first to consider political analysis as science, and who refuted it?
5. Who are logical positivists? What were their ideas of value-fact dichotomy?

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theoretical. They attempted to build a science 'of politics: objective, clinical, value-free, observational and measurable, operational.

Historically stated, modern political theory, as it arose in the West, emerged from the shadow of positivism and empiricism. Until then, political theory, largely classical, was confined to a marginal role, being conceived at best as a body of classic texts of mostly historical interest, and usually found in philosophy, history, and logic. Positivism empiricism denied early political theory the status of a legitimate form of knowledge and enquiry. According to the positivist and empiricist outlooks, all knowledge is found in sensory observation; concepts and generalizations represent only the particulars from which they have been abstracted; values cannot play any role in the formation of knowledge. As the meaning of concepts and theories, the positivist empiricists believe, is directly tied to empirical observations, value judgments, therefore, should not be accorded the status of knowledge. Accordingly, the normative statements of political theory may be characterized as mere declarations. Though positivism and empiricism did not last long, its legacy thrived for a long time to come, particularly in North America. This legacy was scientism. The influence of scientism on the emerging behaviouralism and features: it encouraged the systematic introduction of quantitative methods of analysis as the supreme methods of inquiry; it is sought to displace the theoretical frameworks of normative political theorists by the development of empirical theory; and it decisively rejected the history of political theory as the primary source of interpretation. Post-behaviouralism was an extension of behaviouralism, adding the credos of 'action', 'relevance' and 'values' to behaviouralism. Thus, the challenge to behaviouralism came from within, from post-behaviouralism.

The administrators, statesmen and diplomats, who conduct the affairs of the state, also require sound knowledge of political science in order to perform their functions with efficiency. An administrator who has no knowledge of political science is bound to be a failure. Consequently, all new entrants to the Indian Administrative Service have to undergo a course in political science at the Indian Administrative Service College, Mussoorie. Similarly, the recruits to the Indian Foreign Service, who are expected to conduct India's foreign relations, are also imparted through knowledge of diplomacy, international relations, international law and other specialized branches of political science. Political science is said to be a science of statesmanship and leadership.

But apart from these utilitarian considerations, the acquisition of knowledge of political science enriches one's mind and widens one's intellectual horizon. In order to know what is happening in the world around us, at least an elementary knowledge of political science is necessary. Those who specialize in various fields of political science conduct research to discover hitherto unknown principles underlying political phenomena and make a rich contribution to the realm of knowledge. If the ultimate philosophy of human life is to enrich knowledge, then political science makes a major contribution to the storehouse of knowledge. Sidgwick observes, 'What, as students of political science, we are primarily concerned to ascertain, is not the structure of functions of the government in any particular historical community, but in the distinctive characteristics of different forms of government in respect of their structure or their functions, not the particular process of political change in Athens or England but the general laws or tendencies of change exemplified by such particular process'.

Thus, normative political analysis lays down principles which are to be followed in the conduct of public affairs. One, who has no knowledge of politics is at a great

disadvantage and in one's own interests and in the larger interests of the society as a whole, it is advisable to have adequate knowledge of political science. To know the national and international affairs, the conditions of the various institutions, the nature and conduct of the government, the programmes and policies of political parties and various other matters, a knowledge of political science is indispensable. However intelligent, efficient and strong-minded the leaders at the helm of affairs may be in a country, high standard of administration is impossible, without strong material and moral support from the people. When governments commit mistakes or move along the wrong path, strong and healthy public criticism can make them mend their ways and bring them to the proper path. The principles and norms established by the political scientists are of immense utility to both the rulers and the ruled.

Normative political theory was the practice of systematic enquiry whose aim was to acquire reliable knowledge about matters concerning the people. As a philosophical pursuit, theory sought to establish a rational basis for belief; as a politically inspired pursuit, it sought to establish a rational basis for action.

The normative political theory identified the political with common involvements, which men shared as partners. The Greek *Polis*, the Roman *res publica* and the medieval time's usage of commonwealth denoted a sharing of what is common. Its basic unit of analysis had always been the polis, the republic or the commonwealth and in the process, attempting to specify the significant parts of the whole, how they functioned and what their effect was on the quality of life in the political whole i.e., the state.

Normative political theory, in its classic form, thus, came to view the state as composed of, and dependent upon, various interrelated structures, and the structures denoting activity, relationships and belief: activity, for example, may relate to ruling, warfare, education, religious practices, production of commodities; relationships may involve those between social classes, between types of superiority and inferiority, between the authorities and the subjects; belief may mean anything, i.e. concerning gods, justice, equality, natural law and the like.

The notion that political theory related itself to the political whole, the state, gave way to an idea of system, an order and the resultant conceptions of balance, equilibrium, stability and harmony. No wonder if classical political theory tried to analyse the sources of conflicts, anarchy, instability and revolution and on it attempted to enunciate the principles of justice which would form a guide for the discharge of duties in the political community.

The classical political theory thrived on the significance of comparative studies for supplying a more comprehensive of explanation and a wider range of alternatives. That was the reason that the classical political theory developed a classification for political forms (e.g., monarchy, aristocracy, democracy and their variants) and a set of concepts, such as law, citizenship, justice, participation so as to prepare the way for an explanation that would account for differences or similarities. The normative political theory had been, largely, ethical in nature.

### 1.4.2 Empirical Political Analysis

Empirical Political Analysis is studied in a systematic and scientific way. It is a value-free science. In order to study it in a systematic and empirical manner, some methods are usually followed. Without these methods, political analysis cannot be studied properly. These methods make the study of political analysis interesting and easier. Each subject,

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whether a science or an art, has its own method of study. Modern political scientists like David Easton, Lasswell, Kaplan, Almond and Robert Dahl have developed methods of political analysis and suggested some new methods and approaches to the study of political science. Among them, the behavioural method, the system analysis and the structural-functional analysis are important. What the traditionalists call 'methods', the modernists call 'approaches'. An 'approach' is a set of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data for economic purposes. In short, methods or approaches are nothing but looking at problems from different angles.

The chief aim of empirical political analysis is explanation, and derivatively prediction of observable phenomena. This is achieved through observational or experimental laws. Indeed the laws themselves are justified and explained by underlying theory. Empirical political analyses are means of evaluating arguments put forward to support these experimental laws, scientific theories and the explanations they afford.

For the scientifically oriented, the results of the enquiry could only reflect the particular theorists' mental processes and normative patterns. They might not indicate any necessary relation to those of other persons. Hence they might have little significance for society. However, for the theorists, in contrast, norms and theorizing about them are closely related. If norms, by definition, represent goals for which men consciously strive, then a rational analysis of the difficulties involved in integrating any institution would indicate the direction in which society is moving. What the theorist concludes from this study, would give an advance indication of what that society would probably do in the long run.

Many of those who entered the field of theory opted for behaviouralism. The doubts that scientism raised about tools and methods induced most analysts to choose what seemed to be mere armchair philosophy. Furthermore, scientism favoured practical knowledge of scientists as contrasted with the impractical theory of political philosophers. Since the advice given by the behaviouralists necessarily involves normative judgements, the results have not been impressive. For, unlike the theorist, the behaviouralist has not been compelled to analyse his own norms. Behaviouralism and society both insist on relativism. This fact is made clear by the close relationship between what the behaviouralist undertakes to investigate and the condition of the society whose problems are to be solved. The social scientist cannot pretend to do anything more than study situations created by a society in most cases, his own. For him the assertion of independence can take one form only—the expert must determine policy. He, of course, is not in a position to do this if he has accepted norms with any kind of absolute validity. Our society makes no such assertion. But if the social scientist is to achieve independence similar to that of the physicist, then his claim to the pursuit of truth and knowledge must be replaced by an assertion of the validity of relativism.

Relativism alone can supply him with freedom of action, necessary to pursue his investigations which demand respect. For the social sciences, the stance of scientific objectivity has to take the form of relativism. For the physical scientist on the other hand, objectivity means that, to the best of his ability, he will avoid introducing irrelevant norms into his investigations. Only if the behaviorist is allowed to determine how the fact is to be fitted into a normative scheme of what is important or not important, useful or not useful, can he gain prestige among the physical scientists. For the social scientist, the normative 'ought' imposes a serious limitation not only on the ease with which he conducts his investigations, but on the worth of their results.

To be successful, an empirical approach in the social sciences needs a non-empirical faith in the appropriateness of methodology. Human behaviour is much more complex than that studied by the physical sciences. It is a fact that can be empirically observed. Only an empirical analysis could lead to still greater efforts and more complex techniques of analysis. The real problem for the empiricist is that an empirically based theory in the social sciences could describe only the particular phenomena from which it is derived. There is no evidence that any given condition in man invariably leads to a given behaviour. Even experimentally induced conditioned response—which achieved spectacular results in animals—would work consistently only among very young human beings. The empiricist, then, must resort to an act of faith to continue his investigations. He must say that despite evidence to the contrary. He would affirm that choice was an illusion. He must uphold the view that man is bound as tightly in a chain of cause and effect as the universe.

The real reason for the failure of empiricism in the social sciences is the complexity of subject matter. It is not easy to distinguish the multiple causes behind even the simplest human behaviour. A particularly popular plea along behaviouralists of various schools includes more refined tools of analysis, bigger computers to process data, more complex surveys, and more ingenious methods of overcoming the difficulties of investigating social phenomena. Behaviouralists believe that these difficulties are not only capable of being recognized and investigated, but of altering their behaviour accordingly.

It was understandable with the cause-effect premise of science which was considered unavoidable. The introduction of choice into such a system would, of course, place the social sciences in a special category, having no clear relation to the rest of the sciences. Indeterminism would make it now less obvious why empiricists should attempt to establish an empirically based theory in the social sciences. Yet the alternative to empiricism in the social sciences does not even have an adequate name. To talk about it, we must invent one, for example, normativism.

The normativist bases his approach on the premise that human behaviour is goal-directed rather than caused and that the goals or norms are put into rational, orderly patterns. However, they do not necessarily resemble the patterns from which they are derived. The assumption is that the pattern formed by the individuals is almost orderly and that an observer gives some of the norms. It is by doing so that a social scientist could predict some of the patterns. Besides he, by himself manipulating the norms, can foresee the consequences to both the individual and society. This would become all the more easy if certain norms are accepted which are based on:

- excellent empirical evidence.
- analysis of norms and empiricist methodology

Empiricism does not discredit the normativists' assumption about normative patterns. Indeed, many attempts to refine empirical methodology are based on the same assumption. The empiricist returns to his field studies, and by manipulating his techniques, attempts to discover what the man's norm really is. He also tries to find the factors that made his respondents say that he believed in the norm when in fact he did not. The empiricist's very methodology leads him to the conclusion that he must either refine his technique or give up the belief that normative statements exert any impact on behaviour. Paradoxically, it is the normativist who remains much closer to what empirical observation reveals. It is perfectly possible for a man to assert a norm and then fail to observe all its requirements. This is evidenced from the lack of empirical studies of normative patterns in both individuals and societies. It reveals that the empiricist is hostile to normative approaches and in fact avoids them.

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The recognition that a regularity or law had, in effect, been imposed might help to explain the tendency toward an empirically based theory in the social sciences. The hypothesis that such regularities exist obviously influences empiricists in the social sciences. It is assumed that beneath the great diversity of human behaviour, the same kind of regularities could be observed when suitable methods of observation had been developed. In contrast, physical sciences begin with observable regularities which they make universal through the concept of the ideal. They do not have to assume that the regularities are there. Needless to say, the regularity which permits experiment, prediction and testing in the physical sciences, is not present in the social science hypotheses. If the regularity is not always observable, the regularity in the social sciences is the hypothesis and not the source of it.

The empiricist eschews theory and assumes that the search of regularities would permit genuine theory. His watchword is facts first and theory afterwards. This makes him uphold the narrower thesis of empiricism, that is, that the entire science cannot be reduced to empirical observation. A theory involves a selective principle concerning empirical observations, or an assumption about possible relation. This is how physical sciences have developed.

The bulk of social science is now directed by the requirements of social policy in the society in which it is planned and implemented. It is practical rather than theoretical. Social scientists, when they supply information about voting behaviour and factors in race riots, are not creating any useful theory from such studies. For, the problem they investigate is set and defined by social norms, not by facts in the usual sense. A most serious limitation of pure empiricism is its inability to deal adequately with normative behaviour. As a matter of fact, empirically based analysis of the latter does not allow us to draw any conclusions.

Furthermore, in view of the nature of normative exceptions which are expression of interactions between norms or inconsistencies, the significance of the relations would vary according to the normative sets that are accepted. The relativists assume that normative behaviour is not logical in so far as people do not usually change their behaviour when inconsistencies are pointed out. Consequently, normative behaviour is not logical and cannot be studied by logical analysis. This implies that all political theorizing is a waste of time.

The normativist believes that only logical analysis is able to distinguish between inconsistency and exception. In being able to do so, it alone can deal with normative behaviour. Normative theory yields conclusions that permit action, but those other than what empiricism does. Moreover, the empiricist almost inevitably confuses elementary distinctions that are self-evident to the theorist. Therefore, the recommendations of the empiricist could be misleading and even dangerous to society.

The relativist is committed to the view that norms are expressions of tastes, attitudes and desires. He is necessarily committed to a single way of interpreting evidence of inconsistencies in normative behaviour. He would dwell on this as if it were the only evidence. But to the relativist any change in norms is mysterious and so is the communication of norms within society and the continuance of any normative patterns. In contrast, the normativist is not committed to excluding evidence. In his view, anything that maintains an historical continuity should find a logical place in a social scheme which it pretends to explain or even describe. He does not believe that inconsistencies are illogical. He can perceive them as quite logical exceptions. They are the result of an

interaction between norms in which the exceptions indicate the presence of a norm having a higher position of some normative scale.

Empiricists hold that their theory would be a guide to action. Thus, we can envisage life itself as one huge experimental field for a game theory. Instead of applying the latter to some life situations, which at present political theory aims to do, life can be imagined as serving the purpose of testing the game theory and other theories including even those that are likely to emerge. This is done in order to clarify them and foresee the implications of various alternatives. Principles and standards would be but rules of the game that one adopts for the purpose of a particular game only. Political theory would become a super-set of rules which are applicable to a situation desirable for a particular life game. They could be duly programmed into a computer. Hence, anything that cannot be programmed will no longer qualify as theory.

Computerized game-playing as a substitute for living would not be limited merely to games. It would be an inevitable step towards using the computer to create new rules of the game. This could be done by programming into it the ingredients of rules or various sets of rules, also called values. It is with the help of these that not only new rules but also new games could be invented. In the socio-political realm, this would afford possibilities of creating experimental ideologies, hitherto practised in only a limited fashion by totalitarian systems. In traditional totalitarian systems, any experimentation is likely to be slow in inception, cumbersome in application and uncertain in results. But its computerized experimentation would provide the possibility of rapid testing and general availability of experience through participation in instant systems.

### 1.4.3 Semantic Political Analysis

The growth of semantic political analysis needs to be understood in the context of two important developments in social sciences in the recent past. On the one hand, there has taken place professional compartmentalization leading to birth of several new disciplines and sub-disciplines dealing with different aspects of the social life and languages. On the other hand, advance in behavioural research has made evident the need and importance of interdisciplinary approach which encourages the birth of new disciplines or sub-disciplines making use of the knowledge and methods of more than one discipline.

Although the meaning and nature of semantic political analysis are not free from controversy, there is agreement among scholars on the point that political sociology is interdisciplinary in origin and nature – a product of cross-fertilization between politics, society and languages. It is relevant to point out here that both languages and political sociology claim that political science belongs to them. It is not surprising that semantic political analysis is taught in many universities in the departments of Political Science and Sociology.

Contemporary political science today is faced with a danger of losing its identity as a discipline. The danger arises from the close identification of political science with either science or philosophy. It is feared that political theory might end in some kind of scientism or moralism.

Norman Jacobson is the exponent of the view that political science is neither scientism nor moralism. It is neither completely identified with science nor with morality. He asserts that political science must remain separate from both and preserve an identity of its own. He laments the fact that contemporary political science is anything but political science. He points out: 'It would seem that politics is psychology, or it is sociology, that

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it is moral philosophy or theology—that it is almost anything but politics'. In efforts to mould political science in the perfect image of science, so argues Jacobson, there is no harm in applying methods and procedures of science. Likewise, there is no harm in utilizing the knowledge of one field for the better understanding of another. Yet the basic distinction between the two fields must not be effaced. The boundaries and nature of science and politics must be fully grasped.

According to Jacobson, politics is a special variety of political activity. One may pursue it more effectively by drawing upon the best, which fields of enquiry in other disciplines, offer. But one must not fail to acquire a better insight into political phenomena. This means achieving deeper and fuller understanding of politics. In short, politics has to be studied in its own right. Exclusive emphasis on the scientific or philosophical character of political science would reduce political science to scientism or moralism, respectively. If science is taken out of political theory, it may become nothing but an ethical or moral residue. Similarly, if philosophy is taken out of it, what remains is mere methodology.

If there is danger of political science being subsumed in other disciplines, or to be lost in scientism or moralism, the danger of having a superficial perspective of the realities of politics cannot be ignored. It is important that both the scientific and philosophic aspects of political theory should be properly grasped and highlighted.

Science has been described as a branch of knowledge dealing with a body of facts or truths systematically arranged and showing the operation of general laws. A scientific approach involves two things: (i) the agreement on methods, and (ii) the training in scientific works Friedrich's definition takes note of both the elements. He defines science as a body of ordered knowledge that is known to and progressively enlarged by the specialists in the field. This is secured through the use of methods which they, as a group, accept as workable ways for arriving at that particular kind of knowledge. In short, science is an organized knowledge involving consistency in methods used for the collection, and analysis of data. The data thus generated are given logical coherence. This renders scientific statements capable of validation by other political scientists. This, however, does not imply that the same techniques apply to all sciences. In fact, the tools and techniques evolved and applied in one discipline do not necessarily apply to another science. In one respect, they are identical, i.e., they operate with precise quantitative data.

The scientific element of science, however, has nothing to do with quantification. Science demands not only accuracy but also relevancy. It even invests adequacy to results leading to a great progress in science. A more scientific study of sources of data generation and a more critical use of the other types of supportive evidence also contributes to the advancement of science. In the words of Friedrich, neither the degree of generalization, nor the degree of quantification, are in themselves 'absolute' criteria of scientific progress but must be evaluated in relation to the material in hand and to be assessed.

Political science deals with the territorial state, which is the largest organized form of society. This fact turns political science into a comprehensive discipline. Its unit of analysis, i.e., state and government, change its character, form and goals, from time to time, and from region to region. This calls for not one but several methods because each change may involve a different approach or method, or sometimes a combination of different approaches and methods. To continue to have a scientific character, does not necessarily involve using the natural science methodology in social sciences, nor does it involve using the methodology of social sciences other than political science.

A good political theory has to be philosophical as much as scientific. As against scientific knowledge, philosophic enquiry deals with the most general causes and principles of being. In other words, philosophy consists of two things: (a) a theory as to the nature of the world; and (b) an ethical or political doctrine as to the best way of living. According to Friedrich, philosophy concentrates on problems which can be comprehended within the framework of existing knowledge, but may also attempt to go beyond it. It may ask metaphysical questions, and seek to answer them either on rational or on non-rational grounds. Understood thus, philosophy is clearly distinct from science. If political science brings to philosophy both facts and generalizations, it in turn receives from philosophy the capacity of abstract theorizing and reflection. Political science like philosophy 'must deal with problems, not in an isolated manner, but comprehensively.'

The semantic analysis of political science must attempt to perform the purpose of social criticism. To achieve this goal, it must not, in fact, detach itself from its philosophical moorings, though contemporary political scientists, particularly those belonging to the behavioural persuasion, attempt to detach themselves from such teleological views. They seek to concentrate more on the non-normative and non-philosophical aspects than on normative questions. Their main goal is to construct a positive science of politics. For the sake of proving their scientific element, political scientists may try to break away from philosophy.

According to Friedrich, philosophers like Leo Strauss, the Existentialists like Sartre, Paul Tillich and Maurice Cranston have been influential in political science. Their influence stems from the fact that they have written at length on the role of power, law, freedom and authority in politics, and other similar political concepts. They have influenced, and will continue to influence the substance of politics as well as allied areas and doctrines. Even those who differ from them as also those who deal with these concepts must discuss them and, if necessary, contradict. Friedrich rightly sums up that political science and political philosophy are intimately tied. The study of one cannot be pursued without the other. Political science, in this respect, is not at all different from other sciences which likewise are linked with philosophy.

### Towards Interdisciplinary Focus of Semantic Analysis of Political Science

Political science has always drawn heavily from allied sciences. Plato presented his ideal state in terms of the structure of the family, nature of education and the scheme of functional specialization. Aristotle's concern lay in the distribution of wealth and status in the polis of his day. He sought to ensure the stability of the political regime prevailing in the model polity. Marx saw the primary source of political behaviour in the level of technological development and class structure, the modes of production, i.e., topics which fall under the rubric of sociology.

Gabriel A. Almond makes the comment that classical political theory is more apolitical sociology and psychology, more a normative political theory than it is a theory of the political process. The Platonic, Aristotelian and later Roman classification of types of political system are far more explicit on the consequences of varieties of social stratification and their representation in the political system, for their forms and their performance than they are regarding political decision-making processes. Thus, the bases of their political classification are sociological rather than political. The Greek and Roman theory of political development is a social- psychological theory. It treated the pure forms of rule (monarchy, aristocracy or democracy) as inherently unstable because of their susceptibility to corruption stemming from sociological and psychological processes. This has been particularly true of sociologists.

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The general criteria of semantic political analysis are: (1) operational capability, (2) logical consistency, (3) scope, and (4) simplicity. Failure to meet the requirements of operationalization means that a theory is not testable. It means that its results are not empirical. If a theory is not logically consistent, it is impossible for all its statements to be true. But this alone cannot be a ground for rejecting it. Given two theories, both of which explain data, that theory which applies to a wider range of phenomena, that is, which has a larger scope, has to be preferred. Above all, the simpler of the two theories means a theory which has fewer adhoc hypotheses. This also includes those having little, if any, confirming evidence and fewer qualifications. A theory that is simpler in these respects, is more amenable to falsification. This is because there are fewer ways to explain apparently disconfirming instances.

None of the criteria listed above provides an error-free method for evaluating attempts at scientific explanation. At best, the conclusions are not totally true or false. This tentative nature of scientific findings casts doubts about the genuineness of scientific knowledge. If deductive proof from self-evident premises provides the only standard of genuine knowledge, the results of scientific enterprise are seen to fall short. But so do the results of ordinary observation. In neither case does the mere possibility of their non-verifiability render them unfit for scientific knowledge. The job is done by connecting the key elements in the concept of grounds and evidence in scientific evaluation. The proper identification of indicators leads from truths to further truths. Such a use leads to true predictions. However, it does not contradict other uses of clarification and explanations. The study of semantic political analysis typically contains the three following components:

1. Observational (evidence of statement of languages)
2. Observational (experimental) laws of languages
3. Theories of languages

The relationship of these components with each other constitutes two central formulations in any science, namely:

- (a) Explanation of observed phenomena by appeal to laws and theories, and
- (b) Evaluation of laws and theories by appeal to observed phenomena

Theories are key to the scientific understanding of empirical phenomena. When it is claimed that a given phenomenon is scientifically understood, it simply means that science can offer a satisfactory theoretical account of it. Empirical theory is a systematically related set of statements. It also includes some law-like generalizations that are empirically testable.

Following are features of semantic political analysis:

1. The relationship is asymmetrical.
2. The cause constitutes a necessary and sufficient condition for the occurrence of the effect.
3. The relation holds between spatially contiguous phenomena.
4. The cause and effect are continuous in time.
5. The relationship between independent and dependent variables is uniform or invariant—same cause, same effect.

## ACTIVITY

Research on the Internet and write a report on how normative and empirical political analysis are applicable in the Indian political scenario.

### Check Your Progress

6. What characterizes normative political analysis?
7. The chief aim of empirical political analysis is \_\_\_\_\_, and derivatively prediction of observable phenomena.
8. State two features of semantic political analysis.

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### DID YOU KNOW

Karl Marx was sharply critical of capitalism, which he saw as a stage on the way to a classless socialistic economy. In his view, the capitalist structure contains a fundamental contradiction in the tension between the owner's desire to keep the wages low and the workers' desire to raise them while prices fluctuate according to the law of supply and demand. Under capitalism, the two struggling classes are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (workers).

Marx predicted that the demands of the bourgeoisie would result in an ever-growing proletariat whose living conditions would continue to decline until the proletariat would rise up in violent revolt and destroy the bourgeoisie and capitalism, leading to the next historical epoch, socialism.

## 1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The analysis of political phenomena has had a long tradition and can be traced back to classical Greece. Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, called politics 'the master science.' By this he meant that political analysis referred to that activity through which individuals sought to improve their lives and build a great society.
- The word **political analysis** has been derived from different perspectives, which means analysis of political phenomena. In ancient times, Greece was divided into a number of independent city-states, and the most important among them was Athens. Thus, political analysis may be interpreted as referring to the affairs of the polis or the affairs of the state.
- Those who argue that political analysis is state-bound contend that politics is not played in 'civil society.' **Civil society** consists of non-state bodies such as family and kinship organizations, class and educational and business organizations. The state is a 'public' entity while the 'civil society' is a private entity.
- '**Politics** is the process through which man orders the society in which he lives according to his political ideas about the ends of man.'
- Robert A. Dahl rightly observes: 'Political analysis is one of the unavoidable facts of human existence. Everyone is involved in some fashion at sometime in some kind of political system.'
- The scope of political science implies its area of study or subject matter. It is a very comprehensive and expanding social science. An attempt was made by the International Political Science Association in Paris in 1948 to delineate its scope. It classified the same into four zones, namely: political theory, political institution, political dynamics and international relations.
- Contemporary political science today is faced with a danger of losing its identity as a discipline. The danger arises from the close identification of political science with either science or philosophy. It is feared that political theory might end in some kind of scientism or moralism.
- Empirical political analysis is studied in a systematic and scientific way. It is a value-free science.

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- The normativist bases his approach on the premise that human behaviour is goal-directed rather than caused and that the goals or norms are put into rational, orderly patterns.

### 1.6 KEY TERMS

- **Behaviourism:** It is an approach to psychology that emphasizes observable measurable behaviour.
- **Empirical:** Something that is based on, concerned with, or verifiable by observation or experience rather than theory or pure logic.
- **Normative:** Establishing, relating to, or deriving from a standard or norm, especially of behaviour.

### 1.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. In 1948, the International Political Science Association classified political science into four zones, namely, political theory, political institution, political dynamics and international relations.
2. The study of international relations is a growing area of political science. It covers diplomacy, international politics, foreign policies and international organizations.
3. Robert A. Dahl defines political analysis as: 'Political analysis is one of the unavoidable facts of human existence. Everyone is involved in some fashion at sometime in some kind of political system.'
4. Aristotle was the first to consider political analysis as master science. On the other hand, modern writers like who termed it just a science included Godwin, Hobbes, Vico, Hume, Frederick Pollock, John Seely, and Lord Bryce. Critics like Mosca, Burke, Buckle, Comte and Maitland have questioned the judgments behind referring to it as a science, stating that political analysis failed in every aspect to live up to the 'standards of science'.
5. Logical positivists were a group of scientists-turned-philosophers who elaborated upon the idea of value-fact dichotomy in the twentieth century. It is said that they were uneasy with the idea of god, religion and morality being discussed in the 'scientific world'. Thus, they developed philosophy that not only explained the dichotomy between value-fact but held that only the 'fact' disjunction was of any worth.
6. Normative political analysis is characterized by the philosophical foundations of the state.
7. Explanation
8. The following are the two features of semantic political analysis (1) The relationship is asymmetrical; (2) The cause constitutes a necessary and sufficient condition for that occurrence of the effect.

## 1.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

### Short-Answer Questions

1. Why is political analysis also known as the art of governance?
2. What are the Indian conceptions of political analysis?
3. What is the relationship between the state and the individual?
4. What are the different levels of theory?
5. What are the features of the modern political theory of the West?
6. Why is political analysis called science?
7. What are the arguments against treating political analysis as science?
8. What is value-fact dichotomy? What are the arguments for and against it?

### Long-Answer Questions

1. List and explain the alternative conceptions of political science.
2. Explain the nature and scope of political analysis.
3. Write a short note on normative political analysis.
4. Discuss empirical political analysis.
5. What do you understand by semantic political analysis?

### 1.9 FURTHER READING

- Pruthi, R. K.; *The Political Theory*, Sarup & Sons, India, 2005.
- Freeden, M.; *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach*, Clarendon Press, Gloucestershire, 1996.
- Lively, J. *Modern Political Theory from Hobbes to Marx: Key Debates*, Routledge, UK, 1989.
- Arora, N. D. and Awasthy S. S.; *Political Theory and Political Thought*, Har-Anand Publications, India, 2007.

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## UNIT 2 BEHAVIOURALISM

### Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Unit Objectives
- 2.2 Behaviouralism: Development and Decline
- 2.3 Post-Behaviouralism
- 2.4 Summary
- 2.5 Key Terms
- 2.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.7 Questions and Exercises
- 2.8 Further Reading

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### 2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will study about politics as a science with a focus on behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism, and positivism and logical positivism. Behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism are the two contemporary approaches to the study of politics. In contemporary social science, the behavioural approach has shown increasing concern with solving the prevailing problem of the society. In this way, it has significantly absorbed the 'post-behavioural' orientation within its scope. Positivism refers to a set of epistemological perspectives and philosophies of science which hold that the scientific method is the best approach to uncover the processes by which both physical and human events occur.

### 2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Comprehend the significance of behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism approaches in the study of political theory
- Discuss the role of positivism and logical positivism to understand political theory
- List the characteristics of systems theory approach of international relations
- Interpret the structural functional and the power approach for the study of political theory
- Evaluate the decline and revival of political theory, with a focus on the contribution of political thinkers

### 2.2 BEHAVIOURALISM: DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE

Behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism are the two contemporary approaches to the study of politics. The development of the contemporary approaches signifies a departure

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from traditional approaches in two aspects: (i) they attempt to establish a separate identity of political science by focusing on the real character of politics; and (ii) they try to understand politics in totality, transcending its formal aspects and looking for those aspects of social life which influence and are influenced by it. Here, we will begin the discussion with behaviouralism.

Till the mid 1900s, political science as a discipline, was based on qualitative-philosophy and depended on cases studies, which were incapable of probing the causes in a way that could be measured. The discipline was descriptive and legalistic. Calling it a science was inappropriate.

The revolution brought about by the behaviouralists in the 1950s, laid emphasis on an empirical model, based on a social scientific system. Despite experimentation being indispensable in the field of research, be it psychology or the hard sciences, the technique was confined to being merely a curiosity among political scientists. Those behavioural scientists who were keen to study individual-level political behaviour, resorted to the technique of survey research as it was felt that experimentation was not the appropriate method for the investigation of real-world politics.

American political scientist, David Easton, was the pioneer in distinguishing between behaviourism and behaviouralism in the 1950s. 'Behaviourism' in the early 1940s, was said to be a behavioural science, which came to be known as behaviourism over a period of time. Easton, however, chose to differentiate the two disciplines.

The behaviouralism approach in political science attempts to provide an objective and quantified model that would explain and forecast political behaviour. The approach is based on the natural sciences and pertains to the rise of the behavioural sciences. Behaviouralism aims to analyse the behaviour, actions and acts of individuals instead of the features of institutions like legislatures, executives, and judiciaries, and groups from various social settings. It seeks to interpret this behaviour in relation to the political system.

Before the behaviouralist revolution took place, the very fact that political science was a science was strongly debated. Many criticized that studying of politics was mainly a qualitative and normative activity. They believed that it did not have a scientific method required for it to be called or declared a science. Behaviouralists would employ rigid methodology and empirical research to confirm or authenticate their study as a social science. The innovativeness of the behaviouralist approach was evident when it transformed the attitude of the objective of inquiry, progressing toward research supported by verifiable facts. As it became more popular in the 1960s and the 1970s, behaviouralism questioned models based on realism and liberalism. The behaviouralists referred to these as 'traditionalism', under which they included all the studies of political behaviour that did not rely on fact. The techniques used by behaviouralism to comprehend political behaviour were: sampling, interviewing, scoring and scaling, and statistical analysis.

It was David Easton's belief that behaviouralism aimed to be 'analytic not substantive, general rather than particular, and explanatory rather than ethical'. It looks at evaluating political behaviour without 'introducing any ethical evaluations'. According to Rodger Beehler, the behaviouralist wished to insist on differentiating between 'facts and values'.

Behaviouralism is the belief that social theory should be constructed only on the basis of observable behaviour. The behavioural approach to political analysis developed out of positivism, adopting its assertion that scientific knowledge can be developed only on the basis of explanatory theories that are verifiable and falsifiable. Behavioural analysis

typically involves the collection of finite data through research surveys, statistical analysis and the construction of empirical theory that have predictive capacity.

Behaviouralism is an approach to the analysis and explanation of political phenomena. It is particularly associated with the works of American political scientists after the Second World War (1939–45). David Easton, in his book *Political System: An Enquiry into the State of Political Science* (1953), appealed for building up a behavioural political science. It has to be closer to other social sciences and would take part in the decision-making process. However, the origins of the behaviouralist approach can be stressed back to the works of Graham Wallas and Arthur Bentley who wrote two famous books *Human Nature in Politics* and *The Process of Government*, respectively, which was published as early as 1908. In their works, they laid great emphasis on the informal process of politics and less on political institutions alone.

Graham Wallas in his book *Human Nature in Politics* tried to introduce a new realism in political studies in the light of the new findings of contemporary psychology. He was influenced by the new psychological teachings which revealed that man was not a rational creature following his self interest, and his political actions were not totally guided by self-interest as stated by classical economists and laissez-faire theorists. It is very difficult to explain the human nature in utilitarian perspective. Graham Wallas, to overcome this problem, insisted on exploring facts and evidence for understanding human nature and its manifestations in human behaviour. The gist of his argument was that the political process could be understood only by analysing as to how people actually behaved in a political situation and not merely by speculating on how they should or would behave. On the other hand, Arthur Bentley who is a pioneer of 'group approach' to politics, says that only the description of political activity is not enough. He sought to provide for new tools of investigation. He laid emphasis on the study of informal groups. He almost completely ignored the formal political institution. Unlike Graham Wallas who is influenced by psychology, Arthur Bentley was inspired by sociology. In his study, the roles of pressure groups, political parties, elections and public opinion in the political process are highlighted.

Another prominent advocate of the behaviouralist approach was Charles E. Merriam (1874–1953). He was the president of the American Political Science Association in 1925 when he exhorted political scientists to look at political behaviour as one of the essential objects of enquiry in his presidential address. Thus, Merriam was an exponent of the scientific method for the study of politics. At the same time, he was a champion of democracy. He called for employing science into the service of democratic principle. Thus, he believed that democracy and science can be promoted together, and hence were complementary to each other. The school has done pioneer works in the development of the behavioural approach. Merriam was a vehement critic of contemporary political science. In his book *New Aspects of Politics* (1925) and in his article 'The Present State of the Study of Politics', which was published in *American Political Science Review*, argued that contemporary political science lacked scientific rigour. He criticized the work of historians for ignoring the role of psychological, sociological and economic factors in human affairs. He advised that the student of politics should take the help of recent advances in social sciences in the study of politics. He argued that this will help to build an interdisciplinary and scientific character of the political science. He called for the use of the scientific approach in the study of politics. He sought to develop a 'policy science' by using quantitative techniques already developed in the fields of sociology and psychology. In this way, Charles Merriam contributed at length to the evolution of the behavioural approach.

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Behaviouralism in political science was systematically developed only after the Second World War. The behaviouralism had its philosophical origins in the writings of Auguste Comte in the nineteenth century and in the logical positivism of the Vienna Circle in the 1920s. However, behaviouralism did not accept all the philosophical arguments of the positivists. The contribution of American political scientists in this regard was quite significant. Some of the works of these American political scientists is worth mentioning here, such as *The Impact on Political Science of the Revolution in the Behavioural Sciences* (1955), *The Behavioural Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest* by Robert Dahl which was published in the American Political Science Review in 1961, *The Impact of the Behavioural Approach on Traditional Political Science* (1962) by Evron M. Krikpatrick, *The Correct Meaning of Behaviouralism in Political Science* (1967) by David Easton and Heinz Eulau's article on 'Political Behaviour' in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Science, which was published in 1968. It can be said that behaviouralism stood for a shift of focus in the study of politics from the formalism and normative orientations of the legalistic and philosophical schools to political behaviour, that is, the behaviour of articulators in the political field, such as, power-holders, power-seekers as well as voters. Thus, behaviouralism is understood as more than the mere study of political behaviour, though it was its main focus.

The growing importance of behaviouralism sought to account for the psychological and social influences on the behaviour of the individual in a political situation. It called for the study of such processes and factors as political-socializations, ideologies, culture, participation, communication, leadership, decision making, political violence, etc. These processes involve interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary research. Behaviouralism as a movement in political science did not remain confined to the study of individual-based political behaviour but developed into a set of orientations, procedures and methods of analysis. In practice, it embraced all that lends a scientific character to the modern political science. A behaviourist like a positivist ascertains the correctness of an explanatory theory. It is the stress on empirical observation and testing that characterize the behavioural approach. A behaviouralist systematically compiles all the relevant facts, quantitative and qualitative, for an evaluation of a theoretical statement. Furthermore, behavioural analysis asserts that all scientific theories and/or explanation must in principle be capable of being falsified.

David Easton outlined eight major tenants of behaviouralism, which are as follows:

- (a) *Regularities* or uniformity in behaviour which can be expressed in generalizations or theory
- (b) *Verification* or the testing of the validity of such generalizations or theories
- (c) *Techniques* for seeking and interpreting data
- (d) *Quantification* and measurement in the recording of data
- (e) *Values* as distinguished between propositions, relating to ethical evaluation and those relating to empirical
- (f) *Systematization* of research
- (g) *Pure science* or the seeking of understanding and explanation of behaviour, before utilization of the knowledge for solution of societal problems
- (h) *Integration* of political research with that of other social sciences

Behaviouralism came to accord primacy to higher degree of reliability vis-à-vis higher degree of generality. It, therefore, focuses on question that could be answered on

the basis of the methods available. In a nutshell, behaviouralism focused on the micro-level situations rather than attempting macro-level generalizations as a whole.

The approach has come under fire from both conservatives and radicals for the purported value-neutrality. Conservatives see the distinction between values and facts as a way of undermining the possibility of political philosophy. Neal Riemer believes behaviouralism dismisses 'the task of ethical recommendation' because behaviouralists believe 'truth or falsity of values (democracy, equality, and freedom, etc.) cannot be established scientifically and are beyond the scope of legitimate inquiry'. Christian Bay believed behaviouralism was a pseudo political science and that it did not represent 'genuine' political research. Bay objected to empirical consideration taking precedence over normative and moral examination of politics. Behaviouralism initially represented a movement away from 'naive empiricism', but has been criticized as an approach for 'naive scientism'. Additionally, radical critics believe that the separation of fact from value makes the empirical study of politics impossible.

Behaviouralism, like positivism, has been criticized for its mindless empiricism. Behaviouralism proclaimed to offer a 'value free' and 'scientific' theory steering clear of ethical and political bias. They over emphasize on the fact that a theory is considered good if it was consistent with observation. David Easton himself has enumerated the shortcomings of behaviouralism which are mentioned below:

- (a) Behaviouralism pursued fundamental rather than applied knowledge. Hence, it distances itself from immediate political reality. It also neglects the special responsibilities of an intellectual.
- (b) It tends towards a subjectless, non-humane discipline, one in which human intentions and purposes played little creative part.
- (c) It is wrongly assumed that behavioural political science alone was free of ideological presuppositions.
- (d) It accepts a pristine, positivist interpretation of the nature of science uncritically.
- (e) It remains indifferent to the resulting fragmentation of knowledge.
- (f) It is not able to deal with value concerns and to describe the nature of the good society.

### Decline and Revival of Political Theory

During the middle of the twentieth century, many observers talked about the decline of the political theory. Some of the observers even discussed about its death. Some of the observers declared political theory as the dog house. These discourses emerged because of the pessimistic and cynical view that the classical tradition in political theory was filled with value judgments and devoid of empiricism. The logical positivism which emerged during 1930s, criticized the normative theory for its value judgment. Later on, the behaviouralist attacked the classical tradition of which David Easton was most prominent. According to David Easton, political theory is concerned with some kind of historical form. He argued that political theory had lost its constructive roles. He outlined that political theory, as practiced by William Dunning, Charle H. Mcwain and George Holland Sabine, had decline into historicism.

There are two schools of thought about the development of political theory in the contemporary period. One school argues that there is decline of political theory and another school argues against it. In mid twentieth century, the exponents of new political

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science began to question the continued relevance of the traditional political theory. David Easton, in his *Political System: An Enquiry into the State of Political Science* (1953), asserted that the traditional political theory was based on mere speculation. It was devoid of acute observation of the political reality. In order to lay scientific foundations of the study of politics, it was necessary to rescue it from the study of classics and the history of political ideas. He argued that the traditional political theory was the product of the turmoil that characterize the past ages.

According to him, it particularly flourished in Greece in pre-Plato days, Italy in the fifteenth century, England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and France in the eighteenth century which were the days of widespread social and political upheaval. It had no relevance in contemporary society. He also pointed out that there has been no outstanding political philosopher after Marx (1818–83) and J.S. Mill (1806–73). Easton argued that while economists and sociologists had produced a systematic study of human behaviour in their respective spheres of investigation, political scientists had lagged behind. They failed to develop suitable research to account for the rise of fascism or communism and their continuance. Again, during the Second World War (1939–45), economists, sociologists and psychologists had played an active role in the decision-making process but political scientists were ignored. He, therefore, appealed for building of a behavioural political science, closer to other social science, to take its due place in the decision-making process. He argued that the contemporary society would evolve its own value system from its own experience and insight. Political scientists would only focus on building causal theory to explain political behaviour.

However, Easton changed his view after one and a half decade. In his presidential address to the American Political Science Association in 1969, he launched his 'post-behavioural' revolution. In fact, Easton was trying to convert political science from a pure science to 'applied science'. He insisted that scientific investigation should enable the contemporary societies to tide over the prevailing crisis. This also involved a renewed concern with values which were sought to be excluded in the earlier behavioural approach.

The debate on the decline of political theory which appeared in 1950s was also joined by some other prominent writers. Thus, Alfred Cobban in his paper on 'The Decline of Political Theory', published in *Political Science Quarterly* (1953), argued that political theory had lost its significance in capitalist as well as communist systems. Capitalist systems were inspired by the idea of 'libertarian democracy', whereas there was no political theorist of democracy. It was also characterized by an overwhelming role of bureaucracy and the creation of a huge military machine. Political theory had practically no role to play in sustaining this system. While communist systems were characterized by a new form of political organization and the rule of a small oligarchy, political theory had taken a back seat under these systems. However, Cobban came to the conclusion that all was yet not lost. Political science has to answer questions which the methodology of social science may not be able to answer. It must evolve criteria of judgment which will revive the relevance of political science.

Then Seymour Martin Lipset in his *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (1960) argued that the values of the contemporary society had already been decided. In the United States, the age-old search for 'good society' had come to an end because they had already achieved it. The prevailing form of democracy in that country was 'the closest approximation to the good society itself in operation'. Thus, Lipset too questioned the continued relevance of political theory in those days. Another political scientist, Leo Strauss, in his famous paper 'What is Political Philosophy?', published in *Journal of*

*Politics* (1957) and in *An Epilogue to Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics*, argued that the new science of politics was in fact a symptom of the alleged decline of political theory by adopting positivist approach and it had ignored the challenge of normative issues.

Another political scientist, Dante Jermino, in his *Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory* (1967), argued that in most of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, there were two major causes of the decline of political theory: (i) rise of positivism which led to the craze for science; and (ii) the prevalence of political ideologies culminating in Marxism. But now it was again in ascendancy, particularly in the political thought of Michel Oakeshott, Hannah Arendt, Bertrand de Jouvenal, Leo Strauss and Eric Voegelin.

This list was expanded by Jermino in a subsequent paper so as to include John Rawls, C.B. Macpherson, Christian Bay, Robert Nozick, Herbert Marcus, Jurgen Habermas, Alasdair MacIntyre and Michel Walzer. The works of these writers had revived the grand tradition of political philosophy. Jermino suggested that in order to understand the new role of political theory, it was imperative to identify it with political philosophy. Political philosophy is a critical study of the principles of the right order in human social existence, involving enquiry into right and wrong. Jermino argued that political philosophy deals with perennial problems confronting man in his social existence. He pointed out that detachment is not ethical neutrality. A political philosopher cannot remain indifferent to the political struggle of his times as a behaviouralist would claim. In short, behavioural political science concentrates on facts and remains neutral to values. Political philosophy cannot grow along with positivism, which abstained from a critical examination of any social situation. The gulf between traditionalist and behaviouralist components of political theory is so wide that they cannot be reunited. Any theory separated from the perennial concerns of political philosophy will prove to be irrelevant. Jermino laments that the behavioural political theory has often implicitly or uncritically endorsed the policies and practices of the established order instead of performing the Socratic function of 'speaking truth to power'. He wants that full recovery of critical political theory cannot be achieved within the positivist universe of discourse.

However, since 1970s, the dispute between political science and political philosophy has largely subsided. While David Easton had shown a renewed concern with values in his post-behavioural approach, the exponents of political philosophy did not hesitate in testing their assumptions by empirical method. Karl Popper (1902–94) proceeded to draw conclusion regarding social values. John Rawls (1921–2002) adopted empirical method for arriving at his principles of justice. C.B. Macpherson (1911–87) attacked the empirical theory of democracy propounded by Joseph Schumpeter (1883–1950), and Robert Dahl advanced his own radical theory of democracy. Herbert Marcus and Jurgen Habermas have shown a strong empirical insight in their critical analysis of the contemporary capitalism. It is now held that political science, like other social and natural sciences, enables us to strengthen our means but we will have to resort to political philosophy to determine our ends. As means and ends are interdependent, political science and political philosophy play complementary role in our social life.

## Revival

Political theory is considered as a study of the history of ideas during the third decade of the twentieth century, particularly with the purpose to define the totalitarian communism and defend the liberal democracy. Charles Marriam and Lasswell Kaplan tried to establish

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## Check Your Progress

- Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.  
(a) Political philosophy cannot grow along with \_\_\_\_\_ which abstained from a critical examination of any social situation.  
(b) \_\_\_\_\_ reaffirmed the importance of classical political theory to provide remedy to the crisis of modern times.
- State whether the following are true or false.  
(a) According to David Easton, political theory is concerned with some kind of historical form.  
(b) Behavioural political science concentrates on facts and remains neutral to values.

a scientific political theory. They developed it with the eventual purpose of controlling human behaviour. Their method of enquiry was description rather than prescription. On the other hand, in the traditional sense, political theory was revived in the works of some famous political scientists like Arendt Theodore Adorno (1903–1969), Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979), Leo Strauss (1899–1973), Oakeshott, Bertrand de Jouvenal and Eric Voegelin (1901–1985). These political scientists were in opposition of the commitment to liberal democracy, faith in science and a faith in historical progress. They were also against political messianism and utopianism in politics. Hannah Arendt criticized behaviouralism and stressed on the uniqueness and responsibility of the individual human being. She argued in her book *The Human Condition* (1958) that search for uniformities in human nature by the behaviouralists would only contribute towards stereotyping the human being. She rejected the idea of hidden and anonymous forces in history. She pointed to the essential incompatibility between ideology and political theory. She illustrated the difference between responsible action and efficient automatic behaviour.

Like Hannah Arendt, Michael Oakeshott also contributed to the revival of political theory through his writings. He emphasized the philosophical analysis of experience. He understood experience to be a concrete whole on different kinds of 'modes'. According to him, the modes constituted 'arrests' in experience. In his book *Experience and its Modes* (1933), he outlined four principal modes of experience, such as history, science, practice and poetry. He pointed out that science concerned itself with measurement and quantification, history with the past, practice with an act of desiring and obtaining, and poetry with imagination and contemplation. He did not distinguish between subject and object, fact and value. He rejected the contention that philosophy could learn from method of science. He also ruled out political ideology and empiricism in an understanding of politics. Like Ardent, Oakeshott described politics as 'the activity of attending to the general arrangements of a collection of people, who, in respect of their common recognition of a manner of attending to its arrangements, compose a single community.'

Similarly, Juvenal opposed the modern trend of converting politics into administration, depriving it for the potentiality for creativity in the public sphere. He opposed ideological sloganeering and utopianism. He outlined that politics essentially involves moral choice with the purpose of building and consolidating individuals. Leo Strauss reaffirmed the importance of classical political theory to provide remedy to the crisis of modern times. He said that a political philosopher is primarily interested in truth. Strauss scrutinized the methods and purposes of the 'new' political science and concluded that it was defective when compared with classical political theory, particularly that of Aristotle. Strauss countered David Easton's charge of historicism by alleging that it was the new science that was responsible for the decline in political theory, for it pointed it to an abetted general political crisis of the West because of its overall neglect of normative issues. He equated behaviouralism's value-free approach with 'dogmatic atheism' and 'permissive egalitarianism'. Eric Voegelin pointed out the inseparableness of political science and political theory. He argued that without the latter, the former was not possible. According to him, political theory was not ideology, utopian or scientific methodology; rather it is an experimental science of the right order for both the individual and society. He said that it dissected critically and empirically the problem of order.

The Frankfurt school also contributed towards the revival of political theory. The school represented by the political thinkers like Theodore Adorno and Herbert Marcuse emerged in Germany in the 1920s. It was directly associated with 'an anti-Bolshevik radicalism and open-ended or critical Marxism'. The school of thought was critical of both capitalism as well as socialism practiced in Soviet Union. One of the famous political

theorists of the school was Jurgen Habermas who critically examined the advanced capitalism and communicative action. He was also a critic of post modernism. He expressed his faith in the power of reason and progress. In a nutshell, it can be concluded that political theory is still relevant and alive as a result of some of the great modern political thinkers in last few decades.

## 2.3 POST-BEHAVIOURALISM

Behaviouralism rose to be prominent during mid 1960s as a dominant approach in the methodology of political science. However, it was not free from criticism. One of its prominent critics Leo Strauss in his article 'What is Political Philosophy?', published in *Journal of Politics* (1957), argued that the rise of behaviouralism was symptomatic of a crisis in political theory because of its failure to come to grips with normative issues. Another political scientist Sheldon Wolin in the article 'Political Theory as a Vocation', which was published in *American Political Science Review* (1969), pointed out that preoccupation of political science with method signified or abdication of true vocation of political theory. Another prominent thinker Thomas Kuhn in his celebrated work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (1962), outlined that significance of scientific methods lies in its capacity for problem solving and crisis-management, and not in methodological sophistication. Gradually after 1960s, even the exponents of behaviouralism realized the drawbacks of behaviouralism. They realized that behaviouralism's strict adherence to 'pure science' was responsible for its failure to attend to the pressing social and political issues of the period.

Thus, post-behaviouralism is concerned with reality of human life. Post-behaviouralism gave two slogans: relevance and action. However, it did not completely depart from behaviouralism; rather it stood for consolidating its gain and applying them from problem-solving crisis management. Easton lamented the over-reliance of behaviouralists on methodology. He says that intellectuals have a great role to play in protecting the human value of civilization. He emphasized that behaviouralists should not ignore this role. He reminded them of their responsibility to reshape society. He argued that scientists could adopt a rational interest in value construction and application without denying the validity of their science. It placed less emphasis on the scientific method and empirical theory, and laid more stress on the public responsibilities of the discipline. In a nutshell, post-behaviouralism seeks to reintroduce a concern for values in the behavioural approach itself.

Post-behaviouralism challenged the idea that academic research had to be value neutral and argued that values should not be neglected. Post-behaviouralism claimed that behaviouralism's bias towards observable and measurable phenomena meant that too much emphasis was being placed on easily studied trivial issues at the expense of more important topics. Research should be more relevant to society and intellectuals have a positive role to play in society.

The cardinal features of the post-behaviouralism can be enumerated as following:

- Substance preceded technique, which meant the pressing problems of society became objects of investigation.
- Behaviouralism itself was seen as ideologically conservative and limited to abstraction rather than to the reality at the times in crisis.
- Science could be evaluatively neutral, for facts were inseparable from values, and value premises had to be related to knowledge.

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- (iv) Intellectuals had to shoulder the responsibilities of their society, defend human values of civilization and not become mere technicians insular to social problems.
- (v) The intellectual had to put knowledge to work and engage in reshaping society.
- (vi) The intellectual must actively participate in the politicization of the professions and academic institutions.

For the post-behaviouralists, a theory, in order to be treated as an explanatory theory, in the first place has to be evaluated, i.e., tested empirically. Easton pointed out that dissatisfaction with behaviouralism led to revisions in the method and content, favouring a revival of interpretative understanding and historical analysis, and a complete rejection of systematic methodology, while at the same time emphasizing the need to introduce formal modelling and rational actor deductivism. He announced the beginning of neo-behaviouralism in order to bring about a new unity in the theoretical focus of the discipline.

In the contemporary social science, the behavioural approach has shown increasing concern with solving the prevailing problems of society. In this way, it has largely absorbed the 'post-behavioural' orientation within its scope.

### The System Theory

The systems approach of national states and international relations is engaged in developing theories of the international system. It was introduced in the late 1950s with the basic assumptions that international relations follow an order or a system. The most prominent of the system theory approach are scholars such as Karl W. Deutsch and Raymond Aron.

The system is a set of interacting variables or a collection of functionally interdependent parts. In other words, a system is 'a set of variables in interaction which makes a unified whole affecting each other's actions'. Generally speaking, a system may be either natural, such as the solar system; or mechanical, such as a clock, computer or a car; or social in nature, such as a family.

The system theory approach conceives nations to be in contact in a complicated framework of relationships that result from the process of interaction. They emphasize the significance of the interaction of behaviour of states. Each nation is involved to some degree in participation in the international environment. Therefore, it is possible to find out that there are certain regular modes of behaviour which could be generalized within the structure of the political organization.

### Characteristics of the systems approach

The systems approach, developed under the general system theory, seeks to analyse the international relations as a system of interactions, which are independent and interrelated. It views the international relations as a pattern of behaviour of the international actors. Therefore, in order to develop a scientific study of politics, it has to be treated as a system of action. The process of exchange in politics is fairly continuous, regular and patterned, and can be studied as a system of behaviour.

The system consists of a set of units in interactions and is possible to conceive relations among nation as constituting a kind of system. That is why the system consists of a known set of variables such as the political machinery, attitude, interests and political activities along with the values as a parameter to study.

The systems approach in international relations is based upon the following main assumptions:

- (i) **International system is not an international political system:** The concept of system is used in the context of international politics; it is taken to mean the international political system. International system is not international political system as it does not allocate authoritative values over them.
- (ii) **International and national actors:** The international actors are basically the national actors who act in the international environment.
- (iii) **Classification of national and supra-national actors:** The international actors can be classified into the following two types:
  - (a) The national actors who act in the international environment
  - (b) The supra-national actors, such as UN, regional organizations and other international agencies

The supra-national actors can be further classified as bloc actors and universal actors.

From these fundamental assumptions, the system theory assumes that international system is constituted by a set of interaction among the actors or entities, such as national interests. There is a continuous process of interactions among the actors and entities, which occur at a regular interval in the international environment. These mutual exchanges occur due to the participation in the international environment, which occur in a certain identifiable pattern and describable patterns, as an interaction among nations. The concept of system can enrich the understanding of the phenomena which will help in theory building of international relations. That is why the system distinguishes the units or actors, structural processes and the context, i.e., the environment as major elements in every system.

### Morton Kaplan's models of international system

Morton Kaplan is considered as one of the most influential thinkers associated with developing system theories of international relations. He presented a number of real and hypothetical models of global political organizations. His six well known models are as follows:

- (i) Balance of power system
- (ii) Loose bipolar system
- (iii) Tight bipolar system
- (iv) Universal actor system
- (v) Hierarchical system
- (vi) Unit Veto system

The first two models are historical realities, while the remaining four are hypothetical models.

### 1. Functional approach

Several approaches have been used for proper study of politics. One of these is the structural functional approach, which was developed by Gabriel Almond. The aim of this approach is to find out which political structures perform what basic function in the political system as a whole. The whole concept revolves around two things, namely

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'structure' and 'function'. In the words of Robert T. Halt, 'Structural functional analysis is a distinguishable approach primarily because of the selective aspects of social reality that it seeks to describe, explain and predict'. It describes social reality largely in terms of structures, processes mechanisms and functions.

## 2. Power approach

Recently, the idea of power has become very important in the realm of political theory. Earlier, politics was defined as the study of state and government. Today, it is defined as the study of power. The significance of power was highlighted by Machiavelli in the Medieval Age and later by Hobbes and Nietzsche. In the modern times, Max Weber, Catlin, Merriam, Lasswell, Kaplan, Treitschke and Morgenthau have brought out the importance of this concept. The 'Power Theory State' was first advocated in Germany in the nineteenth century by historians like Heinrich Von Treitschke and philosophers like Friedrich Nietzsche. Power is the primary objective of foreign policy.

Political science is the study of political institutions, constitutions and policy processes. It aims at an accurate description and explanation of these features of politics. It is an empirical (positive) science in terms that it seeks to collect data and analyses it much as a natural scientist would collect a sample and put it under the microscope. The empirical study of institutions and laws is a vital part of any study of politics. If political science asks 'what are the key building blocks of politics?', political theory may ask 'why are these the key building blocks of politics?' If political science identifies human-rights legislation as a key feature of contemporary politics, political theory might ask 'is this just?' The scholars like Arthur Benntley (*The Process of Government*), George Catlin (*The Science and Method of Politics*), David Easton (*The Political System*), Robert Dahl (*Modern Political Analysis*) and others have treated political theory as a science. However, all science is not political theory, just as all political theory is not a science. Political theory is not an exact science like natural or physical science.

In political theory, unlike natural science, there are no universally recognized principles, no clear cause-effect relationships, no laboratories and no prediction can be made. It can only be termed as a science so far as it admits concepts and norms which are both observable and testable, and in so far as it responds to the requirements of reason and rationalism. In the 1950s onwards, the American political scientists in general and behaviourists in particular sought to create a science of politics and indulged in the process of reductionism. Political theory can be termed as a science so far as it can be applied to a social gathering and the definitive rules of the exact sciences are applicable within the limitations as in any social science. So far, as its methodology and its analysis are concerned it can be called a science. Colin Hay in his work *Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction* rightly points out that political theory admits objectivity in association with subjectivity, facts in relation to values, research together with theory. Political theory as science generates neutral, dispassionate and objective knowledge.

Present-day scientific method is fundamentally a product of empirical and logical approaches to knowledge. The story of its genesis is, therefore, at least until the end of the nineteenth century, identical with the general history of logic and empiricism. The empirical approach has never been entirely absent from the struggle for knowledge. But it was often grossly neglected, especially in the Middle Ages, and always had to fight for recognition against tradition, superstitions, the dogmatic influences of religion and the pseudo-authority of allegedly self-evident principles. Only after a long period of coexistence did the empirical approach begin to crowd out all others from the field for which the name 'science' was claimed.

In the political field, however, this development gained momentum under the influence of Locke and Hume, of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, and later, of the positivist and pragmatist schools.

Scientific objectivity is a standard we are all familiar with (at least in principle). The idea is that we can establish, through the application of scientific methods of data collection and analysis, the verifiable truth. Between the 1920s and 1970s, the scientific paradigm, the belief that all that counted as knowledge had to be scientific, came to be imposed upon the social sciences and humanities. The claims popular around this time were that we had left our religious and metaphysical infancy and developed science. Thus, two thousand years of philosophical and normative thought were dismissed. This quirk of intellectual history went beyond empirical study to make claims about the very nature and possibility of knowledge. These debates, called epistemological debates (from the Greek episteme, meaning knowledge) are key to political theory.

## Positivism

The meaning of the term positivism in matters of law and justice differs from that associated with the same term in science, general philosophy and sociology. Political theory is caught between these two vocabularies. Auguste Comte (1798–1857) introduced the term in a sociological sense. He used it to distinguish the 'scientific' approach in the 'positivistic' era from 'metaphysical' and 'theological' speculations in the two preceding epochs. His ideas about what constituted a scientific approach were in many respects similar to those of present day scientific method, but not identical.

Auguste Comte absolutized progress and science. According to him, progress or progressive evolution was an ultimate law governing historic phenomena, and science a human activity able to solve all social problems, not excluding moral ones.

Positivism implies a group of epistemological perspectives and philosophies of science, based on the belief that the scientific technique is the most appropriate approach to reveal the processes by which events take place, whether physical or human. The theme of positivism has been repeatedly seen in the history of Western thought, be it thinkers of Ancient Greece or modern day thinkers. Yet, it was Auguste Comte who developed the concept in the early 1800s.

The description of the epistemological perspective of positivism first appeared in *The Course in Positive Philosophy*, a series published in the period 1830–1842. Close on the heels of this series followed *A General View of Positivism*, in 1844, published in English in 1865. The first three volumes of this course were mainly concerned with the pre-existing physical sciences, such as mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry and biology. The latter two volumes focused on the arrival of the social science. Comte came up with this classification of the sciences as he paid attention to the circular dependence of theory and observation in science. Thus, he was probably the first philosopher of science in the true modern sense of the term. For Comte, the physical sciences had to come first, only then could humanity focus on tackling the challenge in the form of the far from simple 'Queen Science' of human society itself. The experimental goals of sociological technique were defined in his work, *View of Positivism*.

In his explanation of social evolution, Comte mentions three stages of evolution that the society passes through in its search for truth. The idea revolving around 'law of three stages' is similar to Marx's opinion about human society moving in the direction of communism. This does not come as a surprise because both were deeply influenced by

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Henri de Saint-Simon, the Utopian socialist, who also mentored Comte. Comte as well as Marx meant to cultivate secular-scientific ideologies in the wake of European secularization. The three stages stated by Comte were as follows:

1. Theological stage
2. Metaphysical stage
3. Positive stage

The first stage or the theological phase was founded on completely and absolute faith in all things with reference to God. It involves mankind's acceptance of the principles of the church as a place where people worship, instead of depending on its rational powers to discover and understand 'existence'. It pertained to the constraints imposed by the religious institutions and organizations during that period and the blind and absolute recognition and reception of any 'fact' presented to society to believe. According to Comte, the metaphysical stage of humanity was the time since the enlightenment, full of logical rationalism, to the time post the French Revolution. This second stage believed that the universal rights of humanity are of utmost importance. The core idea remains that humanity enjoys certain rights that have to be given due respect. This stage saw the rise and fall of democracies and dictators who tried to uphold or preserve the inherent rights of humanity.

The final phase or the scientific phase of Comte's universal law trilogy is also referred to as the positive stage. The core idea of this phase is that the significance of individual rights is more than that of the rule of any single individual. According to Comte, the idea of man's ability to govern himself is responsible for making this phase inherently different from the other stages. The phase is marked by the absence of a higher power governing the masses. It is possible for a single person to achieve anything of his own free will based on his own scheme. In the positive phase, the third principle is very significant. According to Comte, these three phases or stages were the universal rule with regard to society and its development. It is not possible to reach either the second or the third phase, without the completing and comprehending the previous stage. It is essential to complete each and every stage in progression.

According to Comte, the recognition of the past and the capability to build on it in the times to come, was crucial in the transition from the theological and metaphysical phases. Comte's new science, sociology, was based on the central theme of 'progress'. Sociology would result in the historical consideration of every science as 'the history of one science, including pure political history, would make no sense unless it was attached to the study of the general progress of all of humanity'. In Comte's own words, 'from science comes prediction; from prediction comes action'. The philosophy of human intellectual development that ended in science. Ironically, with regard to these phases, despite Comte trying to prove that human development cannot avoid passing through these three stages, it appears that the positivist stage is not going to be realized soon. The reason lies in the following two truths:

- (i) It is necessary to have absolute understanding of not just the universe but also the surrounding world in the positivist phase.
- (ii) It is important that the society should not be aware of its presence in the positivist phase. According to Anthony Giddens, since humanity keeps on using science to find, explore and research new things, humanity is unable to progress beyond the second metaphysical stage. This particular view makes Comte's positivism appear quite circular.

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As a system or model for the philosophy of history, positivism was made fit or suitable by historians like Hippolyte Taine. Several writing by Comte were translated into English by the Whig writer, Harriet Martineau, who was considered the first female sociologist by many. How much Comte gained or adopted from his mentor, Saint-Simon's work is still debatable. Brazilian thinkers followed Comte's ideas pertaining to the training of the scientific elite so as to prosper in the process of industrialization. Comte's idea of positivism inspired Brazil's national motto, *Ordem e Progresso* (Order and Progress), which also affected Poland.

Later on in life, Comte cultivated a 'religion of humanity' for positivist societies so as to meet the unified function, which in the past was fulfilled by traditional worship. His reform, known as the 'positivist calendar' was proposed in 1849. Despite rejection of the major part of his system coming from his English followers, such as George Eliot and Harriet Martineau, his concept of 'religion of humanity' was welcomed and his injunction to 'vivre pour autrui' ('live for others', from which comes the word 'altruism'.) was liked.

Herbet Spencer's early concepts pertaining to sociology were a response to Comte's ideas. Following his works on the developments in evolutionary biology, Spencer tried to redefine the discipline in what is today known as socially Darwinistic terms. Actually, Spencer was a proponent of Lamarckism and not Darwinism.

Comte is said to be the father of positivism. His primary contribution is in the form of the positivisation of the social sciences. He believes that positivism emphasizes the following:

- (i) Precision
- (ii) Constructive power
- (iii) Relativism

Comte expressed his views on the term 'relativity' several times. He believed that all concepts, which were considered as absolute as per the theological and metaphysical theories, were rendered 'relative' by the positivistic approach.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, French sociologists led by Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), adopted the scientific method more strictly than Comte and his followers. However, they did not conduct inquiries or investigate the philosophical and methodological issue of whether moral judgements could be established using scientific means. They were mainly interested in investigating sociological. Their secondary interest lay in explaining these facts by getting down to their scientifically determinable sociological and psychological causes. As a result of these inquiries, there was a relativistic focus on local and temporal differences in ethical approaches. Positivism emphasized on the society, in general, hoping to get rid of the existing problems and lay the foundation for a better future. The analytical tools it used to achieve this were:

- (i) Empiricism
- (ii) Unity of science
- (iii) Control

Positivism proclaimed that the only dependable knowledge is the one that has experience, positive verification and sense as its bases. Emile Durkheim later declared through reformulation that sociological positivism was the foundation to social research. At the beginning of the twentieth century, German sociologists, such as Max Weber and Georg Simmel, denounced the principal, and went on to found the anti-positivist movement

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in sociology. Much later, anti-positivists and critical theorists came to link positivism with 'scientism'.

In the 1950s, the primary features of positivism were defined ('received view') as follows:

1. Emphasis on science as a product, a linguistic or numerical set of statements
2. Demonstration of the logical structure and coherence of statements (axiomatization)
3. Belief in the cumulativeness of science
4. Belief in the trans-cultural quality of science
5. Belief in the fact that science is based on specific results, which are not linked to the personality and social position of the investigator
6. Belief that science comprises commensurable theories or research traditions
7. Belief that science often integrates new ideas that are disjointed from those of the past
8. Belief that science covers the concept of the unity of science, that there is just one science pertaining to one real world, which underlies the various scientific disciplines

Elsewhere, you come across a definition of 'positivism', which says that it is 'the view that all true knowledge is scientific,' and that all things are ultimately measurable. Positivism is closely related to reductionism, in that both involve the view that 'entities of one kind... are reducible to entities of another,' such as societies to configurations of individuals, or mental events to neural phenomena. It also involves the contention that 'processes are reducible to physiological, physical or chemical events', and even that 'social processes are reducible to relationships between and actions of individuals', or that 'biological organisms are reducible to physical systems'.

The supporters of positivism divide the analytical statements about the physical or social world into three categories:

- (a) Such statements can be useful tautologies, meaning repeating the same things through different words and purely definitional statements that give specific meaning to a particular concept or phenomena
- (b) Statements are to be empirically tested by observation to access their truth or falsity
- (c) Statements that did not fall into the afforest categories and lacked analytic content had to be dropped

In a nutshell, the positivist argues that meaningful analysis is possible only through useful tautologies and empirical statements. This rules out metaphysics, theology, aesthetics and ethics because they merely introduced obscurity into the process of enquiry. The principal aim of positivism is to be 'value free' or 'ethically neutral'. In this regard, it patterns itself on the natural sciences in deciding about the right and wrong of issues. Positivism gives emphasis on empiricism which believed that observation and experience as sources of knowledge.

Positivism relies on scientific method as the only source of true knowledge. It rejects superstition, religion and metaphysics as pre-scientific forms of thought. It holds that all knowledge is ultimately based on sense-experience. Hence, empirical method must be adopted for any genuine inquiry in the field of social sciences as well as physical sciences.

Positivism is not really favoured much in contemporary social science. Those who practice positivism in the modern age, recognize and accept observer bias and

structural constraints. Modern positivists try to avoid metaphysical concerns and go for methodological debates instead, which deal with the following:

- Clarity
- Replicability
- Reliability
- Validity

This positivism is said to be equivalent to 'quantitative research'. Therefore, it does not carry any clear theoretical or philosophical promises.

Historically speaking, positivism been criticized for its universalism. The fact that it believed that all processes can be reduced to physiological, physical or chemical events, has received criticism. It contended that social processes can be reduced to relationships between individuals and actions of individuals. It has been criticized for believing biological organisms can be reduced to physical systems.

Critics, including Max Horkheimer denounced the classic formulation of positivism on the basis of the following two reasons:

- (i) It falsely represented human social action: Their argument was that positivism systematically did not show any appreciation for the level to which the social facts it yielded were nonexistent in the objective world but were themselves a result of socially and historically mediated human consciousness. The observer's contribution was overlooked by Positivism in the constitution of social reality. Therefore, it did not succeed in considering the historical and social conditions that impacted the representation of social ideas. According to Positivism, social reality existed objectively and independently and that these conditions were produced by labour,
- (ii) Representation of social reality resulting from positivism was innately and artificially conservative. This was failed to challenge the situation. This was also probably why positivism was popular some political circles.

Horkheimer, on the other hand, believed that critical theory was in possession of a reflexive element, which lacked the positivistic traditional theory.

Very few scholars today support Horkheimer's views, which received criticism. Ever since his works, many critiques of positivism, especially from philosophy of science, have resulted in the development of post-positivism. This philosophy relaxes the epistemological commitments of logical positivism, without asserting the separation of the knower and the known. Instead of outrightly denouncing the scientific project, post-positivists aim to change and rectify it. However, the exact level of their attraction for science differs vastly. For instance, some post-positivists believe the critique that observation never fails to be laden with value. However, they also argue that the best values to follow for sociological observation are the values of science: skepticism, rigour and modesty. Just like certain critical theorists feel they are morally committed to free, classless and democratic values, these post-positivists consider their methods as driven by a moral commitment to these scientific values. Such scholars could consider themselves to be either positivists or anti-positivists.

Positivism has been criticized by religious factions and philosophers who were of the opinion that truth lies in sense experience but this does not end there. Positivism is unable to prove that there are any abstract ideas, laws, and principles beyond specific observable facts, relationships and essential doctrines or that it is not possible for us to be aware of them. It is unable to prove that material and corporeal things comprise the

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whole order of existing beings and that our knowledge is limited to them. Positivism advocates that all abstract or general concepts and ideas are simply collective representations of the experimental order—for instance, the idea of 'man' itself is a type of unified vision of all the men who are noticed or encountered in our experience. This is in contradiction to a Platonic or Christian ideal, wherein it is possible to abstract an idea from any solid determination, and apply the same in an identical manner to an infinite number of objects belonging to the same class. From the perspective of the idea, there is more precision in the latter because collective images are generally chaotic, and become even more confused more with an increase in the collection. By definition, there is always clarity in an idea.

The debate between the positivists and anti-positivists continues even to this day, although in an indefinable fashion. Authors who write in various epistemological viewpoints, do not express their disapproval or conflicts in identical terms. They hardly ever interact with each other directly. The issues are further complicated, with scholars rarely stating state their epistemological promises. Other sources have to be used to find out what their epistemological positions are, for example, their selection of methodology or theory. But, there is no absolutely appropriate correspondence between these categories. Many scholars who critique as positivists are actually followers of post-positivism. This conflict or debate has been presented by a scholar in terms of the social construction of the 'other'. Each side defines the 'other' on the basis of what it is *not* instead of what it is, and then goes on to attribute greater uniformity to their opponents than what exists in reality. Thus, it is more appropriate to comprehend this as two separate arguments instead of as a debate. The two arguments would be:

- (i) The anti-positivist enunciation of a social meta-theory covering a philosophical critique of scientism
- (ii) Positivist development of a scientific research methodology for sociology with accompanying critiques of the reliability and validity of work, which they perceive as disturbing such standards.

Anti-positivism, or non-positivist sociology, also known as interpretive sociology is the perspective of social science that academics should denounce empiricism as well as the scientific method while conducting social theory and research. Anti-positivism pertains to different historical conflicts in the philosophy and sociology of science. In the modern age, on the other hand, non-positivism is equivalent to qualitative research methods, whereas positivist research is more quantitative. Positivists rely on research methods like experiments and statistical surveys, whereas anti-positivists prefer research methods that depend on unstructured interviews or participant observation. Presently, positivist and non-positivist techniques are often mixed.

In early 1800s, many intellectuals, especially the Hegelians, started questioning the viewpoint of experiential social analysis. Karl Marx passed away even before social science was formally established but he was strongly against Comtean sociological positivism, even though he himself tried to establish a historical materialist 'science of society'. The developed and augmented positivism from Durkheim founded the modern academic sociology and social research, which held on to several mechanical aspects of its predecessor. In the meantime, Edmund Husserl, refuted positivism using phenomenology. At the turn of the twentieth century, German sociologists introduced sociological anti-positivism or *verstehende* in a formal way. Their proposal was that research should focus on human cultural norms, values, symbols and social processes

observed from a subjective angle. Max Weber's argument was that sociology was in a slack manner, a 'science' because it possesses the ability to methodologically identify the causal relationships of human 'social action', especially among ideal types, or hypothetical simplifications of complex social phenomena. But the non-positivists, look for relationships that are neither historical nor can be generalized as those sought after by natural scientists.

Thinker, Sir Karl Popper, was amongst the first to assess positivism. He broached falsification as a critique to the logic behind the positivist idea of verifiability. According to Falsificationism, it is not possible to authenticate the truthfulness of a belief but is definitely possible to discard false beliefs in case they are phrased in a manner agreeable to falsification. Thomas Kuhn's concept of paradigm shifts provides a more powerful evaluation of positivism. His argument is that it is not merely individual theories but whole worldviews that should occasionally shift as a reaction to evidence. Post-positivism is an alteration of positivism wherein the critiques against logical positivism are recognized. It does not discard the scientific method. Instead, it reforms to fulfil these critiques. It holds on to the basic assumptions of positivism, that is, ontological realism, the possibility and desirability of objective truth, and the use of experimental methodology. Post-positivism of this kind is not uncommon in the social sciences, sociology in particular, for reasons both practical and conceptual.

### Logical Positivism or Neo-positivism

Logical positivism is a school of philosophy, which is a mix of the following:

- Empiricism
- The idea that observational evidence cannot be separated from knowledge of the world with a version of rationalism
- The idea that our knowledge is inclusive of a component that is not developed from observation.

Logical positivism or logical empiricism, also known as logical neo-positivism was a philosophical movement that started in Austria and Germany in the 1920s. and was mainly related to the logical analysis of scientific knowledge, which confirmed that statements regarding metaphysics, religion and ethics are bereft of cognitive meaning, and are, therefore, nothing but an expression of feelings or desires. Only statements pertaining to mathematics, logic and natural sciences carry a definite meaning. Its followers included Rudolf Carnap (1891–1970), who is considered the leading figure of logical positivism, Herbert Feigl (1902–88), Philipp Frank (1884–1966), Kurt Grelling (1886–1942), Hans Hahn (1879–1934), Carl Gustav Hempel (1905–97), Victor Kraft (1880–1975), Otto Neurath (1882–1945), Hans Reichenbach (1891–1953), Moritz Schlick (1882–1936) and Friedrich Waismann (1896–1959).

The origin of logical positivism was greatly impacted by Einstein's theory of relativity. Logical positivists were keen to clarify the philosophical importance of the theory of relativity. Another influence over logical positivism came from the development of formal logic. Logical positivism was extensively in touch with Polish logicians including Jan Lukasiewicz, Kazimierz Ajdukiewicz and Alfred Tarski, who developed many branches of contemporary logic, such as:

- The algebra of logic
- Many-valued propositional calculus
- The semantics for logic

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In the 1930s, logical positivism was a philosophical movement, which was prominent in America and Europe. It actively advertised its new philosophical ideas. Logical positivists were known for their progressive, democratic and at times, even socialist political attitudes. The followers of Nazism were hostile towards logical positivists.

Logical positivism developed from the discussions of the 'First Vienna Circle', a group which gathered at the Café Central prior to World War I. The notable proponents of logical positivism moved to England and America where they strongly influenced the philosophy of the Americans. Until the 1950s, logical positivism continued to lead amongst the schools of the philosophy of science. After emigrating to the US, Carnap came up with a proposal to replace the earlier principles in his *Logical Syntax of Language*. This modification in direction and the slightly varying views of Reichenbach and others resulted in a consensus that 'logical empiricism' would be the English name for the shared principles, in exile in America, since the late 1930s.

In the early twentieth century, logical positivism—which descended from Comte's basic thesis, yet, remained an independent movement promoting analytic tradition—emerged in Vienna and progressed to be one amongst many dominant schools of Anglo-American philosophy. Logical positivists who were also called neo-positivists, denounce metaphysical speculation and try to simplify and condense statements and propositions to pure logic. Critiques of this approach by philosophers like Karl Popper and Thomas Kuhn, have had strong influence on post positivism development. In psychology, the positivist movement remained a strong influence on the development of behaviouralism and operationalism. In economics, researchers tried to outdo the methodological assumptions of classical positivism albeit in a de-facto manner. Most of the economists refrain from plainly being concerned with matters of epistemology. In jurisprudence, 'legal positivism' mainly implies the condemnation of natural law. Therefore, its common meaning with philosophical positivism is somewhat lessened. Of late, the new generations have mainly focussed on the authority of human political structures in contrast to a 'scientific' view of law.

Logical positivism, believes that all meaningful statements can be categorized into two categories comprising:

- (i) True or false statements in virtue of their logical forms and in virtue of their meaning, that is, analytic a priori.
- (ii) Comprising statements whose truth or falsity can be determined only by means of the experience, that is, synthetic a posteriori

Logical positivism, in its earliest form, subscribed to the belief that all theoretical terms could be defined with the help of observational terms. Further researches, by Carnap and Hempel, clearly showed that it is not possible to define theoretical terms by observational terms. Therefore, theoretical terms cannot be dispensed with in a scientific theory. The practical aspects of scientific research were not taken into account by logical positivism, which had no interest in the actual process of discovery but was rather concerned with rationally reconstructing scientific knowledge, that is, the study of the logical (formal) links between statements, hypotheses and proof based on experiments.

The advocates of logical positivism reject traditional metaphysics' cognitive status. They point out that scientific propositions are of two kinds, namely analytic and synthetic. They argue that an analytical statement is logical or mathematical in nature whereas it is synthetic when 'propositions add something to the meaning of a given term'. Therefore,

logical positivists rejected the traditional political theory as meaningless and unverifiable. They also dwell upon a more radical form of empiricism, namely phenomenism. Phenomenism argues that the basis of science is the restricting experience of sensations. Logical positivists give wider emphasis on logical analysis and their aim is to unify the sciences. They point out that experience supplies the subject of all science and helps in formulating laws and theories.

The radical wing of the neo-positivists or logical positivists recognizes only sense experiences in the process of scientific verification. Beginning with the second half of the 1930s, some neo-positivists have abandoned one or another of their original positions. Thus, Moritz Schlick in one of his last papers 'Meaning and Verification' modified the requirement of verifiability for meaningful sentences by interpreting it as requiring only a 'logical' not an empirical possibility of verification. The empirical circumstances, he wrote, are all-important when you want to know if a proposition is true, but they can have no influence on the meaning of the proposition. The only thing necessary for a process of verification to be 'logically' possible, Schlick argued, is that it 'can be described'. Logical possibility or impossibility of verification, therefore, is 'always self-imposed'.

Neo-positivism or logical positivism got a thrust in the wake of efforts made by Ernst Mach (1838–1936) to establish the unity of all sciences through the radical elimination of metaphysics in every scientific work and through common recognition that all scientific authority must be ultimately based on perception.

Logical positivism holds that reliable and valid knowledge in any field of inquiry that can be obtained only by empirical method (i.e., observation based on sense-experience). The questions concerning values are beyond the scope of scientific knowledge; hence, it is not possible to obtain reliable knowledge about them. Between the 1920s and the 1970s, the belief that scientific knowledge was the only true form of knowledge gained huge support. Empiricism became the main stay of logical positivism through the work of the Vienna circle in the 1920s and 1930s as earlier stated. Positivism became further refined in the behaviouralist movements of the 1950s. These hyper-empirical schools of thought argued that scientific verifiability was the sole criterion of knowledge. Finally, there were normative utterances which were dismissed as 'ejaculations' or as 'nonsense'. They were treated derisively as they could not be subjected to empirical verification or falsification.

The logical positivism has impacted political science in a significant way. The first and foremost impact is by its principle of verification. It views politics as metaphysical beyond science, essentially non-rational and arbitrary. They say it is concerned with what would happen rather than what should happen. This distinguished them from the positivist who attempted to make politics scientific. Another impact of logical positivism is that adopting the various aspects of science. Logical positivists argue that to be scientific means adopting those aspects ethics are devoid of science that logical positivism identified as science.

## ACTIVITY

Research how Frankfurt school contributed towards the revival of political theory.

## Check Your Progress

3. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.

(a) In the \_\_\_\_\_, the discipline of political science was transformed by the behavioural revolution led by the advocates of a more social scientific empirical approach.

(b) Behaviouralism rose to be prominent during mid \_\_\_\_\_ as a dominant approach in the methodology of political science.

4. State whether the following are true or false.

(a) Prior to the 'behaviouralist revolution', political science being a science at all was disputed.

(b) The structural functional approach was developed by Davis Easton.

## NOTES

## Check Your Progress

5. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words.

(a) \_\_\_\_\_ is regarded as the father of positivism.

(b) Edmund Husserl negated positivism through the rubric of \_\_\_\_\_.

6. State whether the following are true or false.

(a) Max Weber died before the establishment of formal social science but nonetheless fiercely rejected Comtean sociological positivism.

(b) The advocates of logical positivism accept traditional metaphysics' cognitive status.

## NOTES

## DID YOU KNOW

- Auguste Comte introduced the term positivism into the social sciences. Positivism refers to a set of epistemological perspectives and philosophies of science, which believes that the scientific method is the best approach to uncover the processes by which both physical and human events take place.
- Anti-positivism (also known as non-positivist or interpretive sociology) is the view in social science that academics must necessarily reject empiricism and the scientific method in the conduct of social theory and research.
- Neo-positivism or logical positivism got a thrust in the wake of efforts made by Ernst Mach to establish the unity of all sciences through the radical elimination of metaphysics in every scientific work and through common recognition that all scientific authority must be ultimately based on perception.

## 2.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Political theory was considered as a study of the history of ideas during the third decade of the twentieth century, particularly with the purpose to define the totalitarian communism and defend the liberal democracy.
- Behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism are the two contemporary approaches to the study of politics. In the 1950s, the discipline of political science was transformed by the behavioural revolution led by the advocates of a more social scientific empirical approach.
- In the early 1940s, behaviourism itself was referred to as a behavioural science and later referred to as behaviourism. David Easton was the first to differentiate between behaviouralism and behaviourism in the 1950s.
- Post-behaviouralism seeks to introduce a concern for values in the behavioural approach itself. It challenged that academic research had to be value neutral and argued that values should not be neglected.
- The system theory approach of international relations was introduced in the late 1950s. The approach is engaged in developing theories of the international system. It was introduced with the basic assumptions that international relations follow an order or a system.
- The structural functional approach, developed by Gabriel Almond, aims to find out which political structures perform what basic function in the political system as a whole.
- Auguste Comte introduced the term positivism into the social sciences. Positivism refers to a set of epistemological perspectives and philosophies of science, which believes that the scientific method is the best approach to uncover the processes by which both physical and human events take place.
- Anti-positivism (also known as non-positivist or interpretive sociology) is the view in social science that academics must necessarily reject empiricism and the scientific method in the conduct of social theory and research.

- Neo-positivism or logical positivism got a thrust in the wake of efforts made by Ernst Mach to establish the unity of all sciences through the radical elimination of metaphysics in every scientific work and through common recognition that all scientific authority must be ultimately based on perception.
- Currently, it is believed that political science, like other social and natural sciences, enables us to strengthen our means but we will have to resort to political philosophy to determine our ends.

## 2.5 KEY TERMS

- **Formalism:** It is a school of literary criticism and literary theory having mainly to do with structural purposes of a particular text.
- **Foreign policy:** The diplomatic policy of a nation in its interactions with other nations is called as foreign policy.
- **Physical science:** It is an encompassing term for the branches of natural science and science that study non-living systems, in contrast to the life sciences.
- **Scientism:** It is a belief in the universal applicability of the systematic methods and approach of science, especially the view that empirical science constitutes the most authoritative worldview or most valuable part of human learning to the exclusion of other viewpoints.
- **Postmodernism:** A philosophical movement evolved in reaction to modernism, which is the tendency in contemporary culture to accept only objective truth and to be inherently suspicious towards a global cultural narrative or meta-narrative.

## 2.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. (a) Positivism (b) Leo Strauss
2. (a) True (b) True
3. (a) David Easton (b) 1950s
4. (a) True (b) False
5. (a) Auguste Comte (b) Phenomenology
6. (a) False (b) False

## 2.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

## Short-Answer Questions

1. How does the development of the contemporary approaches signify a departure from traditional approaches?
2. What is behaviouralism?
3. What do you understand by political theory?
4. There are two schools of thought about the development of political theory in the contemporary period—what are they?

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## Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the role of behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism in the study of politics.
2. What are the characteristics of system approach in terms of international relations?
3. Explain the impact of the structural functional approach for the study of politics.
4. Analyse the contributions of great political thinkers towards the revival of political theory.

## NOTES

## 2.8 FURTHER READING

- Pruthi, R. K.; *The Political Theory*, Sarup & Sons, India, 2005.
- Freeden, M.; *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach*, Clarendon Press, Gloucestershire, 1996.
- Lively, J. *Modern Political Theory from Hobbes to Marx: Key Debates*, Routledge, UK, 1989.
- Arora, N. D. and Awasthy S. S.; *Political Theory and Political Thought*, Har-Anand Publications, India, 2007.

## UNIT 3 SYSTEMS THEORY AND APPROACH

## NOTES

## Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Unit Objectives
- 3.2 David Easton's Model
- 3.3 Gabriel A. Almond's Structural Functional Model
- 3.4 Karl W Deutsch's Communication Model
- 3.5 Summary
- 3.6 Key Terms
- 3.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.8 Questions and Exercises
- 3.9 Further Reading

## 3.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will study the systems theory and approach. Contemporary concepts derived from the systems theory have been popularized in varying areas, such as ecological systems, organizational theory and management, human resource development and education, based on the promotional efforts of Béla H. Bánáthy, Howard T. Odum, Eugene Odum, Fritjof Capra, Peter Senge, Richard A. Swanson, Debora Hammond and Alfonso Montuori.

This trans-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary sphere with multiple perspectives, brings together doctrines and ideas related to ontology, philosophy of science, physics, computer science, biology, engineering, geography, sociology, political science, psychotherapy, economics and many other subjects.

## 3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the genesis of the systems theory – the David Easton's Model
- Describe structural functional analysis
- Explain Karl W Deutsch's communication model

## 3.2 DAVID EASTON'S MODEL

The systems theory or approach refers to the trans-disciplinary study of systems, in general, with the objective of explaining beliefs and standards that are applicable to all system types in all research fields. The term does not possess a properly established, accurate meaning. However, the systems approach can be considered a specialization of systems thinking and a generalization of systems science'. The term is born from Bertalanffy's General System Theory (GST) and is employed later, in other fields, like the action theory of Talcott Parsons and the system theory of Niklas Luhmann. In this

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regard, the term 'systems' refers in particular to self-regulating systems capable of correcting themselves based on feedback. In nature too, there are several examples of self-regulating systems, such as those found in the physiological systems of our body, local and global ecosystems, and even in climate.

The systems theory, therefore, facilitates interaction among disciplines not merely within autonomous areas of study but also within the field of systems science itself. In this regard, as misinterpretations were more likely, von Bertalanffy was of the opinion that a general theory of systems could act as an agent of regulation in science protecting against artificial comparisons that are hardly of an use in science. In fact, practically speaking, their results can be more harmful. Others favour the direct systems concepts cultivated by the original propagators of the theory. For instance, Ilya Prigogine, from the Center for Complex Quantum Systems at University of Texas, Austin, who analysed emergent properties, suggested that they offer analogues for living systems. Francisco Varela and Humberto Maturana's theories of autopoiesis are built up on this very field. Notable names in modern systems science include Russell Ackoff, Béla H. Bánáthy, Anthony Stafford Beer, Peter Checkland, Robert L. Flood, Fritjof Capra, Michael C. Jackson, Edgar Morin and Werner Ulrich among others.

With the modern bases for a general theory of systems post-World Wars, Ervin Laszlo, mentions in the preface to *Perspectives on General System Theory*, authored by Bertalanffy that by translating the 'general system theory' from German to English, much harm has been done to the theory. He goes on to explain that originally a general system theory was *Allgemeine System theorie* (or *Lehre*), drawing attention to the fact that 'Theorie' (or *Lehre*) similar to 'Wissenschaft' (or Scholarship), has quite a broad meaning in German than the English terms 'theory' and 'science', which have the closes meanings. These ideas referred to a systematic body of knowledge and an organized group of concepts, either experiential, axiomatic or philosophical. '*Lehre*', therefore, is linked with theory and science in the etymology of general systems but its translation from German has not been successful. The term that gets closest to it is 'teaching' but that is not quite accurate and appears rather inflexible too. Many of the root meanings for 'general systems theory' may have vanished in the process of translation, 'systems theory' came to be commonly used by early investigators to explain the manner in which relationships in an organization were interdependent. They explained this by coming up with a definition of a novel thought about science and scientific paradigms.

From this reference structure, a system comprises interrelated sets of activities that indulge in regular interactions. For example, while trying to note the impact on organizational psychology as it developed and grew from being an industrial psychology revolving around individuals to an organizational psychology revolving around systems and development. It was realized that organizations are very complex social systems, which reduce the parts from the whole, and decrease the general and overall effectiveness of organizations. This is dissimilar to conventional approaches which are centred around individuals, structures, departments and units, all considered partly separate from the whole. The fact that these parts are interdependent and that the groups of individuals, structures, units and processes are interdependent are overlooked or not recognized even though they facilitate the smooth functioning of the organization.

According to Laszlo, the new systems perspective of organized complexity goes beyond the Newton's perspective of organized simplicity' which reduces the parts from the whole, or comprehends the whole or 'totality' without any link to the parts. The link

between organizations and their surroundings received recognition or acceptance as the most significant source of complexity and interdependence. Usually, the whole possesses properties that are unrecognizable or cannot be distinguished by analyzing, in isolation, the elements that constitute the whole. Béla H. Bánáthy as well as the promoters of the systems society, present the argument that 'the benefit of humankind' is the objective of science. This purpose has led to important and significant contributions to the field of systems theory. Bánáthy's definition reinforces this viewpoint.

The systems perspective is a world-view formed on the basis of system inquiry. The core of the systems inquiry is the idea of system. Generally speaking, the word 'system' implies a configuration of parts interlinked by a network of relationships. According to the Primer group, system can be defined as a group of relationships among group members who pose as a unified whole. Von Bertalanffy referred to 'system' as 'elements in standing relationship'.

Related or comparable concepts exist in the learning theories that were cultivated from similar basic concepts, focusing on the comprehension or interpretation of results that come from the knowledge of concepts, in part as well as a whole. Actually, Bertalanffy's organismic psychology was a corresponded to the learning theory of Jean Piaget. Interdisciplinary views are crucial in finding a new path away from the approaches of the industrial age, where history and math were separate and the arts and sciences were specialized and separate; where teaching was considered to be behaviorist conditioning. The modern work that was most impactful was of Peter Senge who assessed in detail the educational systems based on traditional assumptions about learning, including the issues related to fragmented knowledge and lack of holistic learning from the 'machine-age thinking' that became a 'model of school separated from daily life'. In this manner, the supporters of the systems theory tried to come up with options and an evolved ideation from orthodox theories with individuals, such as Max Weber, Émile Durkheim in sociology and Frederick Winslow Taylor in scientific management were strongly rooted in classical/traditional assumptions. The theorists turned to holistic techniques by developing systems concepts that whose integration was possible with various fields.

The way in which reductionism contradicts conventional or traditional theory, wherein a single part is the subject, is merely an example of altering assumptions. With the systems theory, the focus shifts from the parts to the manner in which the parts are organized. In other words, it recognizes the the manner in which the parts interact and their characteristic of not being constant or static. It accepts the dynamism of the interactions / processes. Conventional systems, which were 'closed', were challenged when the perspective of open systems came to be developed. There was a marked shift in focus from knowledge which was characteristically absolute and comprised universal authoritative principles to knowledge, which was relative, general, conceptual and perceptual.

Yet, they were traditional in that they attempted to offer means by which human life could be organized. Simply put, the ideas that came before were pondered and thought over instead of being discarded altogether. There was thorough assessment and evaluation of mechanistic thought—the industrial age mechanistic metaphor of the mind derived from the way in which Newtonian mechanics were interpreted, by philosophers and psychologists. These interpretations form the bases of modern organization theory and management by the end of the nineteenth century. Classical or traditional science had not vanished. In fact, the main assumptions were questioned, impacting the organized systems that existed in the social and technical sciences.

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Systems thinking started in ancient times as is clear from the first systems of written communication with Sumerian cuneiform or the Mayan numerals or the engineering marvels in the form of the Egyptian pyramids.

C. West Churchman, who distinguished between Western rationalist traditions of philosophy, was in favour of the I Ching as a systems approach, which made him appear to share a philosophy similar to that of the philosophy before Socrates and Heraclitus. According to Von Bertalanffy, the roots of the systems concepts were embedded in the philosophy of G.W. von Leibniz and Nicholas of Cusa's *coincidentia oppositorum*.

Clearly, modern systems are a lot more complicated but they have their roots firmly in history. A significant step to introduce the *systems approach*, into the hard sciences, that is the rational sciences of the 19th century, was the transformation of energy by notable figures, such as James Joule and Sadi Carnot. Also, this century's thermodynamics with Rudolf Clausius, Josiah Gibbs and others built, as a formal scientific object, the *system* reference model.

The systems theory is a field of study, which was particularly developed after the World Wars, on the basis of the works of Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Anatol Rapoport, Kenneth E. Boulding, William Ross Ashby, Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, C. West Churchman and others in the 1950s. Their efforts received impetus from the Society for General Systems Research. Bertalanffy recognized scientific advancement, which challenged the classical assumptions made in the organizational sciences, in the interwar period itself. His efforts to come up with a theory of systems began that early, with the publication of his work, 'An Outline for General Systems Theory' in the *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, Vol 1, No. 2, 1950. While the assumptions in Western science, from Plato and Aristotle of Greece to Newton's *Principia* have been a strong historical influence in all fields, that is, the hard and social sciences, the traditional theorists attempted to find out the implications of the advancements made in the 20th century, in terms of systems. Several subjects were studied in the 1940s and 1950s, including the following:

- Complexity
- Self-organization
- Connectionism
- Adaptive systems

In areas such as cybernetics, researchers like Norbert Wiener, William Ross Ashby, John von Neumann and Heinz von Foerster studied complex systems through mathematics. The discovery of cellular automata and self-producing systems was made by John von Neumann, using merely pencil and paper. The basics of the chaos theory were constructed by Aleksandr Lyapunov and Jules Henri Poincaré without any assistance from computers. Also, the radiation ecologist, Howard T. Odum, accepted the need for a language capable of depicting energetics, thermodynamics and kinetics, in order to study general systems, at any system scale. Odum cultivated a general systems, or universal language, which had its basis in the circuit language of electronics to meet this requirement. It was called the Energy Systems Language. Between 1929 and 1951, Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago had tried to support not just innovation but also interdisciplinary research in the social sciences, with the help of Ford Foundation, which set up the interdisciplinary division of the Social Sciences in 1931.

Many scholars were actively involved in concepts before (for example, *Tectology* by Alexander Bogdanov, in 1912–1917). However, in 1937, von Bertalanffy came up

with the general theory of systems at a conference at the University of Chicago. This systems view was founded on several fundamental concepts:

- (i) It is possible to view all phenomena as a network of relationships among elements, or a system.
- (ii) Any system, irrespective of being electrical, biological, or social, will have a common pattern, behavior as well as properties. These can all be comprehended and used to better understand the behaviour of complex phenomena and get nearer to a unity of science. System philosophy, methodology and application complement this science.

By 1956, the 'Society for General Systems Research' was set up. In 1988, it was renamed the 'International Society for Systems Science'. The Cold War impacted the research project for systems theory in manners that were disappointing to most of the original theorists. Many started believing that theories defined in association with the systems theory had moved away from the initial General Systems Theory (GST) perspective. The economist, Kenneth Boulding, who was an early researcher in the systems theory, was concerned about the way systems concepts were manipulated. From the impact of the Cold War, he came to the conclusion that power abuse definitely was consequential and that systems theory could offer solutions to such issues. Following the conclusion of the Cold War, interest in the systems theory was renewed and efforts were made to make a stronger ethical perspective.

Several of the early systems theorists tried to find a general systems theory capable of explaining all systems in all fields of science. The term probably originated in Bertalanffy's book, *General System theory: Foundations, Development, Applications* (1968). Von Bertalanffy's 'allgemeine Systemlehre' (general systems teachings) was first developed through lectures which began in 1937 and later through published works in 1946. Von Bertalanffy aimed to unite organismic science, which he had studied as a biologist, under a single heading. He wished to use the term 'system' to refer to all the principles common to systems, in general. In his book he states that there are models, laws and principles applicable to generalized systems or subsystems, whatever be their type, or the elements that comprise them or the relationships that exist among them. Therefore, it is appropriate to demand a theory of universal principles applicable to all systems in general instead of a theory of systems of a specialized type.

'Cybernetics' is a term that originates from a Greek word meaning 'steersman'. This Greek word is also the parent of the English word 'govern'. Cybernetics refers to the study of feedback and derived concepts, like communication and control in living organisms, machines and organizations. The emphasis is on how information is processed (digitally, mechanically or biologically); how things react to information and alterations or how things can be altered to process information and react to it in a better way. 'Systems theory' as well as 'cybernetics' are terms that are considered synonymous. There are authors who use the term *cybernetic systems* to refer to a subclass of general systems, comprising which include feedback loops.

Gordon Pask, however, pointed out differences of eternal interacting actor loops (loops producing limited products) making general systems a proper subset of cybernetics. As per Jackson, Von Bertalanffy advocated a very young form of general system theory (GST) in the 1920s and 1930s, which was probably just born. However, in the early 1950s this theory became quite popular in scientific circles. Talk of cybernetics spread in the late 1800s leading to various researched and influential publications, such as *Cybernetics* by Wiener, in 1948 and *General Systems Theory* by Von Bertalanffy in

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1968. Cybernetics had its roots in engineering fields while GST was born from biology. Von Bertalanffy particularly points out the difference between the areas while mentioning the effect of cybernetics. He felt it was wrong to identify the 'systems theory' with cybernetics and control theory. Cybernetics is the theory of control mechanisms in technology and nature, which has its basis in the concepts of information and feedback.

However, as part of a general theory of systems, this approach is widely applicable but cannot be identified with a generalized "systems theory". He feels that a warning is essential to check unbridled expansion into the fields where its concepts are irrelevant. Jackson (2000) also felt that von Bertalanffy received information from Alexander Bogdanov *Tectology*, a three volume series published in Russia in the period 1912 to 1917. The German translation of this work was published in 1928. He clearly states to Gorelik (1975) that the 'conceptual part' of the general system theory (GST) had at first been established by Bogdanov. Mattessich (1978) and Capra (1996) also hold similar positions.

Much to the surprise of Capra (1996), Ludwig von Bertalanffy failed to mention Bogdanov in his titles. The goal of explaining complex systems comprising innumerable mutually interacting and interrelated components is common to the following:

- Cybernetics
- Catastrophe theory
- Chaos theory
- Complexity theory

Cellular automata (CA), neural networks (NN), artificial intelligence (AI), and artificial life (ALife) are interrelated fields. However, they do not attempt to explain general (universal) complex (singular) systems. The best method of comparing various 'C'-Theories related to complex systems is historical, as it focusses on various tools and techniques, including pure mathematics and even pure computer science in the modern age. Since the start of the chaos theory when Edward Lorenz serendipitously chanced upon an unusual attractor with his computer, computers have come to be a source of information that cannot be dispensed with. Today, it is impossible to even think of studying complex systems in the absence of computers.

American writers, David Easton, G. A. Almond and Morton A. Kaplan did not favour the traditional way of making compartments in disciplines, such as economics, politics, psychology, sociology or other social sciences. They reacted by stating that this compartmentalization only caused a reduction of the cross-flows between various related fields of study. Therefore, the idea of systems analysis germinates from the views of these writers.

The new crop of social scientists was inspired by the contributions of natural scientists, such as Ludwig Von Bertalanffy, who led the movement aimed at unifying all natural sciences. Many significant conferences took place, which drove American educational institutions to find out whether scientific research could be conducted to try and establish a unified theory of human behaviour. Establishment of the Society for the Advancement of the General System Research in 1956, was a notable event following which annual year books started paying special attention to the fields of general system theory. Therefore, it became fashionable to study the general system theory. As per O. R. Young, the core or guiding principle which was developed in this search was the idea of 'system', which has ever since become the fundamental conceptual asset of the general system theory.

Various writers have employed and defined the term 'system' in various ways. Ludwig Von Bertalanffy, described a 'system' as a group of interacting elements. Hall

and Fagen called 'system' a set of objects, their relations and also the relation between their attitudes. According to Collin Cherry, a system is a whole comprising several component parts; a collection of attitudes. Kaplan wrote: 'A brief and non-technical description of the object of systems analysis would include; the study of a set of inter-related variables, as distinguished from the environment of the set, and of the ways in which this set is maintained under the impact of environmental disturbances'.

The characteristic features of systems, as listed by David Apter are as follows:

- Systems comprise boundaries containing functional interrelationships, which are primarily based on some of the communications.
- Systems also contain subclasses or subsystems, which have exchanges between the sub-systems.
- Systems are capable of coding. They accept inputs in the form of information and are able to learn from these inputs. They then end up translating these inputs into some sort of output.

To summarize, a system is based on a relationship between information and the use of energy. The link between coding and the use of energy outputs is transformational. This results in general systems paradigm which is applicable to various system levels, each having its individual boundary: cells, organs, individuals, groups, and societies. The general system approach, employs energy, information input control mechanism, memory banks, checking instruments, and outputs to generate new energy and information.

A 'system' is not merely a mere random collection of elements. It comprises interdependent elements, which can be precisely identified in time as well as space. A system may contain two constructs as follows:

- (i) Homological construct
- (ii) Interlocking construct

The homological construct or isomorphism, consists of 'one to one correspondence' between objects, in various systems, preserving the relationship existing between two objects.

The interlocking construct directly refers to scale effects and to the vertical or hierarchical association of systems.

An examination or assessment of 'system analysis' is an important part of interdisciplinary approach. Systems theory has a basic difference that sets it apart from the general theory of all systems: it is related to the natural sciences, such as physics and biology. The general systems try to outline a framework, which has its basis in specific hypotheses and concepts, which can be applied to different branches of social sciences. Those who promote system analysis follow the belief that there exist many theories common to different disciplines. Considering the fact that they can be placed only in an abstract way, a general theory can be derived which could be useful in each discipline as a broad concept, in a general perspective, before embarking into detailed analysis or research.

The fundamental concept for elaborating the general system theory may classified as follows:

**Category 1:** Descriptive concepts, which can be employed as devices of classificatory variables

**Category 2:** Concepts related to the regulation and maintenance of a system

**Category 3:** Concepts that enunciate the forces responsible for changing the system.

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The first category consists of concepts that differentiate between different types of systems, such as democratic (open) and non-democratic (closed system), or organismic and non-organismic system. The second category comprise the crucial ingredient of the general system theory. The main focus of this theory is on the regulation and maintenance of the system. Here, many significant concepts are found having their relationship with the forces playing their role in the regulation or maintenance of a system. The third category stresses on the fact that change is the law of nature. However, this change is disruptive as well as non-disruptive.

David Easton is probably the most notable among the names of those who subscribe to systems analysis. Easton's monumental work *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, which was published in 1965, received praise from famous writers on contemporary empirical political theory for providing an original set of concepts that could help arrange and organize at the level of theory. It also interpreted political phenomena in a novel fashion. Easton's attempts to construct an empirically-oriented political theory were spread over three phases, with each phase being represented by a major published work:

- (i) *The Political System* (1953)—promoted general theory in political science
- (ii) *A Frame Work for Political Analysis* (1965)—set for the major concepts for the development of such a general theory.
- (iii) *A System Analysis of Political Life* (1965)—tried to explain the concepts hoping that they would be applied in an empirical way.

In fact, Easton later tried to shift his theory to an empirical situation. Simply put, Easton's behavioural model of politics, suggested that a political system could be considered a delimited (with all political systems having specific boundaries) and fluid (changing) system of decision-making steps. His approach can be simplified in the following manner:

- **The first step is to change the social or physical environment** surrounding a political system producing 'demands' and 'supports' for action or the status quo directed as 'inputs' towards the political system, through political behaviour.
- **The second step is stimulating competition in a political system through** these demands and supporting groups, resulting in decisions or 'outputs' aimed at some aspect of the surrounding social or physical environment.
- **The third step is that** after a decision or output is made (e.g., a specific policy), it interacts with its environment, and in case any change is produced in the environment, there are 'results'.
- **The fourth step** is that a new policy interacts with its environment, generating new demands or supports and groups in support or against the policy ('feedback') or a new policy on some related matter.
- **The fifth step** is that of 'feedback', which leads back to Step 1.

This goes on endlessly. If the system functions as stated, then it will be a 'stable political system' but if it breaks down, we encounter a 'dysfunctional political system'.

### Political Analysis

Easton's aspiration was to make a science out of politics. He worked with abstract approaches describing the regular patterns and processes in politics, in general. According to his viewpoint, the greatest degree of abstraction could lead to scientific generalizations about politics. In a nutshell, politics should be considered as a whole, and not as an aggregation of various issues that need solutions.

His primary model was based on an organic perspective of politics, considering it an object breathing life. His theory describes the elements that make political systems adapt and survive.

According to him, politics is in a constant flux, and therefore, he denounces the idea of 'equilibrium', which widely exists in other political theories. Also, he does not approve the concept that politics could be studied by simply observing different levels of analysis. His abstractions could account for any group and demand at any point of time. That is, interest group theory and elite theory can be incorporated in the analysis of political systems. His theory was and is highly influential in the pluralist tradition in political science.

Initially Easton argued that scientific knowledge is theoretical and based on facts but facts alone do not explain events and must be ordered in some way. Further, the study of political life involves the political system as a whole rather than solution for particular problems. Theory must be combined with reliable knowledge and empirical data; psychological data on personalities and motivation of participants and situational data saved by environmental influences. Easton's quest for theory involved the formulation of a general framework, a focus on the whole system rather than merely on its part, an awareness of environmental influences upon the system, and recognitions of the differences between political life in equilibrium and in disequilibrium. Easton rejected the concept of the state by referring to the confusion and variety of meanings; system for him permits clear conceptualization.

Likewise, power is understood as only one of many significant concepts useful in the study of political life. Power, however, relates to the shaping and carrying out of authoritative politics in society.

Easton identified some attributes of political system in an attempt to move in the direction of a general political theory. These attributes were: (i) properties of identification in the form of units and boundaries (ii) inputs and outputs (iii) differentiation within a system and (iv) integration within a system. Each attribute was described and illustrated through a 'primitive' diagram which is produced in the Figure 3.1. This diagram shows that the 'political system' receives 'inputs' from the 'environment' in the form of 'demands' and 'supports'; it produces 'output' in the form of 'policies and decisions'. The 'output' flows back into the environment through a feedback mechanism. According to Easton, demands are the raw materials out of which finished products called decisions are manufactured. He has characterized supports as the energy in the form of actions for orientations enabling the political system to convert the demand into authoritative decisions and policies. Demand may arise from any source the people, politicians, administrators, opinion leaders and so on depending on the nature of the regime. The extent of support is bound to vary depending on the expectation of the people from their political system.

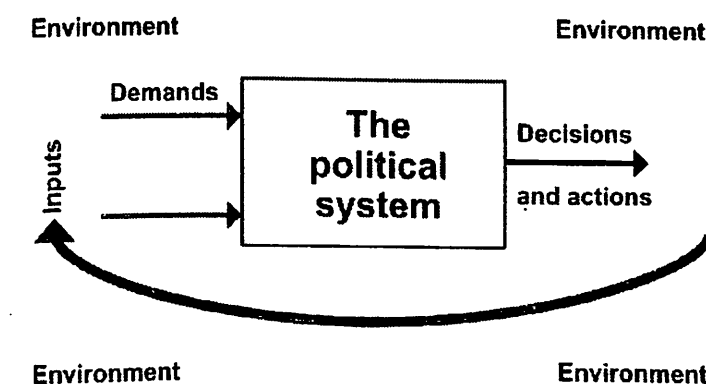


Fig. 3.1 David Easton Diagram of a Political System

Source: David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, Wiley, New York, 1965.

## NOTES

### Check Your Progress

1. Self-regulating systems are found in nature, including the physiological systems of our body, in local and global ecosystems, and in climate. (True/False)
2. What is a system?
3. What is cybernetics?
4. The most important name in the list of recent political scientists subscribing to the use of systems analysis is that of \_\_\_\_\_.

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Variability of support is bound to affect the destinies of the political authorities (upon called governments), the regime (democratic, authoritarian, and the like), and the political community. Outputs are produced by the political system through special processes that ensure their acceptance as binding by members of the society most of the time.

### Criticism

Easton is concerned with clarifying and simplifying concepts related to an excessive pre-occupation with stability, maintenance, persistence, and equilibrium, a tendency derived from biology. For example, Easton refers to 'authoritative allocation of values' as the 'life processes' of the political system. Yet this idea can lead to some 'misleading assumption on which to construct adequate theory of politics'.

According to Thorson, Easton was unable to deal with particular changes. In his words 'We can in no sense then regard Easton's theory as a theory of political science; as a theory which answers questions concerning why any particular political change occurred'.

Another criticism against Easton's framework is that he posted some generalizations, but his framework yielded few, any, testable hypotheses. According to Eugene Miller, the ideological underpinnings of the framework pose a problem. He noted that early in his writings Easton was concerned with an intellectual crisis and the imminent waning of democratic liberalism. In his assessment, Miller concluded that Easton failed to identify 'the object of political inquiry', and he questioned 'if system analysis, as a kind of political biology, is concerned with questions that are, properly speaking, political in nature'.

Theodore J. Lowi noted that when Easton and Eastonised turned empirical within the system context, they literally stepped outside the political system and studied political socialization. It is also criticised that Easton's definition of terms like 'politics' and 'political system' based on the ingredient of 'essay top interactions' are so broad that one fails to apply the line of distinction between an abstract and a concrete political system.

According to S. P. Verma, 'Easton in his serious effort to move away from the institutional to the behavioural approach found himself hanging somewhere in the middle'.

Systems analysis deals with the life processes of all political systems instead of with particular structures or processes that play a role in making a specific type of command viable. We should find out whether systems analysis as a type of political biology deals with political questions.

Human beings tend to differentiate between biological issues related to the manner in which life is sustained and the ethical issues related to the lifestyle men should opt for. Ethically speaking, the primary phenomenon does not deal with the life processes of a man but his character. It is insignificant that men have common life processes. What is significant is that they all have different characters. A man has to stay alive to be able to possess identity. However, what determines his identity is his character and lifestyle and not his vital processes. Political things need to be comprehended by comparing with ethics and not biology. It is essential for a political society to exist in order for its members to select a rule/system and accordingly a lifestyle. The identity of the society comes from the type of system/regime and way of life selected and not from the processes that are responsible for the sustenance of any type of system. Studying the identity and change in political life is based on alterations in systems and not on the loss of authoritative decision-making. If political change is studied in order to intelligently distinguish between changes that are beneficial and those that are harmful, the study will have to be guided

by an understanding of the good and just regime. In the past, there was always reason to doubt the fact that Easton's concept of knowledge allows an answer that can be relied on, in response to the question of appropriate political order.

What we now realize is that the question does not arise in his conceptual framework as he moves away from the regime as the core of political inquiry. This is not just by accident that Easton has not succeeded in developing the 'value theory', which he has been promoting for a long time. His theory does not support the revival of serious inquiry related to the ends of political life. In spite of these points of criticism, there is no denying the fact that the proper general system theory has been used very little in the social sciences. Therefore, it is not easy to judge how useful it is in a precise way at this point. This theory may be upheld as a model or system of political analysis but it is still too early to make a clear and definite judgment on this question. But it can be surely admitted that the outline of system analysis has been discovered to be quite useful for comparatively analyzing the various political units, like, modernized and developing polities.

It is widely utilized to analyse the international political system. The model of political system has also offered a solution as a foundation for Gabriel Almond's approach of structural-functional analysis, just like for Karl Dutsch's communication theory approach.

### 3.3 GABRIEL A. ALMOND'S STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL MODEL

Structural-functionalism is a broad perspective in sociology and anthropology, established in order to understand society as a structure comprising interrelated parts. Functionalism looks at society as a whole, based on the functions of the customs, norms, institutions and traditions that comprise it. According to Herber Spencer, these components of the society are like 'organs' working to facilitate the smooth functioning of the body as a whole. Basically, the emphasis is on the effort to attribute to every element (custom, practice, feature etc.), its impact or influence on the functioning of a system that is supposed to be stable and cohesive.

Talcott Parsons, described 'structural-functionalism' as a specific stage in the systematic development of social science, rather than a particular school of thought. Parsons named his own theory, the action theory' arguing repeatedly that the 'structural-functionalism' is a name that tends to mislead.

The tendency to make biological comparisons and the notions of social evolutionism are the characteristic features of classical functionalist theories. You may consider functionalism as a logical extension of the organic analogies for society by political philosophers like Rousseau. However, sociology tends to attract more focussed attention towards the institutions that are unique to industrialized capitalist society (or *modernity*). The foundation of functionalism is also anthropological, in that, it is based on the works of Marcel Mauss, Bronisaw Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and other theorists. Radcliffe-Brown was the first to specifically use the prefix 'structural'. Durkheim suggested that most stateless and 'primitive' societies, where powerful centralized institutions are missing, have their basis in an association of corporate-descent groups. In addition, structural functionalism built on Malinowski's argument saying that the nuclear family is the basic building block of society, of which the clan is an outgrowth, and not the other way around. Durkheim wished to know how some societies managed to remain internally stable and survived over time. He suggested that such societies show a tendency for

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segmentation, where equivalent parts are linked by shared values and common symbols or as according to his nephew Marcel Mauss, systems of exchanges. In contemporary societies, which are riddled with complexities, members are busy doing different types of work, and end up being interdependent. On the basis of the metaphor of an organism' used earlier, where several components worked together as a unified whole, it was Durkheim's argument that organic solidarity binds together complex societies.

Radcliffe-Brown not only supported but upheld these views. Like Comte, his belief was that society comprises a different degree of reality, as distinguished from both biological and inorganic matter. Therefore, social phenomena had to be built within this level, with individuals being merely transient occupants of stable social roles. The key issue concerning structural functionalism is a continuation of the Durkheimian job of enunciating the fact that societies need to be internally stable and cohesive so as to survive over time. Societies are considered coherent, linked together by constructs that are related, just like organisms, with their various components or social institutions, unconsciously working together in quasi-automatic manner in order to attain social equilibrium on the whole. Thus, all social and cultural phenomena are seen as functional in the sense of working together, and are considered to possess 'lives' of their own. They are mainly analysed on the basis of this function. The significance of the individual comes from his status, the way he is placed in terms of social relations, and his behaviour with regard to his status. The social structure, then, is the web of statuses linked by associated roles. It is simple to equate the view point directly with political conservatism. Emphasis on 'cohesive systems' results in functionalist theories that need to be contrasted with 'conflict theories', which, in turn, focus on social issues and inequalities.

Political scientists, Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, came up with a new structural-functionalist model in the 1970s that compared political systems. Their argument was that a political system can be understood only if its institutions (structures) and the functions of each institution are understood. They believed that these institutions were not understood well enough and that they should be put in historical context, dynamic and full of meaning. The concept was in sharp contrast to the prevailing models in the area of comparative politics, that is, the state-society theory and the dependency theory. These theories had descended from David Easton's system theory in international relations, and upheld a mechanistic viewpoint considering all political systems as being similar, following identical laws of 'stimulus and response'—or inputs and outputs—and at the same time, giving very little attention to special or unique characteristics. The structural-functional model has its basis on the perspective that a political system comprises several essential parts, such as interest groups, political parties and branches of government.

Along with structures, Almond and Powell proved that a political system was composed of different functions, the main ones being political socialization, recruitment and communication: socialization implies the manner in which societies convey their values and beliefs to the generations that succeed, and in terms of politics, they describe the process used by society to instill civic virtues, or the traditions of effective citizenship; recruitment indicates the process used by a political system to cultivate interest, willingness to engage and participate in the citizens.

'Communication implies the manner in which a system propagates its values and information. Like system analysis, structural functional analysis is also based on the concept of political system. This model of political analysis has been more widely used in the sphere of comparative politics because it provides for standard categories for different types of political systems. The concept of structural functional analysis originated in the

sphere of social anthropology in the writings of Redcliff-Brown and B. Malinowski. Then it was developed in the field of sociology by Talcott Parsons, Robert Merton and Marion Levy. Gabriel Almond and his associates developed it into a tool of political analysis. In the introduction to a collective work co edited with James S. Coleman, *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (1960) Almond renovated the concept of comparative politics. Political system replaced the state and the legal and institutional apparatus employed by traditional political scientists. Function substituted for power, role for office, and structure for institution. They identified four characteristics of the political system:

- (i) All political systems have political structures
- (ii) The same functions are performed in all political systems with different frequencies and by different kinds of structures;
- (iii) All political structures are multi functional
- (iv) All political systems are 'mist' systems in the cultural sense, i.e. they are based on a culture which is always the mixture of the modern and the traditional.

Instead of focusing on such concepts as institutions, organization or group, Almond turned to role and structures. Roles being the interacting units of the political system and structures representing the patterns of interaction. He also introduced the concept of political culture, which he conceived of as embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action with these patterns usually extending beyond the boundaries of the political system.

Gabriel Almond and G. B. Powell in their book *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (1966), further developed this approach. They argued that all political systems regardless of their type must perform a specific set of tasks if they are to remain in existence as systems in working order or in equilibrium, i.e. as 'ongoing systems'. These are the functional requirements of the system. With this assumption they sought to modify David Easton's model of the political system, suggesting that 'inputs' and 'out puts' recognized by Easton can be understood as 'functions' or 'functional requisites' of political system. They sought to redefine these inputs and out puts with a deeper understanding of political process and proceeded to identify various structures corresponding to these function, in order to evolve a 'structural-functional' framework.

According to them, in various political systems these functions may be performed by different kinds of political structures and, sometimes, even by structures which are not overtly recognized as being, primarily, 'political'. Almond presents a seven-fold classification of the functional variables in his input-output model. He mentions four input functions and three output functions. Input functions are:

- (i) Political socialization and recruitment
- (ii) Interest articulation
- (iii) Interest aggregation
- (iv) Political communication.

He also mentions three variables in his category of output functions.

They are:

- (i) Rule making
- (ii) Rule application
- (iii) Rule adjudication

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impetus from the revolutionary developments that occurred after the Second World War in the spheres of engineering and technology. Some scholars, chief among them Karl W. Deutsch, have developed a new approach in the sphere of comparative politics whereby the analysis of political phenomena is made on the basis of communication and control system.

The main purpose of social theorists subscribing to this approach is that the developments in the new science of communications have led to a diminution in importance of the differences of analytical purposes, between the behaviour of living things and that of social organizations. Karl Deutsch sees that the new sciences can now, without fear of being misleading, be used with regard to the state as well as other types of political systems. The term 'communication' refers to a body of basic concepts underlying several contemporary approaches to human behaviour, including the interactions of nation states. Used in a wider sense, the term 'communication' involves not only oral speech but all human behaviour. In an even broader sense, it may be used with reference to the ways in which the physical environment excites signals in the central nervous system—together with the ways in which the human being operates upon the physical environment. In this term the organism and the environment form a single system: the organism affects the environment and the environment affects the organism. It is for this reason that the approach of political communications as also known as political cybernetics.

According to this approach, politics and government 'appear in essence as processes of steering and coordinating human efforts towards the attainment of some set of goals'. In this framework, this approach refers to the basic mechanism through which these processes manifest themselves in the decision. The study of the political communication approach is integrally related to the study of political systems. It is the communication that gives dynamics to the political system. The communication approach adopted by Karl Deutsch may be set to have three main characteristics:

- (i) It no longer has six powers as the key variable in the key explanation of the political phenomena. Power is neither the centre nor the essence of politics. Instead, the essence of politics becomes the dependable coordination of human efforts and expectation for the attainment of the goals of the society.
- (ii) There is a strong emphasis on the empirical nature of the concepts. The attempt is to 'operationalize' the concept through measurement and mapping. Quantitative data are not seen as a substitute for other type of analysis but as complementary in that they could do much to check, strengthen or confirm the judgement of the historian or political analyst.
- (iii) It is not restricted to any one level of analysis. It is equally relevant to groups, people, organizations of any size, including the state, and relationship between the units.

The political communication approach lays stress on the point that all functions of a political system 'are performed by the means of communications'. It is communication that sustains and nourishes the body of a system. Hence, one may liken the communication to the circulation of the blood. It is not the blood but what it contains that nourishes the system. The blood is the neutral medium carrying claims, protests and demands through the veins of the heart; and from the heart through the arteries flow the outputs of rules, regulations and adjudications in response to the claims and demands. Though this approach seeks to study the elements of change, it is more concerned with a change that may not bring about the destruction of the system. As such, it is concerned with ways in which certain kinds of apparatus are maintained through 'feedbacks', that is to say, devices by which the entropy of a system is counteracted by returning some of its output into input.

Karl Deutsch, the chief exponent of the communication approach describes the main theme of his model in his famous book *The Nerves of Government: Modes of Political Communication and Control* (1963). He sought to apply the concepts and methods of modern information technology as well as psychology of the nervous system to an analysis of political system. As stated earlier he particularly introduced the techniques of cybernetics to the sphere of political analysis. Cybernetics is the study of the operation of control and communication systems; it deals both with biological systems and man-made machinery.

Deutsch declared that his work was concerned less with the bones or muscles of the body-politic than with its nerves—its channels of communication and decisions. Communication theory regards the function of communication as the centre of all political activity. An analysis of communication flowing from and flowing into the political system would, therefore, be very helpful in the description, classification analysis and explanation of the important aspects of political life. Deutsch argued that it might be profitable to look upon government somewhat less as a problem of power and somewhat more as a problem of steering i.e. directing the course of its activity which is the main function of communication. He, therefore, regards political system as a 'network of communication channels'. According to him, it is largely a 'self-regulating' or self-controlling system which involves its own process and mechanism for acquisition, collection, transmission, selection and storage of information.

The aim of Deutsch is to use the concepts and methods of the science of cybernetics to provide explanations for not simply the survival but the growth of political systems and to predict the consequences of changes that affect the structure of systems. The main features of Deutsch communication model may be summed up as follows:

- (i) *Society as a machine*: According to Deutsch, the social system and political system as its part survive and develop because they contain mechanisms which allowed or encourage habit forming and other activities that go with this: the acquiring of information; the selection and storage of this information; the selection and the development of norms relating to the use of information gain.
- (ii) *New definition of politics*: One of the important concerns of Deutsch is to reduce the importance of the notion of powers as a component of continuing political activity. To him, politics is concerned with the attainment of social goals. It is the sphere in which decisions are made with respect to the whole society—decisions which are enforceable.
- (iii) *New notion of government*: According to Deutsch, the function of the government is to control the direction of information into or away from particular channels of communication. Thus, its main task is to steer information rather than exercising power over the individuals.
- (iv) *Miniature communications system*: The infrastructure of a political system is constituted by political parties and interest groups. They are interconnected and open but they are also capable of steering themselves and with mechanism (human and institutional) that allowed them to adopt and modify their structures and behaviours.
- (v) *Homeostatis instead of equilibrium*: Deutsch desires to furnish a model that is not static but dynamic. That is, he is not for equilibrium that indicates a statuary model of a political system. He calls the whole idea of equilibrium as being both mechanistic and excessively detached from the impact of

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environmental factors. Politics is a changing phenomenon and, thus he stands for a dynamic situation which he terms as homeostatis.

(vi) *Concept of feedback or servomechanism*: Feedback is the key concept of the model of Deutsch. It means a network of communications that produces actions in response to an input of information and includes the results of its own action in the information but it modifies its subsequent behaviour. However, feedback may be negative or positive.

A negative feedback system is one which transmits back to itself information that is the result of decisions and actions taken by the system, and which leads the system to change its behaviour in pursuit of the goals which it has set itself. 'Load' indicates the total amount of information which a system may possess at a particular time. 'Lag' indicates the amount of delay that the system experiences between reporting the consequences of decisions and acting on the information that it has received. 'Gain' is an indication of the manner in which the system responds to the information that it has received. 'Lead' illustrates the extent to which a system has the capacity to react to predictions about the future consequences of decisions and actions.

There are some problems of communication that may be studied in three contexts: (i) Communication within the political system; (ii) Communication between the political system and its environment; and (iii) Communication between two or more political systems.

Its analysis involves the study of several components, including: (i) the structures meant for sending and receiving messages; (ii) the channels used for the purpose of communication; (iii) process of storage of information; (iv) feedback mechanisms; (v) the code and languages applied for the purpose of communication; and (vi) the contents of message transmitted. Communication by no means a smooth process. One has to be very careful in detecting distortions.

If the distortion could be corrected appropriately, lots of problem can be prevented or minimized.

**Criticism**

The political communication approach also is not free from criticism, which can be enumerated as follows:

(i) Political communication approach, though different from such an approach in other disciplines like neurophysiology, mathematics and electrical engineering, has been criticized for elaborating and essentially engineering and mechanistic orientation towards human behaviour.

One may ask as to how the law of a natural and fixed science like that of electrical engineering can be applied to the study of human behaviour that is never fixed and definite. Man is not a machine and thus society cannot be regarded as a mechanistic arrangement.

(ii) The entire approach of political communication depends upon the extension of an analogy between a natural and a social system. A shift from the language of natural sciences to that of a social science is bound to involve significant discontinuities and incongruities. Naturally, the model of Deutsch ultimately becomes so complex that it tends to move away from being a working model and towards becoming a scheme.

(iii) There is not only the difficulty of applying models picked up from a natural to a social science it is all the more difficult to make it useful for the purpose of social sciences. Some terms of electrical engineering may either remain unapplied or they may be misapplied and for this reason it is likely that we get a confused picture of a political model. The theory thus suffers from serious drawbacks both at the structural level and in substantive matters.

(iv) A cybernetic model is a very general, abstract one, and its principal concepts may acquire different meanings according to the particular system to which they are applied, be it a computer, an irrigation system, the human brain and society. It is also remarked that, despite Deutsch's attempt to eventually develop a theory of politics, national and international, his own formulations were explicitly not theory but parts of an ongoing enterprise to be developed into theory at some unspecified later stage.

Though it is true that the cybernetics model loosely adopted by Karl Deutsch and others for analysing the stability and instability of political systems in the light of communication systems is not rich enough to do all that they intended to do with it, we cannot ignore the fact that the work of an innovator is always subject to criticism. Despite all points of weakness, as enumerated above it may be admitted that the approach looks promising too. In political science this approach is particularly useful for an analysis of the processes of bargaining, conflict resolution, decision making, evolution of policies, estimating the impact of publicity of propaganda as well as for understanding the dynamics of international relations.

**ACTIVITY**

Give two examples of flaw in the political communication approach in the Indian political system.

**DID YOU KNOW**

Systems thinking has been compared to Buddhism, and evolutionary systems thinking can be appreciated as the integration of the sciences with the works of mystical and transpersonal thinkers such as Sri Aurobindo (1872–1950) in the East and Carl G Jung (1875–1961) and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1881–1955) in the West. This convergence of science, philosophy, and religion is manifested in the systemic inquiry on conscious evolution and its underlying ethic.

**3.5 SUMMARY**

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The systems theory or approach refers to the trans-disciplinary study of systems, in general, with the objective of explaining beliefs and standards that are applicable to all system types in all research fields.

**Check Your Progress**

7. The term

refers to the body of basic concepts underlying several contemporary approaches to human behaviour including the interactions of nation states.

8. State one criticism of the political communication approach.

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- The systems theory, therefore, facilitates interaction among disciplines not merely within autonomous areas of study but also within the field of systems science itself.
- According to Laszlo, the new systems perspective of organized complexity goes beyond the Newton's perspective of organized simplicity' which reduces the parts from the whole, or comprehends the whole or 'totality' without any link to the parts.
- The systems perspective is a world-view formed on the basis of system inquiry. The core of the systems inquiry is the idea of 'system'.
- Conventional systems, which were 'closed', were challenged when the perspective of open systems came to be developed. There was a marked shift in focus from knowledge which was characteristically absolute and comprised universal authoritative principles to knowledge, which was relative, general, conceptual and perceptual.
- Systems thinking started in ancient times as is clear from the first systems of written communication with Sumerian cuneiform or the Mayan numerals or the engineering marvels in the form of the Egyptian pyramids.
- The systems theory is a field of study, which was particularly developed after the World Wars, on the basis of the works of Ludwig von Bertalanffy, Anatol Rapoport, Kenneth E. Boulding, William Ross Ashby, Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson, C. West Churchman and others in the 1950s.
- Many scholars were actively involved in concepts before (for example, Tectology by Alexander Bogdanov, in 1912-1917). However, in 1937, von Bertalanffy came up with the general theory of systems at a conference at the University of Chicago.
- 'Cybernetics' is a term that originates from a Greek word meaning 'steersman'. This Greek word is also the parent of the English word 'govern'.
- Cybernetics refers to the study of feedback and derived concepts, like communication and control in living organisms, machines and organizations.
- Cybernetics had its roots in engineering fields while GST was born from biology.
- A system is based on a relationship between information and the use of energy.
- David Easton is probably the most notable among the names of those who subscribe to systems analysis.
- Initially Easton argued that scientific knowledge is theoretical and based on facts but facts alone do not explain events and must be ordered in some way.
- According to Thorson, Easton was unable to deal with particular changes.
- Theodore J. Lowi noted that when Easton and Eastonised turned empirical within the system context, they literally stepped outside the political system and studied political socialization.
- Structural-functionalism is a broad perspective in sociology and anthropology, established in order to understand society as a structure comprising interrelated parts.
- Political scientists, Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, came up with a new structural-functionalist model in the 1970s, that compared political systems.
- Almond presents a seven-fold classification of the functional variables in his input-output model. He mentions four input functions and three output functions.

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- Recruitment stands for the process whereby political groups obtained members for various important roles in the political process, either in addition to the existing members or as replacement for other members.
- Despite the fact that structural-functional approach has occupied a very important place in the realm of comparative politics, it cannot be denied that it has some serious shortcomings.
- The political communication approach is a relatively recent and fast-moving development in the field of scientific analysis.
- The political communication approach lays stress on the point that all functions of a political system 'are performed by the means of communications'.
- A negative feedback system is one which transmits back to itself information that is the result of decisions and actions taken by the system, and which leads the system to change its behaviour in pursuit of the goals which it has set itself.

### 3.6 KEY TERMS

- **Cybernetics:** It is the study of feedback and derived concepts such as communication and control in living organisms, machines and organizations.
- **Functionalism:** It is belief in or stress on the practical application of a thing, in particular.
- **System:** System means a configuration of parts connected and joined together by a web of relationships.

### 3.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. True
2. In the most general sense, system means a configuration of parts interlinked by a network of relationships.
3. Cybernetics is the study of the operation of control and communication systems.
4. David Easton
5. Social evolutionism
6. True
7. Communication
8. Political communication approach, though different from such approach in other disciplines like neurophysiology, mathematics and electrical engineering has been criticized for elaborating and essentially engineering and mechanistic orientation towards human behaviour.

### 3.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

#### Short-Answer Questions

1. What is systems theory?
2. The basic concept used in the elaboration of the general system theory may be put into three categories—what are they?

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3. What attributes of a political system did David Easton identify in the direction of a general political theory?
4. What are the three chief characteristics of political development identified by Almond and Powell?
5. What are the three main characteristics of the communication approach adopted by Karl Deutsch?

**Long-Answer Questions**

1. David Easton's model of political system was a path-breaking model in comparative political analysis. Discuss.
2. Give a comparative analysis of structural functionalism of Almond vis-à-vis the system model of David Easton.
3. Give a summary of communication model as advocated by Karl Deutsch.
4. Describe Almond's structural-functionalist approach to compare political systems?

**3.9 FURTHER READING**

Pruthi, R. K.; *The Political Theory*, Sarup & Sons, India, 2005.

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Lively, J. *Modern Political Theory from Hobbes to Marx: Key Debates*, Routledge, UK, 1989.

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**UNIT 4 DECISION-MAKING  
APPROACH**

NOTES

**Structure**

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Unit Objectives
- 4.2 Fundamentals of Decision-Making Theory
- 4.3 Decision-Making Approach of Richard Snyder
- 4.4 Summary
- 4.5 Key Terms
- 4.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.7 Questions and Exercises
- 4.8 Further Reading

**4.0 INTRODUCTION**

Richard Snyder, H. W. Bruck and Burton Sapin had focused on the decision-making theory in the study of international politics during the 1950s. They had undertaken a theoretical exploration of the behaviour of actors in international relations. In the 1960s, writers such as William Riker, James Robinson, Herbert Simon and J. W. Burton significantly contributed to the decision-making theory. In this unit, you will learn about the decision-making approach of Richard Snyder.

**4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES**

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

- Explain the significant elements of decision-making theory
- Discuss the elite theories propounded by different writers
- Explain the important aspects and criticism of group theory

**4.2 FUNDAMENTALS OF DECISION-MAKING  
THEORY**

The decision-making approach seeks to study the functioning of states in general and the actual decision makers of the state in particular. It is done through the following processes:

1. Identification of the decision makers
2. Analysis of the decision-making process
3. Search of appropriate and precise methods for comprehending the process as well as international politics

The decision-making approach advocates the use of models for appropriately analysing decisions. Graham T. Allison describes these models as follows:

- (i) The rational actor model seeks to assess the policy process on the basis of the ex-post factor reviews of the credibility of the policies pursued.

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- (ii) The organizational process model is concerned with tapping the administrative and organizational behaviours with the specific aim of comprehending and analysing government decisions.
- (iii) The government politics model stresses the problems and significance of securing international bureaucratic consensus as an instrument of evolving policy.

The basic inquiry in the decision-making analysis is how and why the national actors behave in the way they do. They focus on the study of the processes' foreign policy formulation. The decision-making approaches used by the decision makers and the state are defined as decisional units. The action of the state is seen through the actions of the decision makers and proceeds with the assumption that the key to political action lies in the way in which decision makers define their situation.

### 4.3 DECISION-MAKING APPROACH OF RICHARD SNYDER

According to Snyder, the state is the prime actor in international politics and its behaviour should always be understood in terms of the objective realities of its position in the world. Its goals and sources of behaviour can be traced to geographical, historical, political and technological circumstances. The goal of the state and its national interests are largely conditioned by the objective circumstances in which the state is situated at a particular time in history.

#### Snyder's conceptual scheme

Snyder began by presenting the conceptual scheme through the outline of categories based on which the data to study foreign policy decisions should be gathered. Since Snyder's approach comprised mainly of the conceptual scheme, which identified a number of variables to study without relying on theory about their interrelations, propositions for empirical study could not be logically derived from the formulation. This is because they had more formal models, such as those of mathematician-physicist John von Neumann and economist Oskar Morgenstern. Yet, Snyder and his associates put forth a number of hypotheses for empirical work which was based on the conceptual scheme and were easy to study in different contexts by different researchers.

The fact that it brought together the psychological and sociological levels of explanation was one of the greatest merits of the conceptual scheme originated by Snyder. His work sought to bring together the data and theory about individual decision makers as well as groups and organizations in the context within which they operate. Thus, means of explaining the group behaviour in different terms rather than those focussed only on personality are offered. The aim of this work was to bring together the social and psychological levels of analysis so as to augment the ability to predict variance. Yet, a branch of researchers have argued that neither the state of psychology nor that of sociology permits these hypothetical combinations. There was merit in these points of contention due to the fact that only a few political scientists could pursue Lasswell's initiatives to study political personalities and to the continuing separation of experimental social psychologists from field-oriented political scientists. It can be expected that among the most active areas for future research on decision making will be those on interrelation of individual and organizational factors in producing decision outcomes.

#### Check Your Progress

1. The decision-making approach seeks to study the \_\_\_\_\_ in general and the \_\_\_\_\_ of the state in particular.
2. What is the basic aim of decision-making analysis?

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### Snyder's theory of democratization

The following chain of events has been identified by Snyder, which he says, might happen during the process of democratization:

- (i) Conditions that structure elites' decision of whether to promote nationalism
- (ii) Conditions that structure what type of nationalism will emerge
- (iii) Conditions that structure whether the masses are persuaded by these appeals

Each one of these are discussed in details below:

- (i) Conditions that structure elites' decision of whether to promote nationalism

Two factors are important here: opportunity and motivation.

- **Motivation:** (a) The arrival of full democracy threatens the elites or (b) the institutions of governance are so weak that elites look for a way to mobilize mass support. Nationalism is seen as an effective solution to this because it is seen as the only solution which can save the elites from the dual problems from which they suffer, which are, (1) mobilize mass support and (2) not allowing the government to take over the reign. Thus, the elites can claim to rule "in the name of" the people without allowing rule "by" the people.
- **Opportunity:** Will it be easy to persuade (in other words, elite perceptions steps (2) and (3 —the strength of institutions part)? This is what determines whether nationalism will work or not.

- (ii) Conditions that structure what type of nationalism will emerge

There are three main variables that come into play here. These are the level/timing of social and economic development (this is drawn heavily from Przeworski et. al.), the adaptability of elite interests to democracy, and the strength of institutions.

- **Development:** In the hindsight, countries that are developed are perhaps doing better because it is these countries that are most likely to make their democratic transitions in a short time. It is installed or slow transitions that nationalism is most likely.
- While poor countries can have nationalist appeals, yet collective action is difficult to sustain. This brings down the risk of sustained nationalist movements.
- There are two worst types of dangers that intermediate levels are in danger of the most: revolutionary or counter-revolutionary nationalism. The reason for this is the fact that a democratic opposition movement can be successful in throwing out the old elite, but the support of both the middle classes and the working classes is not enough to sustain it. Therefore, the revolutionary or counter-revolutionary nationalism come into the play.
- **Adaptability of elite interests:** This is of interest because it affects the first step which is elite motivation. It can be asked if the elites would continue to get their demands in a democracy or do they need to limit it. For instance, in Britain, democracy would only serve to protect the assets of the wealthy elites. Therefore, their interests were 'adaptable' to democracy. At the same time, however, their interests can become unadoptable if elites are fearful that democracy will rob them of their status, power, or riches.
- **Strength of existing political institutions:** When the institutions to run the state are weak, it becomes unavoidable to use nationalism as the tool to mobilize people to act collectively. This is also referred to as revolutionary nationalism. Nationalism is discouraged by strong representative and strong administrative

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institutions. This is because it is assumed that they raise a check on nationalist appeals and also provide alternative means to mobilize the masses to take collective action. Despite having a strong administration, institutions that do not represent the masses properly tend to encourage exclusionary nationalism to mobilize support. Nationalist ideas become tempting in the face of weak institutions and they are effective in mobilizing people since there is no other way to bring them together.

- **Four types of nationalism:** Three of these four kinds of nationalism can lead to violence against what are presumed as 'others' (revolutionary, ethnic, counter-revolutionary). The fourth (civic nationalism) does not encourage violence, since it is inclusive.

- o Strong institutions and adaptable interests: Characteristics of civic nationalism
- o Weak institutions and adaptable interests: Characteristics of revolutionary nationalism, which encourages people to mobilize and build the state
- o Strong institutions and unadoptable interests: Characteristics of counter-revolutionary nationalism, which seeks masses to go against the institutions
- o Weak institutions and unadoptable interests: These are characteristics of ethnic nationalism

(iii) Conditions that structure whether the masses are persuaded

The presence of a weak media is supportive in this case. Snyder specifically identifies three conditions which are related to the structure of the 'marketplace of ideas':

- **Control of supply of information:** Early democratization was often referred to the situation where the state does not have the monopoly on information and its institutions, but at the same time where the supply of information is also not completely free. Even in this case it is the elites who have the considerable power over the supply of information. It is believed that this partial monopoly on media or information sources is worse than the complete monopoly of the state on them. For instance, when the media and its institutions are completely under the control of the state, it is not accepted by the people. However, when the competition between the media is minimal, people tend to rely it on more without recognizing the extent of distortions.
- **Market segmentation (control of demand for information):** It is believed that if the population is divided for targeted information, then even if the elite only control 50 per cent of the supply of information, it can control all the sources of information in large sections of the country. For instance, it is believed that it was because of a major nationalist supporter who had a near monopoly on the media in half of Germany that Hitler came to power. This was the same 50 per cent that supported Hitler's rise.
- **Journalistic institutions:** Professionalism in journalism, independence, professional think-tank, congressional budget office, and such other institutions are the ones that encourage debates around facts. Without such institutions, it will not be possible to undergo a reliable fact checking and any debate that would follow will be far from enlightening. It, thus, becomes possible to report false facts and news. The media goes spot-free because no one can point

fingers towards misrepresentation of facts. In this case, only misinformation becomes popular as there is no public debate in the media.

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### How nationalist persuasion causes violent conflict

- By exclusion of groups that encourages enmity (you are disliked if you claim that they are evil)
- Feelings of insecurity are created by portrayal of nation states as more threatening than they really are. At the same time, they are portrayed as weak than they are so that a military solution to this insecurity becomes attractive.
- A log roll is formed by many narrow-interest nationalist veto groups (for example, 'marriage of iron and rye'). In order to obtain their narrow self-interested benefits, this incurs high societal costs.
- While trying to one-up the others, nationalists may get into bidding wars. That they are the strongest defenders of the nation may even become a burden upon the liberals to prove.

### Snyder's decision-making framework

According to Snyder, there are two fundamental purposes of the decision-making approach:

- To help identify and isolate the 'crucial structures' in the political realm where action is initiated and carried out and decisions are made.
- To help analyse systematically the decision-making behaviour, which 'leads to action as well as sustain them'.

### Characteristics of the decision-making approach

The decision-making approach involves the study of the following variables:

1. **Decision actors:** The decision-making approach focuses on enquiry of a class of actors called decision-makers because the authoritative action can be decided upon and initiated by public officials who are formally and actually responsible for decisions as well as engaged in the making of decisions.
2. **Decision makers as actors in a situation:** The behaviour of the decision makers has to be studied in terms of action analysis as it is treated in the situation. The analysis is on their perceptions, choices and expectations.
3. **The setting:** The analysis of the nature of the decision-making is done by the researcher who has to recreate the world of decision makers. It is essential to know their view of the environment as well as their situation in which they formulate the decisions. For this the analysis of both the internal as well as the external setting has to be analysed so that the action and policies of the state can be known.

The setting of the foreign policy decision is the one which is perceived by the decision-makers. The setting is conceived as consisting of internal as well as external parts. The internal setting includes personality's roles, organizations in the decision-making unit, the governmental structures within which the decision-making functions, the physical and technological conditions, the basic values and goals and the various influences operating in the society. External setting, on the other hand, includes all the relevant factors in the total situation of the international system that exist at a particular time.

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However, there are differences of opinion among the advocates of Snyder's approach of decision-making as they emphasize on different factors and follow different details. For instance, Harold and Margaret Sprout emphasize on the environmental (milieu) factor while George Alexander and Gulieete George stress on the personality factor and seeks to study the personality of the decision maker. Harold Lasswell, Gabriel Almond, Hermann, and Milbrath also recognize the importance of the personality factor. Nevertheless, a study of the personality of the decision maker can be helpful to explain things as long as the decision maker continues to shape and control the foreign policy of the nation.

4. **Decision situation:** In Snyder's model, situation is an analytical concept that points to a pattern of relationships among the events, objects, conditions and other actors organized around a focus such as the objective, problem and the course of action in which the center of interest for the decision makers. It has to be analysed as to whether the situation was certain or uncertain, risky, stressful, crucial, hostile, threatening, short of time or not, tight, controllable or uncontrollable.
5. **Decision process:** Snyder's model gives importance to the study of the decision-making process which has been further classified into the following categories:
  - (i) **Spheres of competence:** It refers to the activities of the decisions makers that are necessary for the achievement of the unit objectives.
  - (ii) **Communication and information:** It includes meanings, values and preferences available at the time of decision making.
  - (iii) **Motivation:** It refers to psychological, personality and value factors that influence the actors who enter the process and influence its outcome.

### Criticism of the decision-making theory

The decision-making theory is only a partial approach to the study of international politics. It has some serious drawbacks, which can be listed as follows:

- The approach is based on the principle of indeterminism as it fails to suggest which of the elements is really relevant: environment or personality executive or legislature.
- The approach is not value oriented as it does not bother about the correctness of a decision.
- International politics is normally made of highly conscious moves and choices which cannot be analysed in terms of neat categories.
- It ignores the objective nature of international developments along with the facts that the foreign policy of a country does not depend upon an individual or a set of individuals. The foreign policy is determined by the geopolitical realities, the security environment and a lot of other historical, social and economic factors.
- It fails to supply any criteria either to explain the pattern of power politics or to prescribe the rules of international behaviour.

Thus, the usefulness of the decision-making theory is limited to a particular decision which is already taken and implemented and its consequences are already known.

### ACTIVITY

Speak to a political science professor of an university and find out how interest groups provide extracurricular activities for students to participate in educational, intellectual, interdisciplinary as well as cultural and social events.

### Check Your Progress

3. What are the processes used by the decision-making approach to study the functioning of states in general and the actual decision-makers of the state, in particular?
4. What according to Snyder, are the fundamental purposes for the decision-making approach?

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### DID YOU KNOW

The anterior cingulate cortex (ACC), orbitofrontal cortex (and the overlapping ventromedial prefrontal cortex) are brain regions involved in decision-making processes. A recent neuroimaging study found distinctive patterns of neural activation in these regions depending on whether decisions were made on the basis of personal volition or following directions from someone else. Patients with damage to the ventromedial prefrontal cortex have difficulty making advantageous decisions.

## 4.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- The decision-making approach seeks to study the functioning of states in general and the actual decision makers of the state in particular.
- The basic inquiry in the decision-making analysis is how and why the national actors behave. They focus on the study of the processes' foreign policy formulation.
- The decision-making theory approach is only a partial approach to the study of international politics.
- According to Snyder, the state is the prime actor in international politics and its behaviour should always be understood in terms of the objective realities of its position in the world.
- One of the great merits of the conceptual scheme originated by Snyder was that it joined psychological and sociological levels of explanation.
- The decision-making approach focuses on enquiry of a class of actors called decision makers because the authoritative action can be decided upon and initiated by public officials who are formally and actually responsible for decisions as well as engaged in the making of decisions.
- The behaviour of the decision makers has to be studied in terms of action analysis as it is treated in the situation.
- In Snyder's model, situation is an analytical concept that points to a pattern of relationships among the events, objects, conditions and other actors organized around a focus such as the objective, problem and the course of action in which the center of interest for the decision makers.

## 4.5 KEY TERMS

- **Motivation:** It is a theoretical construct used to explain behaviour.
- **Decision-making:** It can be regarded as the cognitive process resulting in the selection of a belief or a course of action among several alternative possibilities.

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### 4.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Functioning of states, actual decision makers.
2. The basic inquiry in the decision-making analysis is how and why the national actors behave in the way they do.
3. The processes used by the decision-making approach to study the functioning of states in general and the actual decision-makers of the state, in particular, are:
  - (i) Identification of the decision makers
  - (ii) Analysis of the decision-making process
  - (iii) Search of appropriate and precise methods for comprehending the process as well as international politics
4. According to Snyder, there are two fundamental purposes of the decision-making approach:
  - (i) To help identify and isolate the 'crucial structures' in the political realm where action is initiated and carried out and decisions are made.
  - (ii) To help analyse systematically the decision-making behaviour which 'leads to action as well as sustain them'.

### 4.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

#### Short-Answer Questions

1. How has Snyder's model classified the study of decision-making process?
2. List the characteristics of decision-making approach.

#### Long-Answer Questions

1. State the elements of foreign policy in relation to the decision-making approach.
2. What are the limitations of the decision-making theory?

### 4.8 FURTHER READING

- Pruthi, R. K.; *The Political Theory*, Sarup & Sons, India, 2005.
- Freedon, M.; *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach*, Clarendon Press, Gloucestershire, 1996.
- Lively, J. *Modern Political Theory from Hobbes to Marx: Key Debates*, Routledge, UK, 1989.
- Arora, N. D. and Awasthy S. S.; *Political Theory and Political Thought*, Har-Anand Publications, India, 2007.

## UNIT 5 GAME THEORY

### Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Unit Objectives
- 5.2 Game Theory
  - 5.2.1 Usage of Game Theory in International Relations
  - 5.2.2 Security Analysis and Game Theory in International Relations
  - 5.2.3 Game Theory and Economic Relations among Nation-States
- 5.3 Summary
- 5.4 Key Terms
- 5.5 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.6 Questions and Exercises
- 5.7 Further Reading

### 5.0 INTRODUCTION

In the last few decades, game theory has become quite popular in the study of international politics. Beginning with economics and mathematics, now it is being used by many in political science to explain the probable behaviour of multiple actors. It has proved its utility in international negotiations and in trade relations among countries.

Game theory is not specific to international relations; it emerged as a branch of mathematics. It was found useful in analysing competitive situations. The outcomes of such situations depend both on one's own choices (and an element of chance), and also on the choices made by other parties or players. As a result, the game is determined by what *all* players do, each participant anticipates the decisions of the other player/s in order to base his own best choices. How these interdependent strategic decisions are taken is the subject of the game theory.

This unit deals with game theory and its application in the realm of international relations.

### 5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss how game theory can be used in international relations
- Establish the relationship between game theory and international security analysis

### 5.2 GAME THEORY

Game theory emerged as a popular theory for analysis of behaviour with the publication of *Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour* in 1944 by John von Neumann (a mathematician) and Oskar Morgenstern (an economist). This was a path-breaking achievement that gave rise to a large number of books and articles in a variety of disciplines. Although it has been widely used in the discipline of international relations, it

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has also been regarded as destructive in its calculations. This led to criticisms of game theory in international relations.

D. A. Lake and R. Powell (1994) hold that international relations is the 'study of the interactions themselves rather than of the issues that constitute their substance'. If this view is accepted, then the subject matter of international relations and game theory effectively coincide. International relations then run the risk of becoming an applied branch of game theory, similar to the microeconomic theory being considered as a branch of calculus. This is, however, not true. In order to avoid this, the presence of variables such as international actors, their interactions, the issues negotiated therein, and the specific nature of the interactions themselves need to be highlighted.

Game theory has five important components. First, is the concept of *strategy*. This includes skilful planning of previously decided moves to be taken as and when the expected moves of the other side require them. This strategy takes into account the potential behaviour of opponents and assumes that within the limits of a particular situation, the range of strategy is not infinite. The rational behaviour is that which aims at the selection of a strategy by each player that will maximize the chances of victory. The strategy can be pure or mixed depending upon the number of calculated strategic steps. Thus, game theory assumes an opponent and this is the second important concept of game theory. This sets in the assumption of goals of the game.

The third significant concept of game theory is of *payoffs*, which refers to what the game is worth at the end.

The fourth concept is of *rules* that govern a game. In social and international situations, the rules are the laws governed by geographical, economic, sociological, biological and psychological factors.

The fifth significant concept is *information*. Game theory analyses the conflict essentially in terms of strategy.

British scholar Susan Strange (1991) argues that the two key issues that drive the theory and practice of international relations are: (i) economics and (ii) security. Other important issues include law, education, environmental issues and human rights. Another important dimension in the study of international relations is the interactions that created these relations, which usually transpire along well-defined and predictable lines; unlike those that are usually encountered in interactions among individuals, private entities or different government bodies within nation-states. Diplomacy is the key differentiator as a regular channel for international relations, which does not have an equal in the interactions within nation-states.

Key paradigms of game theory are, as classified by political scientist Steven J. Brams, as follows:

- **Two person versus n-person:** The two-person game deals with the optimal strategic choice of two players, whereas the *n*-person theory (where  $n > 2$ ) addresses which coalitions, or subsets, of players, will form and be stable, and what constitute reasonable results to their members.
- **Zero-sum versus non-zero-sum:** In zero-sum games, the payoffs to all players equals zero (or some other constant) at each outcome. This is not the case in non-zero-sum games, wherein the sums are variable. Zero-sum games signify total conflict, in which one player's gain is the others' loss; non-zero-sum games, however, permit the players to gain or lose together.
- **Cooperative versus non-cooperative:** In cooperative games, players come together to make binding and enforceable agreements, whereas non-

cooperative games may or may not enable communication among the players, but do assume that any agreement reached must be equally beneficial, i.e., a player would not violate it if other players do not, because the player would be worse off if it did.

Brams further elaborates upon the different forms which can be there in games. According to him, there are three most important forms of games:

- (a) **Extensive (game tree):** Explains that there are sequences of choices that players can make, with payoffs defined at the end of each sequence of choices (also possibly determined by chance, nature or some random device).
- (b) **Normal/strategic (payoff matrix):** Indicates strategies or plans which are contingent on the decisions of other players', with payoffs resulting at the intersection of each set of strategies within a matrix.
- (c) **Characteristic function:** Indicates the values that all the possible coalitions (subsets) can guarantee for their members, no matter what the other players do. These different forms, or representations, provide progressively reducing information about the game—with the sequences in form 1 dropped from form 2, and the strategies to derive particular outcomes in form 2 dropped from form 3, and so on, to highlight the different aspects of a strategic situation. The premise on which game theory is based is that players are rational. The actors have goals, and they can decide their rank outcomes (or, more stringently, attach utilities, or values, to three them), and choose better over worse outcomes. A basic assumption of this discipline (which, however, is heavily criticized) is that the players are completely self-centred in the pursuit of only their own satisfaction. Game theory finds the closest to real-life examples of its abstract assumptions. This is true no matter whether the interactions are with respect to security or economic issues.

Since the nation-states are self-centred and always try to maximize their interests, there are always more and more complications. These complications stem from the fact that there is usually no dominant, or universally accepted, strategy for a specific player because of the interdependency of players' choices.

A game is the sum-total of its rules. Chess or poker, and other common parlour games, have specific rules and are generally zero-sum games, i.e., cooperating with the other player(s) is not beneficial. Poker differs from chess not only because it is an *n*-person game (though two players can also play it), but also since it is a game of *incomplete information*, i.e., the players do not have complete knowledge of each other's hands, and therefore depend in part on chance.

The rules of most real-life games are equivocal. In fact, the 'game' may be largely about the rules to be used (or abrogated). Rules are generally better known and followed in economics than in politics. It is for this reason that game theory has become the theoretical foundation of economics, especially microeconomics. However, models of game theory have a major role in some other sub-fields of economics including industrial organizations, public economics, and international economics. Even in the area of macroeconomics, wherein fiscal and monetary policies are studied, issues such as setting interest rates and determining money supply have a strong underlying strategic component, particularly when it comes to the timing of such actions. Economics uses game theory at all levels—more than any other discipline.

There are broadly two types of games used in international politics, one is the *chicken game*, and the other is the *game of prisoners' dilemma*. A situation of the

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## Check Your Progress

1. What is the basic principle of game theory?
2. What are the five components of game theory?

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chicken game can be defined by the example of two car drivers. There are two car drivers going in the middle of a road towards each other. If both of them keep on driving in the same direction, a head-on collision is inevitable. But if both of them swerve to avoid a possible collision, they are likely to suffer only from a loss of reputation for not undertaking adventurous actions. On the other hand, if both continue to drive straight, they are likely to face death or serious injury as a result of the collision. If one of them swerved and the other did not, the one who swerved was likely to suffer a loss of prestige and the other person was likely to earn esteem.

The principle characteristic of the chicken game situation is that in spite of not being able to know the interactions of its opponents, a nation can adopt such a course of action as would guarantee its own interests, if only it does not mind the opponent also benefitting from that course of action.

The prisoners' dilemma, on the other hand, does not permit any such possibility. The in-charge of a prison tells the two prisoners that if one of them confesses to a murder, which the two prisoners have allegedly committed, he would not only be set free but would also be rewarded and the other would be hanged. If none of them confesses to the crime, they would both be freed without reward. But if both of them confess they would both receive serious punishment. Both the prisoners are told to think about it and inform the prison in-charge of the decision the next morning. The difficulty is that they are not allowed to communicate with each other. If one of them decides to confess the crime, he would of course be freed and given a reward. But there is a danger that the other prisoner might also do the same, in which case ultimately both would receive severe punishment.

Similarly, if one of the prisoners decides to deny the allegiance of committing the crime, the risk is that the other prisoner might confess the crime in which case the first prisoner would be convicted and the second would be set free and given a reward. Thus, the only way in which each of the two prisoners can avoid punishment and be freed is that each of them should independently tell the prison in-charge that he has not committed the crime. But this is possible when each of them is convinced that the other would not behave differently and when both of them prefer their acquittal to the temptation of any reward.

The users of game theory in international politics create a model of this game and then try to apply it to the study of international politics. In such models, nations are treated as players competing for the fulfilment of the national interest in the same manner as in a game the players take their turns in order to get victory. The object of a game of chess is to have as many pieces possible at the end of the game. If a player has a smaller number of pieces, he shall be deemed to have lost and the one who scores the highest number of pieces would be deemed to have won.

Game-theoretic modelling has progressed significantly in the area of political science, including international relations. While international politics is reasonably anarchistic, certain constancy does prevail in the way conflicts develop and may, or may not, be resolved. Arms races, for instance, are usually non-zero-sum games as two nations can benefit if they reach some agreement on limiting weapons. However, such agreements are often hard to verify or enforce and may therefore be unstable.

Since the breakdown of the hegemony of the superpowers in the 1990s, the interest of the academicians has moved from looking at the possibility of a new 'balance of power', which has emerged rationally or globally. It is almost similar to the political

struggle in the 19th and 20th centuries Europe. For example, one can ask if China, being the Asian superpower, align itself with other significant countries in its neighbourhood like India and Japan or will it join hands with Western powers to compete against its own neighbours. The tools to explore the stability of new alignments are offered by the game theory, including those that might be developed on the political and economic platforms.

Some of the serious challenges the World Trade Organization (WTO) has been battling are from the different regional trading agreements that have come up in the states of America, Europe and Asia. The game theory can provide assistance in making the strategic decision regarding whether or not to lend support to the WTO, or to be a part of the regional trading bloc. Game theory can also help clear doubts about ways in which the internal politics of a country can influence its foreign policy and vice versa; this has resulted in renewed interest in exploring how these two levels of politics are interrelated.

The game theory offers many other applications in the discipline of political science. These include those that have been developed towards strategic voting in panels and polls, the formation and disintegration of parliamentary coalitions as well as the dispensation of power in weighted voting panels.

Based on game-theoretic analysis, it was found that poll reforms that were proposed lessened the power of some parties on the normative side, like the religious parties in Israel. In the same manner, the voting weights of European Union Council of Ministers members and its decisions pertaining to taking action (for instance simple majority or qualified majority) were explored with an eye to make the body more participatory, of representing the interests of the individual members as well as competent of taking collective action.

In political science, game theory models have become more popular and have at the same time received a great number of criticisms. One of the common criticisms pertains to the argument that its theory is abstract in nature and is removed from strategic situations. Thus, it reduces the players to a position of over rationalism or bloodless automatons and prevents it from reflecting upon the emotions or social situations of people who are involved in conflicts. As per other critics, the game theory models cannot be easily tested empirically. This is so because they are partially dependent on counterfactual events which cannot be observed. That is, it is assumed that players keep in mind those contingencies which cannot be reconstructed or be precisely modeled. However, the supporters of game theory argue that it brings such a method to the study of strategic choices which cannot be matched by any other theory. They further argue that all actors basically make rational choices, i.e. they will naturally choose those means which are good over the worse ones, even of the goals that they seek to meet are not always apparent.

'Bayesian calculations', which take account of the situation when complete information is not available, can be used. It can help analyze the range of different goals that players may possibly have as well as assess their consequences. In real-life settings, such reconstructions are very difficult to make. However, laboratory experiments, which offer conditions that can be controlled, are being conducted more frequently. Experiments that test and prove theories of bargaining, voting, and other politico-economic processes have in fact become frequent in the disciplines of economics and political science. While it is not common in other disciplines of social sciences, social psychology has also used experiments to explore the choices of players in many games, including *prisoners' dilemma*.

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This is an infamous game which describes a situation where two players do not intend to cooperate, including arms race or a price war. However, by following this approach an outcome that is worse for both is reached than it would have been had the two players cooperated because mutual cooperation is not 'Nash equilibrium'. Yet, each of the players has the incentive to not cooperate. Some of the other confusing problems confront the players in another well-known game, *chicken*. While non-cooperation leads to a disastrous outcome, cooperation is clearly unstable. It is expected that each player defects only in the situation where the other player cooperates, however, anticipating when an opponent will do so is not easy.

### 5.2.1 Usage of Game Theory in International Relations

The use of mathematical tools in the international relations theory has increased over the last few decades, especially with the emergence of trade negotiations or environmental negotiations. The early statistical work emphasized that international security, especially the causes and consequences of war. More recent work has addressed a remarkably wide array of topics and has shed considerable light on some of the most heated debates in the field. There are many fields in which game theory has contributed to the understanding of international relations such as security analysis, economic relations trade, and so on.

#### Game Theory and the behaviour of actors

There have been many attempts to explain the behaviour of state actors in international politics. The decision-making theory was a popular theoretical tool to give explanations of the actions of the actors. One long-standing assumption of the realist approach with respect to international relations is that nation-states are motivated only by their own interests. Realists also assume that nation-states consider the needs and interests of other nation-states only when the latter are strong enough to enforce their demands through threat or by performing damaging actions. This implies that nation-states are not guided by ethics or humanitarian considerations, and that international law, treaties and other formalized agreements do not limit the international activities of nation-states. In such cases, actors have a major role to play. However, much more advanced technique-based attempts are made in game theory.

A basic assumption of game theory is that the actors involved in social interactions are self-centred and work only towards their need and satisfaction. The closest real-life example of the abstract of game theory can be found in the nation-states, both in terms of their interactions for security or economic issues. Nation-states are usually selfish and take into considerations of other nation-states only when the latter is strong (i.e., if it is more powerful and can take damaging actions). This shows that the driver of the respective powers of the different nation-states is one of the main concerns of the theory of international relations.

The game theory assumptions have still been criticized by Steven J. Brams' *Theory of Moves*. According to this theory, game theory pays scant attention to the actual determinants of the actions that are available to the players. It simply assumes that these actions or choices are known and that the players can freely choose from among them without restriction, guided only by their preferences. The determinants of the choices that are available to the players are not studied in the game theory. More importantly, one of the most important factors influencing the actions available to nation-states in the

#### Check Your Progress

3. What are the forms of games according to Brams?
4. The two types of games used in international politics are \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.

theory of international relations, i.e., the determinants of power, also receives scant attention in game theory.

### 5.2.2 Security Analysis and Game Theory in International Relations

A detailed analysis of the formation of international alliances has been presented by Gardner (1995). The focus of the first is on the rational distribution of defense costs among nation states who are interested in defending themselves from a common enemy. The most simplified way in which this decision is made is based upon the length of the boundary of a particular nation state and the direct contact it has with the territory of the enemy. However, it is an implicit assumption of this study that all the nation-states, which are part of this group, will equally benefit from the protection given by the alliance. It is further assumed that all the member nation states will contribute their resources and their capabilities for the protection of each one of them. These weaknesses are not considered. In the second analysis, the situation that prevailed in Bosnia around 1993 is examined and it was concluded that no alliance any of the warring factions (Serbs, Croats and Muslims) could have provided sustainable peace. Yet, the prevalent need for foreign forces and support in this area supports Gardner's theoretical conclusions.

Professor Robert Powell (1999) has conducted a systematic study of the alliances by using the techniques put forth in the game theory. He has explored the interactions between three nation states, out of which two are in direct conflict and the brink of war while the third is yet to decide which side to take. The conclusions he reaches comment on the different choices that the nation states could make and the possible war/peace outcomes that different decisions can lead to. Adding to this, numerous additional factors related to the alliances between the nation-states can be explored with the usage of tools of cooperative game theory.

Steven J. Brams, Ann E. Doherty and Matthew L. Weider (1994) and Alan D. Taylor (1995) also developed and put forth a method to make an index of the kind of power that each member of an alliance has, to influence the affairs of the whole alliance. This was applied to the analysis of the European Union.

Economist Michael D. Intriligator (1994) also used the cooperative game theory and put forward a discussion on the difficulties as well as the possibilities that the nation states have once they start cooperating with each other. It is then applied to the analysis of relationships among China, the European Community, Japan, the Soviet Union and the US (involving both bilateral and multilateral states). The conclusion that he reached differed from those that were earlier accepted by the game theory as a tool for the analysis of international relations.

#### Analysis of War Politics

War analysis as well as factors with which peace can be achieved is one of the most significant areas of studies of international relations. From Realism period to the Marxists, scholars all of schools of thought have been concerned with international relations. Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham (1998) have argued: 'The idea that violence and war are intrinsic parts of the international system is the distinctive hallmark of realism.' At the same time, Chris R. Mitchell (1985) has opined that the great complexity of the phenomenon of war is reflected in the analysis of the causes initiation, process, and consequences in its economic, political, social and military aspects. Due to these multiple

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complexities involved in the politics of war, there is no one complete and comprehensive theory available.

In his research, Barry O'Neil (1994) has tried to cover and bring together the numerous game-theoretic studies that focus on different aspects of war and peace. Attention is given only to military issues in the game theoretical analysis of war. Breaking this down further, this analysis assumes that nation states are already in the situation of conflict. Their objective is to attack the other but at the same time have to defend and protect themselves from the other. Keeping this analysis in mind, two kind of game theory analysis for war have been developed.

In the first kind of analysis, what is studied is the decision to launch the attack first or to wait and respond when attacked. The decision to attack first or to wait and respond when attacked is studied in the first type of analysis. William Poundstone (1992) has argued that this sort of analysis was very useful during the time of the Cold War since nuclear weapons were being progressively developed and delivered. It was, thus agreed upon that the first strike on the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was the most recommended policy (at least by several distinguished and influential personalities) since the United States had the monopoly on nuclear weapons and other such related systems.

The relevance of this policy, however, came under the scanner after the USSR developed its own nuclear weapons and the capability of not only surviving the first strike but also respond in an equally damaging responsive strike. Taylor (1995) has formalized the situation mentioned above in a simplified model in which each of the two states involved in conflict in this analysis adopt the following two strategies—the first and second strikes.

### 5.2.3 Game Theory and Economic Relations among Nation-States

The realist theory draws heavily upon the conflict and power games among various nation states. On the other hand, the liberal school of thought emphasises the cooperation between different countries, especially economic cooperation. Strange (1991) has argued that economic and trade relations among countries are part of the subject matter of international relations as well. On the other hand, Philip A. Reynolds (1994) has opined that the power of the nation states to protect themselves from outside forces and yet survive depends to a large extent on their economic strength.

However, despite its growing significance, the political relevance of economic relationship between nation states has been ignored in the academia. In fact, this area has become a matter of interest for economists only. McMillan (1986) has presented a long list of factors that determine what can be referred to as international economics. The game theory broadly deals with two aspects of international economic relations. These are: factors that lead to agreements between nation states and secondly, international trade relations.

The most significant feature in economic relations among nation-states is agreements pertaining to economic cooperation. This can take the shape of many concrete factors such as formation of economic unions and lead towards pursuing more definite and long-term economic as well as political objectives than what are pursued by security alliances. Different unions among nation states, like the OPEC, have very limited goals. They are differentiated by the fact the main goal of the members is to show to the world that they stand united, without really changing their patterns of interaction.

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At the same time, there are many economic and political agreements which are characterized by increasing the interdependence of the member nation states upon each other. These kinds of agreements, ordered by increasing comprehensiveness, include the ones which are most favoured like nation agreements, trade blocs, free trade associations, custom unions, common markets, and integrations or unifications. Most likely, all of these agreements comprise of and also expand upon what was in the previous agreement.

Even before the development of the game theory, the economists' studies of international trade were being undertaken. Yet, as has been argued by Jepma, Jager and Kamphuis (1996), even the first formal theory of international trade – also referred to as mercantilism – explored the relationships among those nation states which were trading with each other by clearly using the game theoretic approaches. However, such a point of view, where simply only two nation-states are considered, is a simplified one and leads researcher to conclude that what is the gain of one is the loss of the other. It is concluded from this analysis that the zero-sum games which are used to explore battles and war could be applied to the study of the mercantilist theory of international trade. Yet, since this theory is not considered valid in the present times, this has not been followed in detail.

There are unrestricted trade benefits for all the nation states involved in such agreements. This is so because each country can specialize in producing those goods in which it has the strategic advantage over the others. That free trade should be made a rule in international economic relations is a conclusion from the previous analysis. Morrow (1994) has argued that if one of the two partners enforce a tax duty, it will lead to the gain in benefits which are above the level of free trade. This will automatically bring down the benefits that the other trading partner makes, who will also in such a case try to correct the imbalance by levying a tariff. This kind of struggle is the trade counterpart of arms races and can be further explored with the usage of *prisoners' dilemma* game. This is a simplified model which can be and has been extended substantially.

The real weakness of game theory is that it can be applied with some success only to the cases of two persons, zero sum games but in international politics such instances are very few. Most often there are multiple actors involved in various issues. Thomas Shelling has questioned the validity of game theory in its 'zero sum' form. His main objection is that game theory in this form has contributed very little to problems like limited war, deterrence, surprise attacks, atomic blackmail and massive retaliation.

According to Schelling, the essence of international politics lies in the conflict and mutual dependence which demands some kind of cooperation or accommodation between the contending parties. In other words, the choice of a national actor depends to a very large extent on what it expects from other nations. Schelling believes that since the range of alternatives is very large, bargaining becomes necessary. He maintains that if bargaining is to result in the convergence of mutually consistent expectation, there should be suggestive clues exchanged by the parties and the collaboration and promise or threat.

### ACTIVITY

Analyse the importance of game theory in the current international political scenario.

#### Check Your Progress

5. Powell uses the game theory to study \_\_\_\_\_ between nation-states.
6. According to Philip A. Reynolds, power of the nation states is to protect themselves from outside forces and yet survive depends to a large extent on their military strength. (True/False)

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## DID YOU KNOW

One-person games are also called games against nature. Having no opponents, the player merely requires listing available options and selecting the optimal outcome. In the case of chance being involved the game might seem more complicated, but in principle the decision remains relatively simple. For instance, a person deciding whether to carry an umbrella analyses the costs and benefits of carrying or not carrying it. While this person may make the wrong decision, there does not exist a conscious opponent. In other words, nature is presumed to be absolutely indifferent to the player's decision, and the person's decision can be based on simple probabilities. One-person games are of little interest for game theorists.

## 5.3 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Game theory has become quite popular in the study of international politics in the last few decades. Beginning with economics and mathematics, now it is being used by many in political science in order to explain the probable behaviour of multiple actors. It has proved its utility in international negotiations, and in trade relations among countries.
- Game theory emerged as a popular theory for analysis of behaviour with the publication of *Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour* in 1944 by John von Neumann (a mathematician) and Oskar Morgenstern (an economist). This was a path-breaking achievement that gave rise to a large number of books and articles in a variety of disciplines.
- Lake and Powell (1994) highlight that international relations is the study of the interactions themselves rather than of the issues that constitute their substance.
- There are broadly two types of games used in international politics, one is the *chicken game*, and the other is the *game of prisoners' dilemma*.
- The principle characteristic of the chicken game situation is that in spite of not being able to know the interactions of its opponents, a nation can adopt such a course of action as would guarantee its own interests, if only it does not mind the opponent also benefitting from that course of action. The prisoners' dilemma, on the other hand, does not permit any such possibility.
- As game-theoretic models have become more prominent in political science, they have received a great number of criticisms at the same time. A common criticism is that the theory abstracts too much from strategic situations, thereby reducing the players to over-rational or bloodless automatons, and that this is not reflective of the emotions or social circumstances of people involved in the conflicts.
- A basic assumption of game theory is that the actors involved in social interactions are completely self-centred and in pursuit only of their own satisfaction. Game theory finds the closest real-life examples of its abstract constructs in the nation-states.

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- Unlike the realist theory which pays heavy attention to the conflict and power game among the states, the liberal school of thought emphasizes more on the cooperation aspect especially on the aspects of economic cooperation among the states.

## 5.4 KEY TERMS

- **Payoff:** It is the return on an investment or a bet.
- **Zero-sum game:** In game theory and economic theory, a zero-sum game is a mathematical representation of a situation in which a participant's gain (or loss) of utility is exactly balanced by the losses (or gains) of the utility of the other participant(s).
- **Nations state:** A nation state is a geographical area that can be identified as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign nation.

## 5.5 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Game theory is found very useful in analysing competitive situations. The outcomes of such situations depends both, on one's own choices (and an element of chance), and also on the choices made by other parties, or 'players'. As the result, the game is determined by what *all* players do, each participant anticipates the decisions of the other players in order to base its own best choices.
2. Game theory has five important components: (i) strategy, (ii) opponent, (iii) payoffs, (iv) rules, and (v) information.
3. According to Brams, the three forms of games are the following:
  - (a) Extensive (game tree), which explains that there are sequences of choices that players can make, with payoffs defined at the end of each sequence of choices (also possibly determined by chance, nature or some random device).
  - (b) Normal/strategic (payoff matrix), which indicates strategies or plans which are contingent on the decisions of other players', with payoffs resulting at the intersection of each set of strategies within a matrix.
  - (c) Characteristic function, which indicates the values that all the possible coalitions (subsets) can guarantee for their members, no matter what the other players do.
4. chicken game, game of prisoners' dilemma
5. Alliance
6. False

## 5.6 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

## Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the key paradigms of game theory?
2. List the five major components of game theory.

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3. Write a short note on security analysis and game theory in international relations.
4. What are the two types of games used in international politics?

## Long-Answer Questions

1. Assess the significance of game theory in international politics.
2. Write a short note on game theory and economic relations among nation-states.

## 5.7 FURTHER READING

Curtis, Michael. *The Great Political Theories, Vol. 2.* New York: Harper Collins. 1976.

Hoffman, John and Paul Graham. *An Introduction to Political Theory.* Second Edition, New Jersey: Longman. 2009.

McCartney, Nolan and Adam Meirowitz. *Political Game Theory: An Introduction.* London: Cambridge University Press. 2007.

UNIT 6 POLITICAL CULTURE AND  
POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

## NOTES

## Structure

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Unit Objectives
- 6.2 Political Culture
  - 6.2.1 Meaning
  - 6.2.2 Determinants of Political Culture
  - 6.2.3 Typology of Political Culture
- 6.3 Political Socialization: Meaning and Agents
  - 6.3.1 Political Sociology
  - 6.3.2 Agents of Political Socialization
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  - 6.3.4 Socio-Political Change
- 6.4 Summary
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- 6.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
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- 6.8 Further Reading

## 6.0 INTRODUCTION

Political sociology is concerned with the social circumstances of politics, i.e., how politics is shaped and how it shapes other events across societies. On the whole, it forms an integral component of sociology. Broadly conceived, political sociology is the study of power and domination in social relationships. It tries to identify and interpret various intersections between politics and society. Political sociology highlights the problems of state and societal relations and constructs empirical studies regarding the exercise of power, both within and between states. Further, it analyses the role of political institutions in social development. Traditionally, it has been concerned with relations between the society and the state. Political sociology may be distinguished in this respect from political science, which takes politics much more directly as its object of study and is, therefore, more concerned with government and the state. Both political sociology and political theory are concerned with the empirical study of politics and also with conceptual definitions. Both disciplines have, therefore, been engaged in defining that domain of politics on which traditional sociology and political science have been based. This unit specifically deals with political culture and political socialization.

## 6.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss political culture, its determinants and typology
- Explain the concept of political socialization

## 6.2 POLITICAL CULTURE

The concept of 'political culture' emerged from the wave of democratization studies and the seminal study was *The Civic Culture* (1963) by Gabriel Almond and Sidney

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Verba. Here, they studied five democratic societies and concluded that a nation's political culture exerted an independent influence on social and political behaviour.

In 1965, a group of area specialists published their comparative study of the political systems of select countries in Africa (Egypt and Ethiopia), America (Mexico), Asia (India, Japan), Europe (England, Germany, Italy) and Eurasia (Soviet Russia and Turkey) in the form of a book *Political Culture and Political Development*. It was edited by Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba and dedicated to Gabriel Almond, who was the guiding force behind the endeavour. This work epitomized the 'political culture' approach. The concept of political culture was based on the observation on Gabriel Almond that 'every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientation to political actions'.

The concept of political culture, thus suggests that the traditions of a society, the spirit of its public institutions, the passions and the collective reasoning of its citizenry, and the style and operating codes of its leaders are not just random products of historical experience but fit together as a part of a meaningful whole and constitute an intelligible web of relations. For the individual, the political culture provides controlling guidelines for effective political behaviour, and for the collectivity it gives a systematic structure of values and rational considerations which ensures coherence in the performance of institutions and organizations.

Political culture does not refer to the formal or informal structures of political interaction, i.e., the study of governments, political parties, pressure groups or cliques. Instead, it refers to the system of beliefs about patterns of political interaction and political institutions. It does not refer so much to what is happening in politics as much as what people believe is happening. Political culture, therefore, is an important link between political events and people's reactions to those events. It studies the fundamental political beliefs of the people because these are particularly relevant to understanding social change as well as political stability.

The study of political culture has had a long history before American political scientists began studying different areas of the world. Though it could be even traced back to the Ancient Greeks, scholars such as Gabriel Almond, Sidney Verba et al. derived their inspiration from Montesquieu, Tocqueville and Walter Bagehot. Although the political culture approach provides a subjective orientation to the study of politics, it is but one aspect of the study of the political system.

The concept of political culture helps one to separate the cultural aspects of politics from other forms of culture. It ties the study of political beliefs to the sociological and anthropological works on culture and focuses attention on basic values, cognitions and emotional commitments. The study of political culture also leads to political socialization, because the manner in which political knowledge is learnt or transmitted from one generation to the next determines the political culture of a system.

Besides the work of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba on political culture, there are others who have worked on the same theme since the decade the 1960s. The earliest is that of Eckstein, who studied how culture could play a role in political change. This tendency is known as the 'authority-culture' theory. Aaron Wildavsky analysed political culture on the basis of the grid-group approach and developed a typology of cultures. These types were based on social relations and the values they exemplified. The most recent works that update the field are those of Ronald Inglehart and Robert Putnam.

## 6.2.1 Meaning

Political culture stands for the basic attitudes of people towards politics, policy and the polity. Political culture analysis investigates the implications of ethnicity, religion and value orientations for government, polity and governance. Political culture is part of the more general phenomenon of culture, for which there are several definitions in social sciences, focusing upon different phenomena: mind, behaviour or artifacts. One definition reads: 'The political culture of a society consists of the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which defines the situation in which political action takes place.'

For sociologists and anthropologists, culture constitutes 'ways of life'. Political sociologists tend to focus more upon culture as attitudes or belief systems. According to Almond and Powell, 'political culture is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system'. A.R. Ball defines political culture as 'the set of the attitudes, beliefs and values of society that relates to the political system and to the issues'. Lucian Pye describes political culture as 'the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and that provides the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system'. In the words of Dennis Kavanagh, 'political culture may be defined as the shorthand expression to denote the emotional and attitudinal environment within which the political system operates'.

## 6.2.2 Determinants of Political Culture

There are three components of political culture that can be derived on the basis of the definitions, which have been discussed above. These are:

- (i) Cognitive orientation
- (ii) Affective orientation
- (iii) Evaluative orientation

The knowledge of the political system, whether exact or not, are referred to as cognitive orientations. Those orientations that imply feelings towards political objects, like attachment, involvement, rejection and others, are known as affective orientations. On the other hand, those that indicate towards judgments and opinions towards political objects or such events are called evaluative orientations.

Approaches towards elements of political culture: Discussing Almond, Verba et. al.

- The collective history of a political system produces what is called a political culture and also the life histories of those individuals who are part of the system.
- On the basis of those variables which are common to political sociology, the theories of political culture act as a bridge between behavioural approaches of political science and their macro analysis.
- Political ideology, national ethos and spirit, national political psychology, and the fundamental values of the people are studied systematically as part of political culture.
- Non-political behaviour, such as feelings of basic trust in human relations, orientations towards time and the possibility of progress, are also examined under political culture.

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- Political culture is learnt from active training in citizenship as well as the day-to-day working of a political system. It needs to be rationally understood and its concepts articulated well.
- Emotional dimension is also a part of political culture, including attributes such as loyalty towards community and geography.
- The structure and meaning to the political sphere is provided by political culture and thus this approach is important. Political culture studies a political system in totality and includes micro and macro analysis.

Source: Pye and Verba, eds., *Political Culture and Political Development*

### Mapping levels of political culture

Citizens' are oriented towards a nation's political culture at three levels. These are:

- (i) The political system
- (ii) The political process
- (iii) Policy outputs and outcomes.

At the level of the political system, it is the citizens' and leaders' views on the values and organizations that comprise the system. The expectations about the working and functioning of politics comprise the political process. The citizens' and leaders' expectations of policy from the government are included in the policy level.

### Culture of alienation

Alienation has become an important aspect of the empirical research into public opinion. It is discussed as under. The concept of alienation is fundamentally diffused in nature. However, its larger focus is on examining the processes, both social and psychological, which can cause withdrawal or disengagement with the activities in politics or participation in these activities. One of its broader categories is political apathy, which includes both alienation and a disinterest in politics which is socially inherited. Additionally, research carried out in this area till now does not suggest any definition or statement on the rise or decline in political alienation. Instead, it points towards social groups which are most susceptible to alienation, including youth, minorities as well as intellectuals. The researches are relevant for they highlight the processes through which a person becomes alienated. Studies argue that alienation is not a 'steady state' but an orientation which can be reversed, whether gradually or suddenly, to produce direct intervention which is outside the usual channels of political action.

### Political alienation

In the contemporary societies, alienation is much debated apprehension. Given its nature, alienation is an intriguing concept and is a source of intense conceptual analysis and research. This concept has been used across disciplines such as philosophy, psychology and sociology. Nowadays, it is being used actively in political sociology as well. Since it is an aspect of social life, especially in industrial societies, the concept draws heavily from the work of social scientists of the nineteenth century, such as Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx. The concept possesses different possible dimensions even when applied generally to social phenomena, such as powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, self-estrangement and isolation.

The dimensionality of the concept of political alienation has been debated by numerous scholars, including Citrin, McClosky, Shanks, Sniderman, Seeman and Finifter.

Since there are many perspectives related to alienation, a multi-dimensional concept has been created, especially in the different contexts within which it is studied (Pearlin, 1962; McClosky and Schaar, 1965; Neal and Rettig, 1967; Holian, 1972; Neal and Groat, 1974). Philosophers and sociologists, and several other writers have related the concept to different human 'states' like powerlessness, apathy, loneliness and loss of values. However, it is not limited to these states. Josephson and Josephson (1962) have argued that the concept is related to the feelings of an individual, like his/her state of dissociation. On the other hand, *Oliver Wendell* Holmes, the author of *The Common Law*, is of the opinion that alienation is comprised of an incongruity in social conditions when it is expressed. Therefore, succinctly, 'alienation' can be referred to as estrangement, aloofness, apathy, indifference, cutting off or keeping away from someone or from something. To conclude, we can say that alienation may refer to:

- A state of estrangement or separation which is objective
- State of mind which is motivated by feeling of estrangement
- The state of feeling of estranged personality.

It is in the following context that the term 'separation' can be used:

- Separation between the self and the objective world
- Separation between the self and the self
- Those aspects of the self and the aspects of the self that have become separated and placed over against the self. Alienated labour can be referred to as an example.

The various dimensions of political alienation are:

- (i) Political powerlessness
- (ii) Political meaninglessness
- (iii) Political normlessness
- (iv) Political isolation

Evolved at the University of Michigan, a model of political behaviour explains political powerlessness. It refers to an individual's belief that he/she does not have the power or influence to change government's actions. This has been termed under the Michigan Model as 'efficacy'. In the same vein, 'political meaninglessness' is referred to as the discernment of an individual that politics cannot be predicted. These are two dimensions of political behavior which materialize to be termed as external and internal efficacy in political liberation in an operational sense. When it is believed that the rules which were made to govern political relations have broken down, it is referred to as political normlessness. In the end, political isolation hints as rejection of those political norms and objectives that are commonly shared in a particular society.

### 6.2.3 Typology of Political Culture

Elazar's political culture typology has divided state political culture into the following three dominant categories:

- (i) **Moralist political culture:** It is by commitment to public good and concern for public welfare that the moralists evaluate their government. Constructive changes are encouraged by communal power, whether governmental or non-governmental, but at the same time it puts moral obligations on public officials. Citizen's participation in the political process is encouraged by democracy. The moralists, by their very nature, put emphasis on greater participation in government activities, whether politically, economically or socially.

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(ii) **Individualist political culture:** The emphasis of individualists is on private concerns and they work towards limiting community involvement in political activities. To control the government, politicians attempt to control distribution of favours. It is through politics that they seek to better their condition socially, economically, and politically. In this case, public good and welfare is not the prerogative since much of politics centres around the initiative of individual and his control. Democracy functions as a marketplace in this case, where politicians rely on public demand but are guided by strictly by utilitarianism. However, public good is eclipsed since community activity is limited and individual initiative results are encouraged since a marketplace emerges and private players become active.

(iii) **Traditionalist political culture:** As the name suggests, the traditionalists focus towards maintaining the existing social order. In this case, a social hierarchy is entrenched and those who are at the top of this hierarchy dominate politics and government. Under this system such public participation is discouraged which can undermine those who are politically powerful. Traditionalists do not make any attempt to promote public participation as their main motive is continuation of the status quo. Like moralists, individualists believe that government is a constructive force in society, but its powers are limited to the elite few. Hierarchical control and established elite power-holders are preferred by traditionalists.

Within the states, however, these three mentioned dominant political cultures can overlap. Research indicates that it is difficult to name an entire state which has one dominant political culture. This necessitates formation of political subcultures. These comprise of combinations of the dominant political cultures in states. A nine-point categorization of political culture was developed by Sharkansky as part of quantification of Elazar's typology.

### 6.3 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: MEANING AND AGENTS

It is said, 'citizens are not born, but created.' Political socialization is concerned with the learning of political response, of absorbing preferences, and in a sense, with the wide problems of allegiance to and alienation from the body politic. Effective political participation is possible only if citizens are trained for political tasks at all levels. The virtues of a good citizen must be inculcated in children through schooling for which teachers should be sufficiently enabled. Great care should be advanced in the drafting of curricula so that students are not indoctrinated rather taught to think and act critically and responsibly. The key strands of an informed curriculum for creating effective citizens should have at least the three following features:

- (i) Knowledge and understanding about becoming an informed citizen
- (ii) Developing skills of enquiry and communication
- (iii) Developing skills of participation and responsible action

Political socialization is a concept concerning the 'study of the developmental processes by which children and adolescents acquire political cognition, attitudes and behaviours'. It refers to a learning process by which norms and behaviour acceptable to a well running political system are transmitted from one generation to another. It is through the performance of this function that individuals are inducted into the political culture and their orientations towards political objects are formed.

#### Check Your Progress

1. Mention the three components of 'political culture'.
2. Explain the concept of 'elite theory of the state'.
3. What are the dimensions of 'political alienation'?
4. What do you understand by the concept of 'political sociology'?

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Political socialization is the process of transmission of the country's political culture from one generation to the next. This is learned but not conscious effort. It is adopted unconsciously during the course of interaction. It is a natural process that goes on throughout life. It is a result of complementary nature of different political institutions. The stability of a political system totally depends upon the adequacy of political socialization. Political socialization may have two forms: (i) direct or manifest and (ii) indirect or latent. Direct or **manifest political socialization** refers to the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or feelings is clearly political. Hence, an individual under the influence of his family, teachers or some other agencies gains knowledge of the pattern and functions of the government and the ideologies of political parties. On the other hand, an individual may build up an attitude to authority as a result of his relationships with parents, teachers or some other agencies. This attitude to authority in general may later on be directed to political authority in particular, and thus the orientation with a non-political object is transformed into a political orientation. This is an example of indirect or latent political socialization.

Basically, socialization means the process of norm-internalization. According to Almond and Powell, 'political socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed'. Through the performance of this function, individuals are inducted into the political culture; their orientations towards political subjects are formed. The emphasis of the concept of political socialization is on the acquisition of political values and their transmission from one generation to the next. Most children acquire their basic political orientations and behaviour patterns at a relatively early age. Some of these attitudes will evolve and change through life but others may remain part of the political self throughout life. So, the concept of political socialization could be taken as a doctrine that seeks to instill values, norms and orientations in the minds of the individuals. In this way, they develop faith in the political system.

#### 6.3.1 Political Sociology

Thomas Burton Bottomore, a British sociologist, defined Political Sociology as 'the study of power' i.e., in this discipline a person studies the political and social explanation of power. You all are acquainted with the fact that power is an element in most social relationships—in the family, religion, associations, organizations, universities, trade unions, and others. Power signifies the ability of an individual or a social group to pursue a course of action, if necessary, against the interests and even against the opposition of other individuals and groups. However, there are diverse conceptualizations of power which have their own place within particular theories of politics. It could, thereby, include analysis of all social institutions, for example, the family, the mass media, universities, trade unions. Giovanni Sartori said it is necessary to explain power both in social and in political terms. Thus, one could say, political sociology is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between a political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. It also tries to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities, and conflicting social interests.

Old or traditional political sociology focuses on the modern nation-state as the centre of political activity. It is concerned with the relations between classes as the main dimension of stratification in modern societies and politics. Power is perceived as exercised by the state. In new political sociology the focus shifts from formal politics at the level of the nation state, and its relationship to class, to politics as an intrinsic possibility

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in all social relations. The state remains important, but it is treated as the centre of political activity. The emphasis in new political sociology is on the contestation of social relations in culture; in everyday life, media representations and institutional practices. The society is not set against society as the dominion of politics, but politics is a potential in social life itself.

Dowse and Hughes define political sociology as 'the study of interrelation between politics and society'. According to them, both politics and society are dependent on each other. This definition is acceptable to political scientists as well. We have to accept that society is the pre-condition of politics. Politics comes into play if there is society. In the absence of society, it is impossible to come across the elements of politics. Further, we cannot find a society without politics. The instant society comes into existence, politics also takes shape.

The following definitions of political sociology will further help in understanding its meaning:

'Political Sociology starts with society and examines how it affects the state.'

— **R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset**

'Political Sociology is that branch of sociology which is concerned with the social causes and consequences of given power distribution within or between societies, and with the social and political conflicts that lead to changes in the allocation of power.'

— **L.A. Coser**

'Political Sociology is the study of the interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions.'

— **S.M. Lipset**

'Political Sociology is the study of political behaviour within a sociological perspective of framework.'

— **Robert E. Dowse and John Hughes**

'Political Sociology is a subject area which examines the links between politics and society, between social behaviour and political behaviour.'

— **Michael Rush and Phillip Althoff**

'At its broadest level, political sociology is concerned with the relationship between politics and society. Its distinctiveness within the social sciences lies in its acknowledgement that political actors, including parties, pressure groups and social movements, operate within a wider social context. Political actors and social movements, therefore inevitably shape, and in turn are shaped by, social structures such as gender, class and nationality. Such social structures ensure that political influence within society is unequal. It follows from this that a key concept in political sociology is that power, where power is defined as the capacity to achieve one's objectives even when those objectives are in conflict with the interests of another actor. Political sociologists therefore invariably return to the following question: which individuals and groups in society possess the capacity to pursue their interests, and how is this power exercised and institutionalized.'

— **Keith Faulks**

Political sociology is treated as a theoretical and methodological bridge between sociology, political science; what Giovanni Sartori addressed as an 'inter-disciplinary hybrid'.

Some essential features of political sociology are as follows:

- Political sociology tries to resolve the traditional dichotomy between state and society.
- It is not political science because, unlike the latter, it is not a study of statecraft. As the stability of society is a central issue for sociology, the stability of a specific institutional structure or political regime—the social conditions of democracy—is the prime concern of political sociology.
- Political sociology is also not the sociology of politics because, unlike the latter, it is concerned with both social and political aspects.
- Political sociology is the product of cross fertilization between sociology and political science that studies the impact of society on politics and also the vice versa, although presenting the substance of politics in a social form.
- Stability of the democratic political system has been the central concern of political sociology.
- It sets an identity between the social process and the political process.
- Political sociology lies at the intersection of the politics of sociology and the sociology of politics.

Political sociology is relevant to political science and other social sciences in many ways, which are as follows:

- Political sociology has broadened the area of enquiry by widening the scope of what is considered 'political' phenomena today. Political science restricts the study of political phenomena by limiting its contacts with other disciplines of social science, whereas the Political sociology has a tendency to restore the political phenomena to their proper location within the broad range of social phenomena.
- Political sociology also has the tendency to remove barriers between disciplines and emphasize the essential unity of all the social sciences.
- Political sociology has established that political variables influence social, cultural and economic variables.
- Political sociology also stresses upon the use of empirical and experimental methods of research instead of philosophical reasoning. Hence, in the contemporary highly complex and changing society, political sociology has opened a new vista of research.
- It studies political or social institutions as a separate entity in the modern society. Concepts like state, constitution, representation, and the rights and duties of citizens can no longer possess and provide details of the activities of political parties, pressure groups and the mass media. Political sociology fills up this gap by constructing theoretical formulations around single central concepts such as group, power, decision or conflict, and also by introducing comprehensive and highly abstract formulations such as system, process, development or communication.
- Because of political sociology, new concepts of role and political socialization, together with functional categories including the conversion functions, capabilities of the system, and system maintenance and adaptation functions, have gained recognition today.

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- Political sociology involves an ongoing search for a more wide-ranging scope, as well as more realistic, precise and theory conscious analysis. The attainment of depth and realism in the study of political systems facilitates us to locate the dynamic forces of politics wherever they exist—in social class, in culture, in economic and social change, in the political elite or in the international environment.
- Some important concepts of political sociology such as role analysis, focusing on problems such as role conflict, role consensus and role structures, come together with theoretical notions such as system, decision-making power, has been useful in structural-functional approaches to the political process, and especially useful in closing the gap between the macro-analysis and micro-analysis of politics.
- The implications of modern political sociology are as much important to the democratic society as to monarchical, dictatorial and communistic states. In all the developed and developing countries, therefore, political sociology is a very important subject of study.

The scope of political sociology is immeasurable. There is dearth of any simple definition that would adequately cover the scope of political sociology and that would give a clear and lasting boundary *vis-a-vis* political science. There is no part in contemporary society which is not touched by some form of political association and activity. Thus, the main objective of political sociology is to study and examine interaction between social and political structures. Political sociology may be said to encompass several lines of inquiry:

- Voting behaviour in communities and in nations
- Purpose of economic power and political decision-making
- Ideologies of political movements and interest groups
- Government and the problem of bureaucracy
- Political parties, voluntary associations, the problem of oligarchy and the psychological correlates of political behaviour
- Effects of social attitudes on political participation.
- The characteristics of a multi-group society, the political and social implications, and nature of modern bureaucracy and its form in different political social context
- Impact of social groupings upon political activity
- The nature of welfare state
- The effectiveness of propaganda and public opinion as means of informal political education

In short, political sociology includes all the political and social aspects which arise time and again in contemporary society. Basically, it is concerned with the causes, patterns and consequences of the distribution and process of power and authority in all social systems ranging from small groups and families to educational, religious, governmental or political institutions. The heart of political sociology comprises the study of both formal and informal party organization, with its linkages to the governmental bureaucracy, the legal system, the interest groups and the electoral.

The aim of political sociology would be the analysis of institutions of the state. Thus, the major problem of this subject is the explanation of atypical social structure, i.e., the state. There are several schools which determine the scope of political sociology.

Some scholars believe that state is the subject matter of political sociology and not the group. In this context, Bernard Crick argued small groups are part of the state. They may facilitate to create politics, but their intrinsic behaviour is not political because their function is different from that of the state. Drawing upon this viewpoint, Grear and Orleans describe political sociology as being mainly concerned with the description, analysis and sociological explanation of the peculiar social structures called the State. There is another school which argues that politics is present in almost all social relations. They emphasize that individuals and small groups engage in the exercise of 'power' in terms of enforcement of their parent organizations, family, club or college. Political sociologists have shown interest in studying the 'power behaviour' in order to understand the way political system works.

Various political sociologists have studied the political systems of various countries along with their functions, roles and structures. So, the process of political socialization has also been studied. Political sociologists are interested in analysing and finding why human beings behave in a particular way so far as politics is concerned. Sociologist Harold D. Lasswell explains that politics permeates every social group, association, class and profession because the whole society is characterized by the political interaction permeating throughout the society. Everything which is influenced by power and influence is political in nature.

Andreu Affrat methodically summarized the concerns of the field in terms of a series of overlapping circles—some circles containing others completely and some just partially. The innermost and smallest circle signifies the smallest unit of analysis, i.e., the individual or a role. At this stage, individuals or role incumbents bargain and communicate with each other regarding political issue, individual's political attitude or ideology and voting behaviour. The next circle represents small-scale primary groups wherein individuals interact usually on an informal face-to-face basis, e.g., families, friendship groups and small-scale neighbourhood clustering. Another circle may be a bigger aggregate of individuals who are also not formally organized, for example, social classes, religious, ethnic and regional groupings. Another overlapping circle comprises more formal organizations like political parties, business firms, governmental agencies and ethnic organizations. The next larger or more macro-level circle is traditionally found to be institutional in nature. This term connotes functionally related complexes of roles, norms and organizations like the economy, polity or religious sector. In a more comprehensive sense, this circle may also be called the societal one. Hence, it may be said that political sociology comprises the following areas:

- Political structures (social class/caste, elite, interest groups, bureaucracy, political parties and factions).
- Political life (electoral process, political communication, opinion formation and so on).
- Political leadership (bases, types and operation of community power structure).
- Political development (concept and indices of its measurement, its social bases and prerequisites and its relationship to social change and modernization).

Some political sociologists are interested to study the 'rule-making' process in society. The rule-making activity is perceived in the context of self-contained social unit, e.g., a tribe, a village or a nation-state. The other social institutions along with the government are also involved in rule-making activities. Thus, political sociologists are interested to examine the nature of rule-making and how the rules are obeyed at mass

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level. They study the social structures and their development within which the rules are made.

Many political sociologists have also shown great interest in the analysis of those institutions and social systems which play crucial roles in the operation of political process. They have been influenced by elite theories. Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto and Robert Michels has significantly contributed in this regard by undertaking sociological studies of elites and the sociology of political organizations. The perspective of elite study has been elaborated by many sociologists who have specialization in the study of total societies and political change at the societal level. At the empirical level, political sociologists have done research to investigate the social basis of political cleavage and consensus. Political cleavage and consensus are the important parts of the political system. These are primarily derived from the social stratification theory of politics. It comprises analysis of voting statistics and sample surveys, affiliation to a political party and the voting behaviour of the electorate. In this way, this is an important source of explanation and historical documentation.

Sheldon S. Wolin restricts the scope of politics to those activities only which 'affect in a significant way the whole society or a substantial portion of it'. According to him, the word 'political' means:

- A form of activity revolves around the quest for competitive advantage between groups, individuals, or societies.
- A form of activity conditioned by the fact that it takes place within a situation of change and relative scarcity.
- A form of activity in which the quest of advantage creates consequences of such a magnitude that they effect, in a significant way, the whole society or substantial portion of it.

So, the politics of trade unions, civil societies, teacher's associations, student's union, etc., are 'political' because other groups in the society are affected vitally by their activities. These types of groups or associations are the relevant matters for the study of Political Sociology. In this context,

Arthur F. Bentley made it clear that no group can be stated, or defined, or valued, except in terms of other groups. No group has meaning except in terms of other groups. For his statement, Bentley has given rationale that it is not groups as such, but interactions and linkages of public significance among groups that are the relevant matters for political sociology.

An important concern for political sociology is the analysis of socio-political factors in economic development. There is a better understanding on the fact that the problems of development are not merely technical or bureaucratic in the narrow sense, but are essentially socio-political in a wider sense. It is also realized that political forces must organize in a way to ensure effective implementation of development plans. Therefore, political sociologists could study the problems of administrative development, of bureaucracy steeped in a country's native culture and society, of the relationship between the bureaucratic officials and the political leaders, etc.

According to Greer and Orleans, political sociology is concerned with the structure of the state; the nature and condition of legitimacy; and nature of the monopoly of force and its use by the State; and the nature of the sub-units and their relation with the State. They treat political sociology in terms of consensus and legitimacy, participation and representation, and the relationship between economic development and political change.

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By implication, whatever is related to the state is alone held as the subject matter of political sociology. Andreu Effrat takes a broader view of the picture and suggests that political sociology is concerned with the causes, patterns and consequences of the distribution and process of power and authority 'in all social systems'. Among social systems, he includes small groups and families, educational and religious groups, as well as governmental and political institutions.

Lipset and Benedix suggest a more representative catalogue of topics when they describe the main areas of interest to political sociologists, as voting behaviour, concentration of economic power and political decision-making; ideologies of political movement and interest groups; political parties, voluntary associations, the problems of oligarchy and psychological correlates of political behaviour; and the problem of bureaucracy. To Dowse and Hughes, one area of substantive concern for the political sociologist is the problem of social order and political obedience.

Richard G. Braugart has pointed out that political sociologists are concerned with the dynamic association among and between: (a) the social origin of politics, (b) the structure of political process, and (c) the effects of politics on the surrounding society and culture. Political sociology should include four areas that are as follows:

- (i) Political structures (social class/caste, elite, interest groups, bureaucracy, political parties and factions)
- (ii) Political life (electoral process, political communication, opinion formation, etc.)
- (iii) Political leadership (bases, types and operation of community power structure)
- (iv) Political development (concept and indices of its measurement, its social bases and prerequisites and its relationship to social change and modernization).

To illustrate, it can be pointed out that on one hand, sociologists focus their attention on the sub-areas of the social system, and political scientists concentrate on the study of law, local, state and national governments, comparative government, political systems, public administration and international relations. On the other hand, political sociologists ought to be concerned with topics of social stratification and political power: socio-economic systems and political regimes, interest groups, political parties, bureaucracy, political socialization, electoral behaviour, social movements and political mobilization. A significant concern of political sociology is the analysis of socio-political factors in economic development.

There are four main areas of research that are important in present-day political sociology. They are as follows:

- (i) The socio-political formation of the modern state.
- (ii) How social inequality between groups (class, race, gender, etc.) influences politics.
- (iii) How public personalities, social movements and trends outside of the formal institutions of political power affect politics.
- (iv) Power relationships within and between social groups (e.g., families, workplaces, bureaucracy, media, etc.). Contemporary theorists include Robert A. Dahl, Seymour Martin Lipset, Theda Skocpol, Luc Boltanski and Nicos Poulantzas.

So traditionally political sociology was concerned with how social trends, dynamics, and structures of domination affect formal political processes, as well as exploring how

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various social forces work together to change political policies. From this perspective, three major theoretical frameworks that can be identified include: (i) pluralism, (ii) elite or managerial theory, and (iii) class analysis.

In a pluralistic society, no group is required to abandon its own values and culture. Pluralism is based on mutual respect of the groups for each other's values, culture and traditions. In a pluralistic society, the equal validation is given to different subcultures. A pluralist approach regards ethnic minority groups as equal stakeholders in society, meaning that they enjoy the same rights as the majority population. The idea of the Indian nation-state embodies this pluralism. Elite theory of the state attempts to describe and explain the power relationships in a contemporary society. This theory posits that a small minority, comprising members of the economic elite and policy-planning networks, holds the maximum power which is independent of a state's democratic elections process. Class analysis studies the various aspects of stratification in a society into dynamic classes, and in the process highlighting the fundamental conflicts that are intrinsic in the society.

### 6.3.2 Agents of Political Socialization

There are many agents of political socialization which affect individuals. These are as follows:

- (i) **Family:** The first socialization source that an individual encounters is family. It has powerful and lasting influence on the individual. Participation in family, decision-making can enhance a child's sense of political competence. It also provides skills for political interaction and encourages children for active participation in the political system as an adult. In this way, the family shapes future political attitudes by locating the individual in a vast social world. Nowadays, gender equality in education, occupation and profession has transformed the structure of the family. A more open family and equality of parenting have modified the impact of family in the socialization process.
- (ii) **School:** The imparting of education at school has a crucial role in the process of political socialization. Schools provide children and adolescents with knowledge about the political world and their role in it. The major role of a school is to transmit the values and attitudes of the society. It plays an important role in shaping attitudes about the unwritten rules of the political game and developing informal political relations. Education also affects the political skills and resources of the public. Educated persons are more conscious about the influence of government on their lives.
- (iii) **Religious institutions:** Religions are the vehicles of cultural and moral values which have political implications. Basically, the great religious leaders have declared themselves as teachers. Therefore, they have usually attempted to shape the socialization of children through schooling. Religious affiliations are often important sources of partisan preferences and can guide people in making a political choice.
- (iv) **Peer groups:** Peer groups being important social units shape the political attitudes of individuals. They include childhood play groups, friendship cliques, etc. In play groups, members share relatively equal status and strong bonds. Individuals often follow the views of their peers. So in this way, a peer group socializes its members by motivating or pressuring them to conform to the attitudes or behaviour accepted by the group. For example, an individual may become interested in politics or attend a political demonstration because friends do so.

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(v) **Social class:** Almost every society has significant social division based on class. For example, according to Karl Marx, mode of production created two classes of haves and have-nots of society. In many instances, these social divisions are politically relevant. For example, identifying oneself as a member of the working class or the peasantry leads to different political views about what issues are important and which political groups best represent one's interest.

(vi) **Gender:** Gender also plays an important role in social and political learning. Actually, gender determines different patterns of behaviour of males and females. Traditionally, gender-based social divisions define politics as a male domain. In many underdeveloped nations, these gender roles still exist.

(vii) **Mass media:** The mass media—newspapers, radio, television and magazine—play an important role in internalizing attitudes and values around the globe. In addition, media also provide specific and immediate information about political events. The mass media also convey major societal values.

The most vital problem of a political sociologist is the explanation of social and political changes along with agitations, revolutions, conflicts and violence. The political sociologists never consider these only as political in nature. These phenomena are due to discrepancies of speed between the processes of social change and political change. Therefore, they are temporary in nature. So, the political sociologists try to establish the parity between the social and political change.

During the past few decades, sociologists, political scientists and politicians have shown great interest in discovering the determinants of individual's political participation. The area is important for theoretical reasons and academics seek to discover the factors which motivate and limit political expression. Policymakers are interested in exploring the mechanisms through which greater participation may be encouraged and in predicting the composition of the participating electorate for specific situations.

Political participation refers to a wide range of activities, including voting in elections, donating time or money to political campaigns, running for office, writing petitions, boycotting, organizing in unions, demonstrating, carrying out illegal sittings or occupations, blockades, and even physical assault on the forces of order. It also establishes links from the mass public to the political elites. Therefore, it is an essential means of making elite rules acceptable to modern society. It varies at different levels in the same society as well as in different societies. Political participation results in greater stability of political culture and political system. The expression 'political participation' comprises those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy. These activities can be holding discussions, organizing demonstrations and strikes, attending meetings, etc. According to Herbert McClosky, the most active forms of political participation are formal enrolment in a party, canvassing and registering votes, speech writing and speech making. Political participation may range from non-involvement to office holding. The determining factors of political participation are: (i) social environment, (ii) psychological environment, and (iii) political environment.

(i) **Social environment:** The degree of political participation in a country may be dependent upon a number of variables, e.g., education, religion, age, race, gender, domicile, mobility, occupation, etc.

(ii) **Psychological environment:** Political participation is also dependent upon the psychological need of participation. So some variables e.g., need for prestige, status, recognition, sympathy, achievements, etc., affect human behaviour.

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- (iii) **Political environment:** We can say that political participation is affected by obstacles like complicated registration procedures, literacy tests, poll taxes, residence requirement, inadequate provisions for absentee voting, inaccessibility of polling places and some 'situational factors' like war, external aggression, and serious disturbances in the country or abroad.

### Levels of political participation

Now, we will throw light on the levels of political participation in the political processes in a state. It is true that the level of participation varies from place to place, time to time, and from one section of the people to another. Important levels of political participation are as follows:

- (i) **Very active level:** In this category, we may refer to the leaders holding high positions in the legislative and administrative spheres; who are basically concerned with the exercise of formal political power. Actually, such leaders are the repositories of power. They play very crucial role in the political parties and in the political mobilization.
- (ii) **Occasionally active:** Those people, who take part in the political process of their country occasionally and also in an informal manner, comprise the occasionally active category.
- (iii) **Inactive level:** This type of level of political participation focuses on the elements of apathy, alienation, anomie and violence. For example, very large numbers of people usually do not take part in voting as they hold an opinion that such an exercise is useless, or it may be the events of violence which frighten them from taking part in the electoral process.

### 6.3.3 Socio-political Explanation of Political Stability

The two most significant attributes of a modern state are political stability and liberal democracy. It is on the rule of law that political stability is highly dependent upon, but a high degree of autocracy or democracy as well as the amount of trade done by a country are also effective indicators of political stability. Most political scientists approach the concept of stability from the behavioural point of view. This means that a definition of the concept is possible and that it can be measured through reproducible and verifiable techniques. Most of the literature on political stability is in agreement of the basic and the broad meaning of the term. Confusion, however, exists due to the lack of agreement that concerns the meaning of those terms which are used to define 'stability'. There also exists a lack of agreement on the operational use of these terms. One needs to examine and explore a wide variety of variables which influence political stability to be able to analyse and explain the phenomenon of political stability.

Broadly, there are four dimensions of political stability — stable government, stable political system, internal law and order, and external stability. It is important to keep in mind that further sub-divisions are also possible. These four aspects of political stability can be explained as:

- **Stable government:** Does the government continue in office for a full election period and has a majority?
- **Stable political system:** Do governments change legally according to the constitution?

- **Internal law and order:** The level of industrial conflict is a sub-aspect
- **External stability:** Are the borders of a country contested or actively threatened?

If we take examples of a few countries, it will become apparent that lack of stability is the common aspect of them. For instance, Angola suffers from lack of all four stability conditions. Bolivia is battling the first three while Japan, which is otherwise a stable country, is a significant example of the first condition. Colombia, on the other hand, is too stable but lacks the third condition.

It has been commonly argued that when the rule of law increases, political stability in a country gets strengthened. Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, a Brazilian diplomat and legal scholar, has opined that if a country is lacking in the rule of law, it loses its legitimacy and consequently, political stability. Political stability is weakened when the rule of law decreases. Political stability is influenced by the rule of law because it is an indicator of the effective working of the executive. In fact, the army in a totalitarian regime is also expected to follow the rules drafted by the dictator. In case there is a high degree of democracy or autocracy, even the degree of political stability will be high.

David Beetham, a social theorist, has argued that the relationship between society and legitimacy sees its biggest shift when political or social order gets altered. This alteration is best withstood by strong democracies or strong autocracies and thus they are always more stable in nature. In effect, states which have political or social stability in lower percentage are always bound to be less stable.

Economic factors also influence political stability of a country. There are apparent reasons for this: when people are motivated to invest and trade, it shows that the future seems promising to them. Thus trade is a key indicator for political stability as is also of political stability. Lack of trade within a country is not only an indicator of lack of production but also of low political stability. Thus, political stability is only possible with economic stability.

Trade also influences the development indicators of a society. For instance, all countries are dependent on the other for some goods. That is, a country is only technically strong to produce a kind of good and is dependent on another for some goods. Trade with other countries thus indicates how well a state maintains its relationships with others. In case these are not good, then both the degrees of political stability and volume of trade are low. It is thus true that political stability emerges from the reliance on the rule of law; when there are stable laws and they are followed, one finds an increased amount of trade, economic growth and development as well a growing degree of democracy (or even autocracy) in a state.

The opposing arguments as well as approaches to political stability are seen to be during:

- The absence of violence
- Governmental longevity/duration
- The existence of a legitimate constitutional regime
- The absence of structural change
- Multi-faceted societal attribute

### Absence of violence

The most common as well as immediate indicator of political stability is reached when the concept of political stability is studies with the absence of domestic civil conflict and

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violent behaviour. A state that is peaceful is seen as stable and a law and order abiding society wherein any politico-societal changes as well as those in decision making processes are the results of proper institutionalized and functional procedures and not the outcome of atomic processes wherein internal conflicts are resolved through conflict and aggression. This approach posits, for example, that the rapid turnover of a system's governors by violent processes is evidence of instability. Although consent of the governed is necessary in a democracy and although the utilization of this consent will necessitate change, this consent must be given in a peaceful manner. That is to say, to determine elite replacement by assassination rather than by the electoral process is a denial of democratic change; and such actions lead various people to infer that the potential of such systems for stable adaptive change has not yet been attained.

Bruce M. Russett, Dean Acheson Professor of International and Area Studies at Yale University, in *Deaths from Domestic Group Violence per 1,000,000 Population, 1950-1962*, measures in seventy-four independent countries, 'the number of people killed in all forms of domestic violence of an intergroup nature, thus excluding deaths by murder and execution'. Notwithstanding the problem regarding the availability and reliability of the data, this is an adequate, although gross, representation of civil violence.

Authors of *Anger, Violence, and Politics: Theories and Research*, Ivo K. and Rosalind L. Feierabend recognize that there is more than one definition of and approach to political stability/instability. However, they restrict their conception of the term to 'the degree or the amount of aggression directed by individuals or groups within the political system against other groups or against the complex of office holders, (as well as) the amount of aggression directed by office holders against other individuals and groups'. Data on internal conflict behaviour were collected for eighty-four countries over seven years (1955–1961) and a 7 point scale ranging from 0 (denoting extreme stability) to 6 (denoting extreme instability). Each specific behaviour datum (some 5000 events) was then ranked along this scale, and countries assigned to groups were ranked on the basis of the most 'unstable' act, which took place over the time span. Civil war countries are in group 6, coups detained in 5, mass arrests in 4, and so on.

The Feierabends write that, 'the purpose of this assignment was to weigh intensity (or quality) of instability of events equally with the frequency (or quantity) of events'. After grouping, a sum total of each country's ratings was calculated and then the countries' rank ordered within the six groups according to the frequency sum total. This measure of stability qua violence is more sophisticated than Russett's, but there is some question as to its applicability. Although complex, it is still a mono-measure, reducing this very elusive concept of stability to one particular societal characteristic. Moreover, although it avoids the problem of no differentiation, the index is open to criticism regarding the weight or value assigned to each specific aggressive behaviour and the constraining influence of the six main groupings.

For Russett, a death equals a death; but how many 'micro-strikes' equal 'imprisonment of insignificant persons?' And what number of acts in group 4, for example, is necessary before the country is demoted to group 5? Frequency distributions cannot lead to a group change given the parameters of this approach. These questions are not dealt with by the Feierabends. In their book, *The Conditions of Civil Violence: First Tests of a Causal Model*, Ted Robert Gurr and Charles Ruttenger examine the duration, pervasiveness, intensity, amplitude and total magnitude of civil violence in 119 countries from 1961 to 1963. Civil violence is defined as 'all collective, non-governmental attacks on persons or property, resulting in intentional damage to them that occur within the boundaries of an autonomous or colonial political unit'. The final magnitude of civil

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violence, presented as interval data, is a composite scale composed of the duration and amplitude of violence indicators. The amplitude scale itself is a composite measure calculated by summing intensity (casualties and damage) and pervasiveness (participants and area). The magnitude range for each year is 0 to 64; the score for 1961–1963 ranges from 0 to 192.

This short time span detracts from an otherwise incisive analysis. There are, however, two comments which must be made regarding the Gurr/Ruttenberg measure. First are the availability, reliability and interpretation of the data. Ruttenberg himself writes that the coders found absence of 'quantitative precision' in sources that were for the most part 'journalistic' in treatment. How, Ruttenberg continues, is one to interpret and code data presented in terms of 'many, a few thousand, a wide area, or sporadic?' There is also the problem of very little differentiation among the reviewed countries: 33 per cent or 27.7 per cent receive a value of 0, denoting no violence and extreme stability.

Rudolph J. Rummel's major aim, in *Dimensions of Conflict Behaviour within and between Nations*, was to examine the relation between the incidence and nature of domestic violence and international aggressive behaviour. He was, therefore, not directly concerned with the stability/instability continuum. However, his data can nonetheless be employed as a measure of stability if one accepts the 'absence of violence' as evidence of stability. Rummel's view of violence equates the concept to a zero sum game. According to him, 'Violence is a situation in which two or more parties direct their energies at each other to achieve goals that can only be achieved at each other's expense'.

Nine measures of internal conflict were isolated and examined for seventy-seven countries for three year period from 1955-1957. These include:

- Assassinations
- Strikes
- Guerrilla warfare
- Major government crisis
- Riots
- Demonstrations
- Revolution
- Number of people killed in domestic violence

The raw data are not combined into one final composite measure, although each specific indicator is transformed into group categories. The same questions raised above, however, can be applied to Rummel's analysis: the availability and reliability of the data, a relatively short time span, a partial measure of the concept of stability, and very little differentiation among the countries reviewed.

### Governmental Longevity/Endurance

A second common approach to political stability is to equate the concept with governmental/cabinet longevity or duration. Country A is deemed to be more stable than Country B, if the former has a government/administration which remains in office, on average, for a longer time span than that of the latter. One is constantly and consistently shown the ephemeral nature of the Italian, Finnish and French governments (especially for the 4th Republic) as evidence of these countries' instability. Mere duration in office can, of course, be regarded as stubbornness and as static resistance to change which, from another point of view, is not stability at all. But it is sufficient at this point to note that the length of time in office is one of the basic and most easily understood and quantified views of political stability.

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In *Executive Stability: Number of Years Independent/Number of Chief Executives, 1945-1961*, Bruce Russett has considered government/cabinet longevity as the best known and most often cited measure for political stability. This measure gives the rate of turnover in office of the legally designated chief executive in eighty-seven countries. The stability index is presented as the average number of years the chief executive remains in office. This approach and index, as Russett readily admits, are far from perfect. Each and every change in the chief executive is interpreted as evidence of instability, and the longevity approach makes it impossible to differentiate among the very real and non-theoretical types of governmental change.

To reduce the concept of 'stability' to 'longevity' is in effect to say that any change for whatever reason denotes less stability; but this is a very tenuous homogenization. According to Russett, the nature or content of change is as relevant to the concept of political stability as is the actual process of change. He further says that the longevity approach denies the functional effects of some types of governmental change or turnover. It is obvious that, even without adequately defining this concept of stability, some types of governmental change are more or less stable than other types. These non-theoretical differentiated types include:

- Assassination
- Revolution
- Coup d'état
- Withdrawal of a party from the governing coalition
- Loss of a vote of confidence
- Voluntary resignation of the Prime Minister
- Illness
- Accidental death

The normal process of governmental change resulting from a regularly scheduled and institutionalized general parliamentary election.

The longevity approach is unable to take these factors into consideration: assassination is equated to an election, accidental death to a coup d'état and the change in France from the 4th to 5th Republic is equated to Labour's 1964 electoral victory in Great Britain. Political critics, Jean Blondel, Michael Taylor and V.M. Herman also approach stability as longevity or governmental duration. Blondel's operational definition of government, one which Taylor and Herman borrow, is that, 'any administration is considered as one government which fulfilled two conditions: that of being headed by the same Prime Minister and that of relying on the support of the same party or parties in the Chamber'. The indices are presented in terms of years per government (Blondel) and number of separate governments, and the duration of those governments in days (Taylor/Herman). These measures are excellent examples of this suspect genre of equating political stability with governmental longevity.

In his *A Theoretical Approach to Political Stability*, Arthur S. Goldberg presents a mathematical probability analysis of the likelihood, according to which any one regime will be displaced by another. Goldberg conceives stability as 'a function of the extent to which decisions are made on the basis of power weighted preference ordering . . . [and] to what extent . . . the regime makes decisions which do not offend those who have the ability to displace it'. Goldberg presents his theory as descriptions of the preference ordering of the components of the system (army, church, warlord, party), who have some ability to displace the regime, as well as estimates of the probability of success for each component that opts to move against the regime.

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Goldberg represents an admirable example of a highly mathematical approach to political stability seen as governmental longevity. If Goldberg represents one approach in the definition and measurement of political stability, authors of *A Cross-Polity Survey*, Arthur S. Banks and Robert B. Textor represent quite a different approach, one that mirrors some of the confusion and vagueness connected with political stability. They classify 115 countries according to 'degree of stability' based upon some vague notion of governmental longevity and cabinet change.

- Twenty-two are classified as 'generally' stable since World War I
- Twenty-eight as 'generally' stable since World War II
- Eleven as 'moderately' stable since World War II
- Twenty-two as 'unstable' since World War II
- Three as 'ambiguous' and
- Twenty-nine as 'unascertainable'

According to Banks and Textor, it is difficult to assess the significance of frequent cabinet changes under a parliamentary system. It is satisfactory to note that the contribution by Banks and Textor is limited to gross nominal distinctions, which are based more upon individual intuition than upon empirical analysis.

### Existence of a Legitimate Constitutional Order

A third important definitional construct of and approach to political stability is presented as 'legitimacy'. This is an extent to which the political system and the system's outputs are accepted as right and proper by the population. This view states that legitimacy helps to define the very concept of stability and is not to be regarded as a consequence or result of a stable system. Such an approach views stability not just as the absence of negative phenomena but as the presence of positive support and acceptance. But the concept of legitimacy is itself vague.

An example of the confusion may be seen by comparing the views of Seymour Martin Lipset, American political sociologist, to the views of Martin C. Needler, author of *Political Development and Socioeconomic Development: The Case of Latin America*. Lipset's *Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy* regards legitimacy as a vital component of any serious study of political stability. He states that a legitimate [stable] society is evidenced by the absence of a major political movement for over the past twenty-five years as opposed to the democratic 'rules of the game'. Such political movements are defined as any totalitarian movement, either communist or fascist, receiving at least 20 per cent of the vote during the covered time span. This reliance on the presence or absence of anti-system tendencies does not, however, allow for differentiation, because nominal distinctions are all that is possible. Lipset isolates four categories and forty-eight countries, out of which thirteen are located in the 'stable democracy' grouping.

Another criticism of this approach is directed at Lipset's 20 per cent cut-off figure: Country A with 19 per cent anti-system vote will be stable, while Country B with 21 per cent will be unstable. Such a differentiation is quite arbitrary and indefensible on theoretical grounds. This view and measure can be contrasted to Needler's *Political Development and Socioeconomic Development: The Case of Latin America*. Needler regards the degree of legitimacy and stability in twenty Latin American countries as the number of years during a given period in which the country has been ruled constitutionally. He defines a constitutional year as one in at least six months:

- Of which the country was ruled by a government chosen by more or less free elections

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- In which that government on the whole respected constitutional procedures and individual civil liberties
- In which no extra constitutional change of government took place

It is obvious that this approach is much more impressionistic than others. Lipset and Needler both agree that stability is related to legitimacy, but each has measured different phenomena. It appears that Lipset is much closer to the concept of legitimacy and stability than is Needler. Needler appears to be measuring 'degree of democratic attainment' rather than 'degree of stability seen as legitimacy'; and one is not yet prepared to equate political stability with the presence of democracy.

### Absence of Structural Change

A fourth common approach to political stability relates the concept to the absence of structural change. A system is seen as stable if it has been able to avoid changes in its basic structural arrangement/configuration over the years. Continuity or persistence of form distinguishes stable polities from those unable to maintain their pattern in the face of environmental pressures.

However, there are some problems involved with this approach. First, one can, at best, make only nominal distinctions among the countries which have been examined. A country will either be free of structural change, in which case it is classified as stable, or its basic patterns are changed, and thus identified as unstable. The second problem relates to what one actually means by structural change. There is very little disagreement that the change in France from the 4th to the 5th Republic could illustrate a structural transformation; but as an analytical concept, the French system remained intact. There is also the problem as to the number or frequency of small variations needed before one can say that a change occurred. That is to say, there may be many minor political upheavals and institutional rearrangements throughout a country's history, yet its social and political systems have not disappeared (e.g., the United Kingdom).

In his book, *A Theory of Political Integration*, Claude Ake equates political stability with the absence of structural change or, conversely, with the presence of continuity of form and pattern. He writes that a political system is stable when the inputs and outputs between its component units and its environment are regular enough to make the persistence of the main structural pattern of the system possible. Ake continues: 'We may say that the political system is stable when the impact on the system of the dysfunctional processes generated by the system and the environment are neutralized to the extent of keeping them from altering the structure of the political system.'

Ake also describes the type of political system that is most able to neutralize the dysfunctional processes that social mobilization unleashes. Such a system should be, in his terminology:

- Authoritarian (when the government's power can be mobilized to carry out stated policies)
- Paternal (when the system has a political class willing and able to lead)
- Identifiable (when the system has a mutual identity between the political class and the governed)
- Consensual (when the political class is not threatened by a counter elite)

If any of these attributes are missing, the particular system's tendency toward instability will increase. G. Lowell Field's *Comparative Political Development: The Precedent of the West* never explicitly links stability with the absence of structural change.

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Field's analysis is limited to a discussion of the various regimes which exist, with focus on the relative stability/instability of each, and some examples of changes from one regime to another. He identifies three main types of regimes and, with their variants, a total of eight detailed types of regimes/structures are isolated. Field writes that his process of classification largely ignores constitutional structures and it does not seek to distinguish regimes accurately on the basis of how democratic they are. Its criteria relate rather to the stereotypes through which political activity is perceived by participants. It rests in part upon a judgment that such viewpoints and their consequences in action represent major stabilities of politics. The three main types of regimes/structures isolated by Field are:

- **Utopian** (where all influential persons share a particular ideology) and its variants are radical egalitarian and totalitarian
- **Mainstream** (characterized by some personalized centre of power willing and able to employ its power) and its variants are traditional, dichotomized, trichotomized with a right, and trichotomized without a right
- **Consensual** (where there is not one imposed ideology and factional bitterness is not present) and its variants are citizen community and representative consensual

### Multifaceted Societal Attribute

The final major approach to political stability regards the concept as a multifaceted societal attribute in the sense that it is 'systemic stability' rather than any one isolated mono-measure. This approach, of course, is less amenable to precise quantification because the various societal attributes, offered by some, do not easily lend themselves to mathematical indicators. This does not mean that the approach is without merit; however, it rightfully recognizes that the concept of stability cannot be reduced to isolated variables. This approach is an attempt to integrate and synthesize the various other approaches.

The multifaceted societal attribute necessitates greater reliance upon in-depth country studies in place of cross-national analysis based upon aggregate data. In *Measuring Social and Political Requirements for System Stability in Latin America*, Ernest A. Duff and John F. McCamant approach stability with in-depth country studies, although they appear to be confused as to what constitutes the societal attributes of systemic stability. They write that no attempt was made to calculate an absolute value of systemic stability for the nineteen Latin American countries reviewed but, rather, the study was limited to an examination of the relative values of each country vis-à-vis the others.

According to Duff and McCamant, the criteria for a stable democracy should be that welfare must be greater than social mobilization. They also emphasize that there must be a high rate of economic growth, an equal income distribution, a high political capacity and broad-based institutionalized political parties. Moreover, societal welfare, economic growth and distributive capabilities are more useful as explanatory tools and should not be used to define the concept of political stability. Harry Eckstein presents perhaps the best theoretical study of the entire problem with his *Division and Cohesion in Democracy: A Study of Norway*. For Eckstein, the concept of (democratic) political stability entails several attributes. His definitional constructs are:

- **Persistence of pattern:** Not mere longevity or governmental endurance, but persistence in the sense of having the capacity to adapt to changing conditions, for realizing political aspirations and holding fast allegiances

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- **Legitimacy:** Not only the absence of strong dissent but also the presence of positive acceptance and support
- **Effective decision-making:** Effective, not in the sense of right action on the basis of some particular scheme of values, but in the basic sense of action itself, any sort of action, in pursuit of shared political goals or in adjustment to changing conditions
- **Authenticity:** The democratic structures must not be mere facades for actual government by non-democratic structures

Eckstein suggests that this composite societal attribute of stability/instability may be explained by the congruence, or lack of congruence, between the social norms of the polity and the country's public governmental authority patterns. According to him 'government will be stable':

1. If social authority patterns are identical with the governmental pattern'
2. 'If they constitute a graduated pattern and a proper segmentation of society'
3. 'If a high degree of resemblance exists in patterns adjacent to government and one finds throughout the more distant segments a marked departure from functionally appropriate patterns for the sake of imitating the governmental pattern or extensive imitation of the governmental pattern in ritual practice'

Why this should be so is illustrated by Eckstein with reference to Weimar Germany and the United Kingdom. Weimar Germany experienced intolerable strains between governmental and non-governmental patterns, for a pure democracy had been superimposed over a more traditional social structure. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, has a more tempered public authority pattern based upon hierarchy which dovetails with the social structure. Although this mode of explanation is sound, Eckstein himself writes that further cross-national analysis is required before his congruence theory can be employed as a general explanatory tool.

Arend Lijphart's *The Politics of Accommodation, Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands* likewise approaches stability as a multifaceted societal attribute. He points to the absence of several negative indicators (revolution, violence, political movements opposed to the existing system) and to the presence of several positive indicators (governmental longevity, constitutional continuity, effective decision making, and positive systemic acceptance and support) as evidence of the stability in the Netherlands.

The differing approaches to and views of stability are not that highly inter-correlated, for each approach is, in effect, measuring separate and distinct dimensions within the larger concept of political stability. This would appear to lend even greater credence to the view that political stability must be approached as a multifaceted societal attribute, composed of the various sub-indicators, rather than as any one particular mono-measure.

The concept of political stability, thus, remains as elusive as other abstract concepts in political science. If emphasis is placed upon isolated mono-measures, great precision in quantification will result but to the detriment of theoretical requirements and considerations. If emphasis is placed upon composite societal attributes, which is intuitively more acceptable, one must then forego neat and precise measurement. There is the basic agreement that political stability somehow means the absence of violence, governmental longevity, the absence of structural change, legitimacy and effective decision-making. But the problem and task still remain to organize and synthesize these concepts into a truly cross-national comparative analysis.

## 6.3.4 Socio-Political Change

The word 'state' is derived from the Latin verb 'status' which means social condition or social classes arranged as estates. In western Europe, the first estate comprised the clergy and the second estate comprised the nobility. The third estate had all those who did not belong to the first two estates. Max Weber described it as an institution which claims a 'monopoly on the legitimate use of violence' within a certain territory.

### Emergence of the state

The *Montevideo Convention of Rights and Duties of States* (1933) put forth what is often considered as the legal definition of the State. According to this convention, the States must have a permanent population, a defined territory, a government maintaining its control over the said territory and good relations with other States. According to the documented history of the Western world, the state is more than 2500 years old. However, contemporary understanding of the state is based on the idea of the state that emanated from early-modern Europe. The idea was of the impersonal form of authority by which the authority of the state was distinguished from those of its agents (rulers).

Does the idea of the impersonal state exist in the work of Machiavelli? This question does not have a clear answer because the debate has not been settled. According to Quentin Skinner, Machiavelli in *Il Principe* distinguishes the institutions of the State from its agents. However, Harvey Mansfield argues that the mere semantic use of a word is not sufficient to establish the origin of the idea of the impersonal State in Machiavelli. Considering the importance of this debate between the two scholars, it is worth citing Skinner's critique on Machiavelli put forward by Mansfield.

Merely because the word *stato* in the Italian of Machiavelli and of his contemporaries had acquired the ability to stand alone by contrast to the Latin *status*, it does not follow that *stato* meant 'impersonal State' any more than did *politia* in Moerbeke's translation of Aristotle's *politeia*, which also stood by itself. The phrases Skinner cites as possible counter examples suggesting a tincture of impersonality in Machiavelli's *stato* — *la maestà dello stato*, *l'autorità dello stato*, *la mutazione dello stato* — prove on examination to refer to the majesty, authority, and change of someone's state.

Mansfield, *Machiavelli's Virtue*

Notwithstanding this debate, it is believed that the impersonal conceptualization of the state, in the history of European political thought, occurred between the time of Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes. In between, there were probably a couple of thinkers, who were referring to the impersonal nature of the state. Giovanni Botero's work *Reason of State* (1589) is an important point of reference. However, the idea of the modern State most clearly emanates from Hobbes' writings. In the works of Hobbes, the theorization of power moves on to an abstract entity: the sovereign state.

According to Hobbes, the state came into being because life without the State was chaotic. Thus, the individuals of the state contracted amongst themselves to endow a sovereign with their collective wills. It is because of this idea of contract amongst the free-willed individuals that Hobbes is considered to be a philosopher of the 'social contract'. The sovereign had to protect the individuals both from themselves and from any foreign power. The sovereign could be an individual or a body. Hence, it was called the 'commonwealth'. What was submitted by the individuals was regained in the form of rights that they enjoyed as citizens of the commonwealth.

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The powers of the sovereign, by virtue of the common consent, belonged to the subjects that made up the commonwealth. It is at this juncture that the impersonal idea of the State became apparent. These ideas are found in chapter XVII 'Of commonwealth', and chapter XVIII 'Of the rights of sovereigns by institution' of the *Leviathan* (1651).

The only way to erect such a common power, as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that by their own industry, and by the fruits of the Earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly; is, to confer all their power and strength based upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their Wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will: which is as much as to say, to appoint one Man, or Assembly of men, to bear their Person; and every one to own, and acknowledge himself to be Author of whatsoever he that so bears their Person, shall Act, or cause to be Acted, in those things which concern the Common Peace and Safety; and therein to submit their Wills, every one to his Will, and their judgments, to his judgment. [...] This is the Generation of the great Leviathan [...] And he that carries this Person, is called Sovereign, and said to have Sovereign Power; and every one besides, his subject. [...] From this Institution of a Commonwealth are derived all the rights, and faculties of him, or them, on whom the sovereign power is conferred by the consent of the people assembled.

The modern state has seen conceptual variations in the last two hundred years. We shall look at the Utilitarian, Liberal, Marxist and Feminist perspectives briefly. Unlike the social contract idea of the state as seen in the works of Hobbes, Utilitarian philosophers like Jeremy Bentham and James Mill justified the State on the grounds that it brought about greater and more happiness to more number of people than any alternative political arrangement. However, Liberals argued that an individual's rights were sacrificed in such a conception.

According to Liberals, the state is concerned with rules that would enable individuals to pursue their own ideas of good life so long as freedom of others was not infringed upon. This view was challenged by Karl Marx and other Marxist thinkers.

Marx believed that it was an illusion to consider the state as a neutral arbiter which was capable of harmonizing the discordant elements in society. While he criticized the institution of the state as being responsible for the alienation of man, he viewed the state as the statement of man's ideal aims. In his *The German Ideology*, Marx traced the origin of the state. His views on the state are also found in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of the State*, and the *Communist Manifesto*.

In the last work, Marx viewed the executive of the modern state as a committee to manage the affairs of bourgeoisie. Thus, if class rule disappeared, the state would not exist in the sense that we understand the word 'State'.

### Radical critiques of the state

The radical critique of the State was furthered by a variety of currents within Feminism that emerged in the 20th century. Most of the feminists believed that the State was an instrument of male power. Many feminists shared their ideas of power with Michel Foucault (1928–1984), a French scholar, for whom the State was an instrument that governed human conduct.

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As the 20th century was moving towards a close, the world was becoming a smaller place. With the onset of globalization, the ability of the State to act as an arbiter of competing interests was reduced. This is described in political science as the decline of the 'relative autonomy' of the State.

### The State in Political Sociology

Karl Marx believed that bureaucracy was the most essential part of the state apparatus. His views of bureaucracy appear in his *Critique of Hegel's philosophy of the State* (1843) and in the *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1851). Marx traced the history of bureaucracy from Medieval Europe to his own time.

According to Marx, bureaucracy had its origin in the absolutist monarchies and was initially a progressive force because it curbed the autonomy of medieval guilds and built a centralized administrative structure. However, with the passage of time, bureaucracy became a caste by itself where entry was determined on the basis of one's education. It interpreted the interests of the State and when challenged, it enclosed itself in mystery, hierarchy and authority. In some countries, like in revolutionary France, bureaucracy was so powerful that it controlled the state and was able to resist the process of transforming the state. The critique of Marx on the power of bureaucracy is so insightful that it remains valid to date.

The aims of the State are transformed into the aims of the bureau and the aims of the bureau into the aims of the State. Bureaucracy is a circle from which no one can escape. Its hierarchy is a hierarchy of knowledge. [...] Bureaucracy constitutes an imaginary State beside the real State and is the spiritualism of the State. [...] Bureaucracy holds in its possession the essence of the State, the spiritual essence of society, it is its private property. The general spirit of bureaucracy is secret, mystery, safeguarded inside itself by hierarchy and outside by its nature as a closed corporation. Thus public political spirit and also political mentality appear to bureaucracy as a betrayal of its secret. The principle of its knowledge is therefore authority, and its mentality is the idolatry of authority. But within bureaucracy the spiritualism turns into crass materialism, the materialism of passive obedience, faith in authority, the mechanism of fixed and formal behaviour, fixed principles, attitudes, traditions. As far as the individual bureaucrat is concerned, the aim of the State becomes his private aim, in the form of a race for higher posts, of careerism.

*Critique of Hegel's philosophy of State* (1843)

As economic life became complex, bureaucratic administration turned out to be essential. About bureaucracy, Weber said that the administration was based on written documents, specialist training was presupposed and candidates were appointed according to qualification. He also insisted that officials were separated from ownership of the means of administration.

Weber said that the state has a 'monopoly over the legitimate use of violence'. The violence is often employed by the state through its repressive apparatus like the police, the para-military forces and the penitentiary system. However, the power of the state also filters through, what Louis Althusser called, the ideological state apparatuses.

As the repressive apparatus too has its own ideology, it is very important that a distinction is made between the two apparatuses of the state. The essential difference between the two apparatuses is that while the repressive apparatus employs violence explicitly, the ideological state apparatuses function in a covert manner. Althusser listed

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out the religious system, educational system, family and mass media as parts of the ideological State apparatuses.

### A Nation and Civil Society

Weber's view that the State uses violence legitimately in a number of forms, helps us distinguish the State from a nation and civil society. A nation, in the most elementary sense, is a community whose cohesive identity has been built over time. Civil society is a loose conglomeration consisting of organizations based on voluntary participation. Now, let us understand the concepts of a nation and civil society in a detailed manner:

#### A nation

According to historian, Hugh Seton-Watson, there are 'old, continuous' nations and new nations. Old nations evolved by integrating wider sections of population through the expansion of the state, growth of trade and communications as well as the rise of vernacular literature. New nations were the ideological products of educated elites, who modelled their populations according to their own models, often based on the old nations.

Ernest Renan says, 'a great aggregation of men, with a healthy spirit and warmth of heart, creates a moral conscience which is called a nation. When this moral conscience proves its strength by sacrifices that demand abdication of the individual for the benefit of the community, it is legitimate, and it has a right to exist.'

Clifford Geertz distinguished between civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism. The former is a desire for citizenship in a modern State and the latter is a commitment to primordial loyalties. These primordial loyalties could take the form of blood ties, race, language, religion, region and custom.

For Elie Kedourie, nationalism was the product of the desire of individuals to achieve an independent state and this desire was driven by a belief in a unique cultural community. Ernest Gellner argued that nationalism was rooted in modernity, and was the consequence of a modern society's need for cultural homogeneity. Tom Nairn shared some of the inclinations of Gellner but added that nationalism arose when the intelligentsia in underdeveloped or peripheral societies was threatened. As a result, they would use history to modernize a vernacular culture often around the goals of the local bourgeoisie.

The idea of a nation was also suggested by Benedict Anderson in his classic work on nationalism *Imagined communities*.

#### Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation?

'A nation is an imagined political community, and it is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. [...] It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. [...] The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind. [...] It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. [...] Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.'

Anderson, 1995, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 6-7

Anderson argued that the use of vernacular languages in print media helped in the formation of national consciousness. This created a group of people who could understand each other. They, then, thought of creating a cohesive, political and sociological community called a nation.

#### Civil society

Civil society is neither mandated nor run by the state institutions. It spring from the activities of interest in everyday life. The idea of civil society has a long history beginning with the writings of John Locke (1632-1704) upto the writings of Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937). Let us look at how Locke, Hegel and Gramsci conceived civil society:

Before we explain what John Locke meant by civil society, one needs to understand his idea of the 'state of nature'. The state of nature is a counterfactual or hypothetical situation that can be conceived of before political or civil society came into being. In the state of nature, human beings enjoyed complete freedom and there existed equality amongst all of them. They could distinguish between right and wrong.

Initially, in the state of nature, property was common to all. However, as people began to own private property, disputes became common and there was no impartial system of law that could be employed to resolve such conflicts. So, for redressing this issue, civil society came into being with laws, judges and a coercive apparatus.

The intervention of Georg Hegel (1770-1831), a German philosopher, is significant in the conceptual history of this idea. Civil society, for Hegel, was constituted by social relations standing between family and the State. However, Hegel believed that the problem of social antagonism could be solved only by the state.

According to the Hegelian conception of civil society, individuals acted with their own interests in mind. Hegel made the first systematic effort to theorize a competitive sphere of self-interest which is in radical distinction from the state.

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist, who was imprisoned by the Fascist government in 1926. He spent the rest of his life in jail until his death in 1937. During those years, he wrote more than one thousand pages on a variety of subjects related to politics, society and economy. This work has been published as *Prison Notebooks*. His analysis on the functioning of the state, political democracy and the bourgeois domination of the State were extremely insightful.

For Gramsci, the state was the sum of dictatorship and hegemony. He argued that the ruling classes ran the state not only through coercion but also by gaining consent over the ruled. Consent was gained through the ideological hegemony that the bourgeoisie exercised over the masses through a variety of institutions of civil society like schools, churches and private associations.

[There are] two major superstructural 'levels': the one that can be called 'civil society', that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private', and that of 'political society' or 'the State'. These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of 'hegemony', which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or command exercised through the State and 'juridical government'.

Today, civil society is important because of a pervasive skepticism concerning the role of the State and the institutions of the State. According to Ehrenberg, civil society has the ability to revive local communities, train citizens effectively, cultivate values essential to social life and limit the power of intrusive bureaucracies.

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### Check Your Progress

5. Name any four agents of 'political socialization'.
6. What are the three important levels of 'political participation'?

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### ACTIVITY

Browse through some of the prominent political weekly on the Internet and write a short note on the Indian political structure and process.

### DID YOU KNOW

In all political cultures, concepts about power and authority have strong psychological aspects as a result of the important role of parental authority in the early socialization process. The skills that children develop in coping with family authority tend to provide a lasting basis for adult ways in dealing with authority.

## 6.4 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Political sociology highlights the problems of state and society relations and constructs empirical studies regarding the exercise of power, both within and between states. It also tries to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities, and conflicting social faces and interests.
- The main objective of political sociology is to study and examine interaction between social and political structures.
- Lasswell explains that politics permeates every social group, association, class and profession because the whole society is characterized by the political interaction permeating throughout the society.
- Political cleavage and consensus are the important parts of the political system; and are primarily derived from the social stratification theory of politics.
- Political culture analysis investigates the implications of ethnicity, religion and value orientations for government, polity and governance.
- A nation's political culture comprises its citizen's orientations towards three levels: (i) the political system, (ii) the political process, and (iii) policy outputs and outcomes.
- The stability of a political system totally depends upon the adequacy of political socialization; and has two forms: (i) direct or manifest and (ii) indirect or latent.
- The family, as the first socialization source, can provide skills for political interaction and encourages children for active participation in the political system as an adult.
- A peer group socializes its members by motivating or pressuring them to conform to the attitudes or behaviour accepted by the group.
- Political participation establishes links from the mass public to the political elites; therefore it is an essential means of making elite rule acceptable to modern society.
- In a pluralistic society, the equal validation is given to different subcultures. A pluralist approach regards ethnic minority groups as equal stakeholders in society, meaning that they enjoy the same rights as the majority population.

- When applied to social phenomena in general, 'alienation' possesses various possible dimensions including powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, self-estrangement and isolation.
- Dimensions of political alienation include: (i) political powerlessness, (ii) political meaninglessness, (iii) political normlessness, and (iv) political isolation.

## 6.5 KEY TERMS

- **Political sociology:** Political sociology is the study of power and domination in social relationships.
- **Political culture:** Political culture is an important link between political events and people's reactions to those events, which studies the fundamental political beliefs of the people because these are particularly relevant to understanding social change as well as political stability.
- **Political alienation:** *Political alienation* refers to an individual citizen's relatively enduring sense of estrangement from or rejection of the prevailing political system.
- **Political normlessness:** It means the belief that the rules planned to govern political relations have broken down.

## 6.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The three components of 'political culture' are: (i) cognitive orientation, (ii) affective orientation, and (iii) evaluative orientation.
2. Elite theory of the state attempts to describe and explain the power relationships in a contemporary society. This theory posits that a small minority, comprising members of the economic elite and policy-planning networks, holds the maximum power which is independent of a state's democratic election process.
3. Dimensions of political alienation include: (i) political powerlessness, (ii) political meaninglessness, (iii) political normlessness, and (iv) political isolation.
4. Political sociology is the study of interactions and linkages between politics and society; between a political system and its social, economic and cultural environment. It also tries to understand the process of interaction between government and society, decision-making authorities, and conflicting social faces and interests.
5. Four agents of 'political socialization' include (i) family, (ii) peer group, (iii) religious institutions, and (iv) mass media.
6. The three important levels of 'political participation' are: (i) very active level, (ii) occasionally active, and (iii) inactive level.

## 6.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

### Short-Answer Questions

1. What is political culture? Give some definitions.
2. What are the determinants of political culture?

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3. What is the significance of political sociology?
4. Write a short note on agents of political socialization.
5. What are the levels of political participation?

### Long-Answer Questions

1. Give a detailed account on the nature and scope of political sociology.
2. 'The determining factors of political participation are: (i) social environment, (ii) psychological environment, and (iii) political environment.' Elaborate.
3. Explain the significance of 'political culture'.
4. Write a short note on the concept of 'political socialization'.
5. Explain the concept of 'culture of alienation' in detail.

### 6.8 FURTHER READING

- Ashraf, Ali and Sharma, L.N. 1983. *Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics*. Hyderabad: Orient Longman.
- Horowitz, I.L. 1972. *Foundations of Political Sociology*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Nash, K. 1999. *Contemporary Political Sociology: Globalization, Politics and Power*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

## UNIT 7 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

### Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Unit Objectives
- 7.2 Political Development
  - 7.2.1 Liberal Approaches to Political Development
  - 7.2.2 Marxist Approach: Meaning and Determinants
- 7.3 Summary
- 7.4 Key Terms
- 7.5 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 7.6 Questions and Exercises
- 7.7 Further Reading

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### 7.0 INTRODUCTION

The concept of political development is derived from the liberal tradition of the West. It projects Western liberal democracy as the model of developed society. Since it is also regarded as modern society, development is sometimes described as modernization, and political development is conceived as political modernization. In short, modernization stands for the process of transition of a society from traditional values and institutions to modern ways of life. Generally, traditional values and institutions are regarded as fit for an agrarian economy and society whereas modern ways of life are regarded as fit for industrial and technology-based society. It is believed that only the modern system is capable of fulfilling the needs and aspirations of the modern man.

This unit discusses the concept of political development from the perspectives of the liberal approach and marxist approach.

### 7.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Recall the liberal approach to political development
- Explain Marxist approach to political development

### 7.2 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Sharing the concern of other social scientists with the great dichotomy of modernity and tradition and the grand process of modernization, political scientists in the 1960s began to pursue more actively their interests in what was variously called political modernization or political development. Their starting point was the concepts of tradition and modernity; eventually this essentially comparative and static focus gave way to a more dynamic and development oriented set of concerns. This shift can be clearly seen in the work of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Committee on Comparative Politics and particularly of Gabriel Almond, its chairman and intellectual leader during the 1950s and early 1960s.

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The volume which undoubtedly played the major role in first focusing the attention of political scientists on developmental problems was *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, edited by Almond and James S. Coleman and published in 1960 under the sponsorship of the Comparative Politics Committee and the Princeton Center for International Studies.

The bulk of the book consisted of descriptions and analyses in terms of a common format of politics in five developing areas. The principal intellectual impact of the book, however, came from the introduction by Almond and, to a lesser degree, the conclusion by Coleman. This impact was very largely the result of their application to the politics of non-Western countries of a general concept of the political system. Almond used this framework to distinguish between developed and under-developed or developing political systems. Developed political systems are characteristic of modern societies and under-developed ones of traditional societies.

Almond's concepts of traditionalist and of modernity or, as he seemed to prefer, rationality are described in Parson as the terms derived from the central stream of sociological analysis. Almond's distinctive contribution in this respect, however, was the insistence that all political systems are culturally mixed, combining elements of modernity and tradition. All political systems, the developed Western ones as well as the less developed non-Western ones, are transitional systems. He was appropriately critical of some sociological theorists for promoting an unfortunate theoretical polarization in not recognizing this dualistic quality of political systems.

This unit is concerned with the analysis of the political systems of societies which are presumed to be developing (or modernizing) and the comparison of those systems with the political systems presumed to exist in modern societies. Its key categories are with the political systems presumed to exist in modern societies. Its key categories are system, role, culture, structure, function and socialization. With the possible exception of socialization, no one of these refers to a dynamic process. They are categories essential to the comparative analysis of political systems; they are not oriented to the change and development of political systems. Almond posited a number of functions which must be performed in any political system and then compared systems in terms of the structures which perform those functions. What we have done, he said, is to separate political function from political structure. Almond also argued, we need dualistic models rather than monistic ones, and developmental as well as equilibrium models if we are to understand differences precisely and grapple effectively with the processes of political change.

In this work, Almond and his associates presented the elements of a dualistic model of the political system, but they did not attempt to present a developmental model which would contribute to the understanding of the processes of political change. For Almond that task came six years later with another major theoretical work co-authored with C. Bingham Powell. Unlike the earlier volume, this book was concerned with political dynamics and focused explicitly on political development as a subject and as a concept. Almond and Powell argued that political development is the response of the political system to changes in its societal or international environments and, in particular, the response of the system to the challenges of state building, nation building, participation and distribution.

Political development itself was thought of primarily in terms of political modernization. The three criteria of political development were held to be, structural differentiation, subsystem autonomy, and cultural secularizing factor. Almond thus came

face to face with the problem which was gripping many other political scientists at that time, What is political development?

In 1965, Lucian W. Pye compiled a fairly comprehensive listing of ten meanings that had been attributed to the concept of political development:

- The political prerequisite of economic development
- The politics typical of industrial societies
- Political modernization
- The operation of a nation state
- Administrative and legal development
- Mass mobilization and participation
- The building of democracy
- Stability and orderly change
- Mobilization and power
- One aspect of a multidimensional process of social change

In a noble effort at synthesis, Pye attempted to summarize the most prevalent common themes on political development as involving movement toward: increasing equality among individuals in relation to the political system; increasing capacity of the political system in relation to its environments; and increasing differentiation of institutions and structures within the political system. These three dimensions, he argued, are to be found lying at the heart of the development process. In a similar vein, another effort to generalize about definitions of political development found four of recurring concepts: rationalization, national integration, democratization, and mobilization or participation.

This quest for political development, in John Montgomery's phrase, necessarily led political scientists to grapple with three more general issues. First, what was the relationship between political development and political modernization? The tendency was to think of political development as virtually identical with political modernization. Political development was one element of the modernization syndrome. Political scientists might disagree as to what types of change constituted political development, but whatever they did choose was almost invariably thought of as a part of the more general process of modernization. The principal dissent from this point of view came in 1965 from Samuel P. Huntington, who argued that it was highly desirable to distinguish between political development and modernization. The identification of the two, he said, limited too drastically the applicability of the concept of political development in both time and space. It became restricted to a particular phase of historical evolution, and hence, it was impossible to talk about the political development of the Greek City-State or of the Roman Empire. In addition, political development as political modernization made the former a rather confusing complex concept, tended to reduce its empirical relevance, and made it difficult if not impossible to conceive of its reversibility, i.e., to talk about political decay.

A second issue which political scientists had to deal with in their definitional efforts was whether political development was a unitary or a complex concept. Since so many people had so many ideas as to what constituted political development, the prevalent tendency was to think of it as a complex concept. This tendency was explained or, perhaps, rationalized by Pye on the grounds that the multifunction character of politics means that no single scale can be used for measuring the degree of political development.

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Hence, most scholars used several dimensions: Pye himself, as indicated above, suggested three; Almond also had three; Ward and Rustow, eight; Emerson, five; Eisenstadt, four. This all seems very reasonable, since political development clearly would appear to be a complex process. Yet, obviously also, this approach can lead to difficulties. What are the relationships among the component elements of political development? Thus, although Pye argued that equality, capacity and differentiation constitute the development syndrome, he also had to admit that these do not necessarily fit easily together. On the contrary, historically the tendency has usually been that there are acute tensions between the demands for equality, the requirements for capacity, and the processes of greater differentiation. In a similar vein, Almond argued that there is a tendency for role differentiation, subsystem autonomy and secularization to vary together, but that the relation between each pair of these three variables is not a necessary and invariant one. Almond, indeed, presented a two-way matrix with secularization and differentiation on one axis and subsystem autonomy on the other. He found some type of political system to occupy each of the nine boxes in his matrix. The question thus necessarily arises: What does political development mean if it can mean everything? On the other hand, if political development is defined as a unitary concept, the tendency is either to define it narrowly as Huntington, for instance, did in identifying it exclusively with institutionalization and thus to rob it of many of the connotations and the richness usually associated with it, or to define it very generally, as for instance Alfred Diamant did which in effect, masks a complex concept under a unitary label.

A third problem in the definitional quest concerned the extent to which political development was a descriptive concept or a teleological one. If it was the former, it presumably referred either to a single process or to a group of processes which could be defined, in terms of their inherent characteristics, as processes. If it was a teleological concept, on the other hand, it was conceived as movement towards a particular goal. It was defined not in terms of its content but in terms of its direction. As in the more general case of modernization, the goals of political development were, of course, valued positively.

The definition of political development in terms of goals would not have created difficulties if there were clear-cut criteria and reasonably accurate indices (e.g., the political equivalent of per capita Gross National Product) to measure progress toward those goals. In the absence of these, however, there was a strong tendency to assume that, since both scholarly analysts and, presumably, the political actors he was analysing, wanted political development, it was therefore occurring. The result was that almost anything that happens in the developing countries, coups, ethnic struggles, revolutionary wars becomes part of the process of development, however contradictory or retrogressive this may appear on the surface. These definitional problems raised very real questions about the usefulness of political development as a concept. Referring to Pye's list of ten definitions, Rustow argued that this is obviously at least 'nine'. In truth, however, one should go one step further. If there are ten definitions of political development, there are ten too many, and the concept is, in all likelihood, superfluous and dysfunctional.

In the social sciences, concepts are useful if they perform an aggregating function, that is, if they provide an umbrella for a number of sub-concepts which do share something in common. Modernization is, in this sense, an umbrella concept. Or, concepts are useful because they perform a distinguishing function, that is, because they help to separate out two or more forms of something which would otherwise be thought of as undifferentiated. In this sense, manifest functions and latent functions are distinguishing concepts.

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Political development in general is of dubious usefulness in either of these ways. To the extent that political development is thought of as an umbrella concept encompassing a multiplicity of different processes, as in the Almond and Pye cases discussed earlier, these processes often turn out to have little in common except the label which is attached to them. No one has yet been able to say of the various elements subsumed under the label political development what Lerner, at a different level, was able to say about the broader processes subsumed under the label modernization: that they went together because in some historical sense, they had to go together. Instead, it is clear that the elements included in most complex definitions of political development do not have to go together and, in fact, often do not. In addition, if political development involves differentiation, subsystem autonomy, and secularization, as Almond suggests, do not the really interesting and important questions concern the relations among these three, as Almond himself implies in his conclusion? The use of the term political development may thus foster a misleading sense of coherence and compatibility among other processes and obscure crucial questions from discussion. To the extent, on the other hand, that political development is identified with a single, specific process, e.g., political institutionalization, its redundancy is all the more obvious. What is to be gained analytically by calling something which has a good name by a second name? As either an aggregating concept or a distinguishing concept, in short, political development is superfluous.

The popularity of the concept of political development among political scientists stems perhaps from the feeling that they should have a political equivalent to economic development. In this respect, political science finds itself in a familiar ambiguous methodological position between its two neighbouring disciplines. In terms of the scope of its subject matter, political science is narrower than sociology but broader than economics. In terms of the agreement within the discipline on goals, political scientists have more shared values than sociologists, but fewer than economists. Sociology is comprehensive in scope, economics is focused in its goals; political science is not quite one or the other. The eclecticism and diffuseness of sociological theory are excused by the extent of its subject. The narrowness and parochialism of economics are excused by the precision and elegance of its theory.

In this situation, it is quite natural for political scientists to borrow concepts from sociologists and to imitate concepts of economists. The sociological concept of modernization is, quite properly, extended and applied to political analysis. The concept of political development is created in the image of economic development. In terms of choosing its models, one might generalize, a discipline will usually tend to copy the more structured and scientific of its neighbouring disciplines. This leads to difficulties comparable to those normally associated with the phrase misplaced concreteness. Economists, it will be said, do differ over what they mean by economic development and how one measures it. These differences, however, shrink to insignificance in comparison to the difficulties which political scientists have with the term political development. If, on the other hand, political scientists had modelled themselves on the sociologists and talked about political change in imitation of social change rather than political development in imitation of economic development, they might have avoided many of the definitional and teleological problems in which they found themselves.

## Characteristics

Different writers have advanced different models of political development. Of these, two are particularly important which are based on similar thinking. The first model advanced by James S. Coleman and Lucian Pye conceived of political development as

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political modernization. In its view a modern political system is more efficient than a traditional political system in the same way as the modern industrial system is more efficient than traditional non-mechanized agriculture. The traditional political system was primarily concerned with the collection of taxes, law and order and defence but modern political system also plays an active role in improving the quality of life of its citizens apart from performing its traditional functions. Under the traditional political system, people were not involved in politics; government simply exercised power over them. But under the modern political system, people are closely associated with politics. They do convey their demands and opinions to the government. They do express their support or opposition to government policies and decisions. Government broadly relies on legitimacy of its acts in order to secure the support and cooperation of the people. This model identifies three characteristics of political modernization:

- Differentiation
- Equality
- Capacity

Taken together they comprise development syndrome. Differentiation refers to the process of progressive separation and specialization of roles, institutional spheres and associations within the political system, e.g., the separation of occupational roles from kinship, of legal norms from religion, of administration from politics. Equality is regarded as the ethos of modernity. It implies the notion of universal adult citizenship, legal equality of all citizens and the psychic equality of opportunity for all to gain excellence according to their respective talents and efforts. The subjects of traditional society become citizens of modern society. Modern political system encourages people's participation in the process of governance. This results in the greater respect for law. Capacity in this sense denotes the increased capacity of political system for the management of public affairs, control of disputes and coping up with the new demands of the people.

The second model of political development was advanced by Gabriel Almond and G.B. Powell. Based on the structural functional analysis of political system, this model identifies three characteristics of political development:

1. Structural differentiation
2. Secularization of culture
3. Expansion of capabilities

Structural differentiation implies the evolution of distinct structures and organs or institutions for the performance of different functions of political system. It operates at two levels:

1. At input level, it envisages the emergence of suitable nongovernmental structures for performing the functions of political socialization (family, school, peer groups, etc.), interest articulation (interest groups), interest aggregation (political parties) and political communication (media of mass communication)
2. At output level, it stipulates separation of powers between different governmental organs for performing the functions of rule making (legislature), rule application (executive) and rule adjudication (judiciary). Secularization of culture denotes the process by which people gradually adopt more rational, empirical and analytical outlook in their political thinking and action. In particular, it requires transition from lower to higher levels of political culture, i.e., from parochial to subject, and from subject to participant political culture.

Expansion of capabilities implies an increase in four types of capabilities of political system:

1. Regulative capability (the capability of legitimate coercion to control the behaviour of individuals and groups)
2. Extractive capability (the capability to appropriate the natural and human resources of society and international environment)
3. Distributive capability (the capability to distribute various benefits of individuals and groups)
4. Responsive capability (the capability to respond to the demands coming from society and international environment)

A balanced development requires that regulative and extractive capabilities of political system are suitably matched with its distributive and responsive capabilities.

If developing societies are able to develop these characteristics in their political systems, they are likely to prove more efficient in their political functioning. But each of these countries must combine these requisites with its own genius. Because of their large size, complex and multicultural character combined with the heritage of communitarian sentiment, they should, not be reduced to competitive market societies in the name of their political development.

### 7.2.1 Liberal Approaches to Political Development

The study of political development is not the study of politics in societies at some given level of development. If this were the case, there would be few if any studies of politics which were not studies in political development, since those politics which are usually assumed to be developed are also presumably still developing. Yet not infrequently studies in the politics of less developed societies are treated as if they were studies in political development. Tunisia, it is said, is a developing society; therefore, its polity is developing polity. Hence, a study in Tunisian politics is a study in political development. The fallacy here is to look at the subject of the study rather than at the concepts with which that subject is studied. Depending on the concepts which were used and hence, the questions which were asked, for instance, a study of John F. Kennedy's presidency might be a study in the uses of power, the institutionalization of an office, legislative executive relations, consensus building, the psychology of leadership, the role of intellectuals in politics. Or it could, conceivably, be a study in political development or political change. Exactly the same possibilities would exist for a study of Habib Bourguiba's presidency. There is nothing in the latter which makes it inherently more developmental than the former. Precisely the same is true for the innumerable studies of the role of the military, bureaucracy and political parties in developing societies. More likely than not, these are simply studies of particular institutions in particular types of societies rather than studies in change or development. Depending upon the conceptual framework with which these subjects were approached, they could just as easily be studies in civil military relations, organizational behaviour, and political behaviour, as studies in political development. They are the latter only if the categories employed are formulated in terms of change.

It could, of course, be argued that change is so all pervasive that it is virtually synonymous with politics itself, and hence it cannot be studied as a separate subject. The rejoinder is that, to be sure, politics is change, but politics is also ideas, values, institutions, groups, power, structures, conflict, communication, influence, interaction, law and organization. Politics can be studied, and has been studied, in terms of each of these concepts. Each sheds a different light on the subject, illuminates different areas,

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and suggests different relationships and generalizations. Why not also analyse politics in terms of change or development? In fact during the 1950s and 1960s a variety of scholars did just that. Many different approaches were employed. Without making any claim to inclusiveness or to systematic rigour, it is perhaps useful to focus on the three of these approaches: system function, social process and comparative history.

## System Function

In the analysis of political development, a close relation existed between systems theory, in the strict sense and structural functional theory. It is, indeed, impossible to apply a functional approach without employing some concept of the political system. The varieties of theory encompassed in this general category are reflected in the names: Talcott Parsons, Marion Levy, David Easton, Gabriel Almond, David Apter, Leonard Binder, Fred Riggs. The principal contribution of these scholars has been to develop a set of concepts and categories, central to which are those of system and function, for the analysis and comparison of types of political systems. Among their other key concepts are: structure, legitimacy, input and output, feedback, environment, equilibrium. These concepts and the theories associated with them provide an overall model of the political system and the basis for distinguishing types of political systems in terms of the structures which perform the functions which must be performed in all political systems.

The advantages of the system function approach clearly rest in the generality of the concepts which it deploys on the plains of analysis. One problem of the approach for the study of political change is the defect of this great virtue. It is primarily a conceptual framework. Scholars using the framework may come up with such hypotheses or generalizations, but it is an open question whether the conceptual framework is not more of a hindrance than a help in this respect. The approach itself provides little incentive for scholars to dig into empirical data. Indeed, the tendency is in just the opposite direction. The theory becomes an end in itself. It is striking how few facts there are not only in general works, such as Levy's two volumes, but even in case studies attempting to apply the system function approach to a specific society, such as Binder's study of Iran.

A more fundamental problem is that this approach does not inherently focus on the problem of change. It is possible to employ the concept of system in a dynamic context, focusing on lags, leads and feedback. In actuality, however, much of the theorizing on political development which started from a systems approach did not primarily employ these dynamic elements in that approach. The stress was on the elaboration of models of different types of political systems, not different types of change from one system to another. In his two volume opus, *Modernization and the Structure of Societies*, Levy, for instance, is overwhelmingly concerned with the second element in his two component title. The bulk of his work is devoted to discussing the characteristics of societies in general and then distinguishing between those of relatively modernized societies and of relatively non-modernized societies.

As we noted earlier, Almond himself saw somewhat comparable limitations in the framework which he used in *The Politics of Developing Areas*. The elaborate and change-oriented scheme which he and Powell present in *Comparative Politics, A Developmental Approach* does not entirely escape from this difficulty. Among the works in the system function tradition, directly concerned with political development, David Apter's *The Politics of Modernization* has probably been most successful in bringing to the fore dynamic concerns with the rate, forms and sources of change. Yet to the extent that he has done this, it has in large part flowed from his independent concerns with normative questions and ideologies, which are derived from sources other

than the system function framework which he also employs. The structural functional approach, as Kalman Silvert has pointed out, was initially employed by social scientists interested in studying either very primitive societies (the anthropologists) or very complex societies (Parsons). It is an approach peculiarly limited in what it can contribute to the understanding of societies undergoing fundamental change. It is, moreover, rather ironic that political scientists should have seized upon this approach in order to study political change at the same time that the approach was coming under serious criticism within sociology because of its insensitivity to, and limited usefulness in, the study of change. As has often been pointed out, a related difficulty in attempting to deal with change in this intellectual context is the extent to which the concept equilibrium also tends to be implicitly or explicitly linked to the system function approach. The equilibrium concept presupposes the existence of a system composed of two or more functionally related variables. Changes in one variable produce changes in others. The concept, as Easton has pointed out, is closely linked with the ideas of multiple causation and pluralism. In addition, however, equilibrium also means that the variables in the system tend to maintain a particular pattern of interaction. In its pure form the theory conceives of equilibrium as a state of rest. In all forms it presupposes tendencies towards the restoration of an original condition or a theoretically defined condition of equilibrium.

Equilibrium theory has obvious limitations as a framework for exploring political change. As one sociologist observed, the theory does not attend to intrinsic sources of change, does not predict changes that have persistent directional (but only those that restore balance if that is disturbed), and thus does not readily handle past changes that clearly affect the current state of the system. In effect, change is viewed as an extraneous abnormality. It is held to be the result of strain or tension, which gives rise to compensating movements that tend to reduce the strain or tension and thus restore the original state. Change is unnatural; stability or rest is natural. Some thinkers have attempted to reconcile equilibrium and change through the concept of moving equilibrium. By itself, however, this concept is inadequate to account for change. If the equilibrium remains the same but is itself moving as a whole, the concept does not explain the cause or direction of its movement. If the equilibrium is itself changing, then moving equilibrium really means multiple equilibrium, and again some theory is necessary to explain the succession of one equilibrium by another.

## Social Process

The social process approach to political development starts not with concepts of the social system and the political system but rather with a focus on social processes such as industrialization, urbanization, commercialization, literacy expansion, occupational mobility which are presumed to be part of modernization and to have implications for political change. The emphasis is on the process, not the system. The approach is more behaviourally and empirically oriented than the system function approach, and it typically leads to the accumulation of substantial amounts of data, often quantitative in nature (surveys or aggregate ecological data), about these social processes which it then tries to relate to political changes. While the scholar working with the system function approach typically attempts to impute functions, the scholar employing the social process approach attempts to correlate processes. He may be tempted to move beyond correlation to causation and to shed light on the latter through various techniques of causal or path analysis.

The scholars most prominently associated with this type of approach to political development and related questions in the 1950s and 1960s included Daniel Lerner, Karl

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Deutsch, Raymond Tanter, Hayward Alker, Phillips Cutright and Michael Hudson. The two most important early works, which stimulated much of what followed, were Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958) and Deutsch's 1961 article, 'Social Mobilization and Political Development'. The system function scholar begins with a concept of the political system, then differentiates different types or models of political systems, and attempts to spell out the consequences and implications of these distinctions. His approach is typically concerned with linking a pattern of action to the system as a whole, i.e., identifying its function within the system, while the social process scholar is concerned with relating one pattern of action to another pattern of action.

The great virtue of the social process approach is its effort to establish relationships between variables and particularly between changes in one set of variables and changes in another. In this respect, it does focus directly on change. Its limitations in dealing with change are threefold. First, more often than not, the variables which have been used concern levels of development rather than rates of development. Since it is empirically oriented, the variables employed are shaped by the availability of data. Data on levels of literacy in different societies at the same time (i.e., now) are easier to come by than data on levels of literacy in the same society over time. The latter, however, are necessary for longitudinal analysis and the use of rates of change in literacy. While cross-sectional analyses may be useful and appropriate in studying some types of relationships, they are also frequently inferior to longitudinal analyses in studying other types of relationships. The difficulty of getting data on the changes in variables over time in most modernizing societies in Asia, Africa and even Latin America has consequently led many social process analysts back to the study of Western European and North American societies. Here is a clear case where knowledge of political change or political development is advanced by studying developed rather than developing societies. A related difficulty is the extent to which the social process approach has been applied primarily to the comparison of national societies, which are often units too large and complex to be useful for comparative generalization for many purposes.

A second problem in the social process approach concerns the links between the usually social, economic, and demographic independent variable and the political-dependent ones. The problem here is the general methodological one of the causal relationship between an economic or social change (which is in some sense objective) to political changes which are normally the result of conscious human effort and will. If the problem is, for instance, to explain voting participation in elections or the frequency of coups, how meaningful is it to correlate these phenomena with rates of economic growth, fluctuations in price levels, or literacy levels? The relation between the macro socioeconomic changes and macro political changes has to be mediated through micro changes in the attitudes, values and behaviour of individuals. The explanation of the latter is the weak link in the causal chain which is assumed to exist in most social process analysis. To date, the most prevalent and effective means of dealing with this problem has been the various forms of the relative deprivation and frustration aggression hypotheses utilized to relate socioeconomic changes to political instability. At the dependent end of the causal chain, social process analysts often have trouble in defining political variables, identifying indices for measuring those variables, and securing the data required for the index.

One more general criticism that can be raised about the social process approach concerns the extent to which it makes politics dependent upon economic and social forces. That the latter are a major influence on politics is obvious, and this influence is

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perhaps particularly important in societies at middle levels of social economic modernization. In its pure form, which, to be fair, most of its practitioners rarely use, the social process approach would leave little room for social structure and even less for political culture, political institutions, and political leadership. One of the great problems of the social process approach to political change has been to overcome this initial deficiency and to find ways for assigning independent roles to cultural, institutional and leadership factors.

## Comparative History

A third approach to political development is somewhat more diverse and eclectic than the two just considered. Its practitioners share enough in common, however, to be loosely grouped together. They start neither with a theoretical model nor with a focus on the relationship between two or more variables, but rather with a comparison of the evolution of two or more societies. What the system is to the system functions man and process is to the social process man, society is to the comparative history man. He is, however, interested not just in the history of one society but rather in the comparison of two or more societies. The system functions man conceptualizes; the social process man correlates; the comparative history man, naturally, compares. Among social scientists concerned with political development who would fit primarily into this school are Cyril Black, S.N. Lisenstadt, Dankwart Rustow, Seymour Martin Lipset, Barrington Moore, Jr., Reinhard Bendix, and, in some measure, Lucian W. Pye and the members of the SSRC Committee on Comparative Politics.

The work of these people tends to be highly empirical but not highly quantitative. They are, indeed, concerned with precisely those factors with which the social process analysts have difficulty: institutions, culture and leadership. Their approach is to categorize patterns of political development either by general stages or phases through which all societies must pass or by distinctive channels through which different societies may pass, or by some combination of these *vertical* and *horizontal* types of categories. Moore, for instance, distinguishes three patterns of modernization, under bourgeois (England, United States), aristocratic (Germany, Japan), and peasant (Russia, China) auspices. While he admits there may conceivably be a fourth way (India?), he is very dubious that this possibility will materialize. Consequently, every modernizing society will presumably have to find its way to modernity by the way of liberal capitalism, reactionary fascism, or revolutionary communism. Cyril Black, on the other hand, starts by identifying four phases of modernization through which all societies pass: the initial challenge to modernity; the consolidation of modernizing leadership; economic and social transformation from a rural, agrarian to an urban, industrial society; and the integration of society, involving the fundamental reordering of social structure. He then specifies five criteria for distinguishing among societies in terms of how they have evolved through these phases and proceeds to classify all contemporary societies into seven patterns of political modernization on the basis of these criteria. He thus combines vertical and horizontal categories into a truly all encompassing scheme of comparative history, and he very appropriately subtitles his book, *A Study in Comparative History*.

In a slightly different vein, Dankwart Rustow and the SSRC Committee on Comparative Politics have attempted to identify the types of problems which confront modernizing societies and to compare the evolution of these societies in terms of the sequences with which they have dealt with these problems. Rustow argues that there are three key requirements of political modernization: identity is essential to the nation, authority to the State, equality to modernity. The three together form the political basis of

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the modern nation state. The critical differences among societies concern the extent to which they had to deal with these problems simultaneously or sequentially, and, if the latter, the order in which these problems were dealt with. On the basis of comparative analysis, Rustow suggests that the identity authority equality sequence leads to the most successful and least traumatic modernization. In a somewhat similar spirit and parallel endeavour, the SSRC Committee identified five crises which societies would have to deal with in the process of political modernization: identity, legitimacy, penetration, participation and distribution. A rough equivalence presumably exists between these two efforts as well as that of Almond.

The great virtue of the comparative history approach is that it starts by looking at the actual evolutions of societies, attempts to classify those evolutions into patterns, and then attempts to generate hypotheses about what factors are responsible for the differences in patterns. It starts, in short, with the real stuff of history, at the opposite end of the methodological scale from the system function approach with its abstract model of the system. Nor does it, like the social process approach, assume that certain variables, such as urbanization and instability, can be lifted out and generalized about independently of their context. This approach thus clearly lacks generality. In effect, it comes back to a focus on the historically discrete phenomenon of modernization, and it deals with particular phases in the evolution of particular societies. Like most developmental analyses, its concepts are less generalized than those of equilibrium analysis. In comparison to the system function man with his conceptual complexity and the social process man with his high-powered quantitative analyses, the comparative history fellow often seems like a rather pedestrian, traditional plodder, whose findings lack theoretical and scientific precision. On the other hand, he is, unlike his competitors, usually able to communicate those findings to readers who will not read jargon and cannot read numbers.

Each of these three approaches has obviously contributed much to the study of political development. At the same time each has the defect of its virtues. From the viewpoint of a theory of political change, the system function approach is weak in change, the social process approach is weak in politics, and the comparative history approach is weak in theory. By building upon and combining the strengths of all three approaches, however, it may be possible to overcome the deficiencies of each.

### 7.2.2 Marxist Approach: Meaning and Determinants

The political economy approach of Karl Marx has been dwelt upon in his famous work, *Das Kapital*. The book comprises a wide-ranging discourse on political economy which has been penned in German by Marx and edited in part by Friedrich Engels. Marx also wrote *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* wherein he gave an in-depth explanation of capitalism. According to Marx, the political economy concept was not a moral exposition. On the other hand, he argued, it was an attempt to explore those processes which form the capitalist system as a whole and also its origins and future. Studying the workings of a capitalist economy, Marx tried to explore both the causes and the dynamics of addition to the capital, growth of the system of wage labour, the changes it brought to the workplace, the concentration of capital, competition, the banking and credit system, the tendency of the rate of profit to decline and rent of land, among others. Marx argued that capitalism was strong because it had the power to misuse and alienate the labour. He said that the ultimate source of the profit of capitalists and their surplus lay in this misuse and alienation of labour. Furthermore, the ultimate source of the profits of capitalists and their surplus was also in the unpaid labour of the daily

### Check Your Progress

1. How does the concept of political development project Western liberal democracy?
2. Name the three characteristics of political modernization, identified by the first model that was advanced by James S. Coleman and Lucian Pye.
3. Define the term structural differentiation.
4. How does Samuel P. Huntington define modernization?
5. How does Karl Deutsch define social mobilization?

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wagers. Marx said that it was possible for employers to claim value of the new output because they owned the productive capital assets which in turn were protected by the state in the form of property rights.

According to Marx, it was possible for political economists to objectively explore the scientific laws of capitalism because the markets were expanding which in turn had led to the objectification of most economic relations. The illusions brought in by all previous religions and political associations had been stripped away by the cash nexus.

Marx also argued that ‘the economic formation of society was a process of natural history’. It was not possible for any individual to control or direct the process of the growth of commerce, which in turn had created an enormous complex web of global social interconnections. Therefore, said Marx, that a society was economically formed even before its people started to consciously master their productive capacity and use the global interconnections that they has made in order to maximize their profits by putting them to a collective best use. The theory of revolution (which Marx views as being led by the working class and their representatives) is not proposed by the concept of capital. Instead, it suggests a theory of crisis since the condition for a revolution in the making or what Marx refers to in the *Communist Manifesto* as a potential ‘weapon’, is “forged” by those who own the capital and have ‘turned against the bourgeoisie itself’ for the welfare of the working class.

According to Marx, these crises were rooted in the most fundamental and significant social form of capitalist society which was the contradictory nature of the commodity. As per Marx, development of technology and the growth in the levels of production during the period of capitalism lead to the increase in the gain of material wealth (or use values) in a given society even though it diminishes the economic value of this wealth at the same time. The rate of profit thus gets lowered. A paradox is created by this tendency, which is close to the characteristics of crisis in capitalism, of “poverty in the midst of plenty” or, more succinctly, in the middle of under-consumption a crisis of overproduction.

As per Marx, the term 'political economy' most commonly referred to interdisciplinary studies which drew upon principles of economics, law and political science in order to explain the workings of political institutions, the political environment as well as the economic system whether capitalist, socialist, mixed and how they influenced each other. Political economy was used originally in studying production, the laws of buying and selling and their relationship with laws, custom and government. It also included the study of the distribution of national income and wealth, including the use of the budget process.

## Social Production of Existence

The theory of social production of existence is of the view that men will most likely enter those defined relations which are independent of their will. These will include the relations of production which are most appropriate at a given stage in their development of their material forces of production. The economic structure of society is constituted of the totality of these relations of production. A legal and political superstructure arises based on their real foundation; and it is with this superstructure that the concrete forms of social consciousness correspond. The general process of social, political and intellectual life is conditioned by the mode of production of material life. The existence of men is not determined by their own consciousness but by their social existence which is key to their consciousness. The material and productive forces of society will come into conflict at

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every particular stage of development with the then popular relations of production or with the property relations within the framework in which they operated in the past. These relations turn into their bindings from forms of development of the productive forces. Therefore, the whole superstructure will be transformed as these changes will alter the social economic foundations of the society.

While exploring such transformations in society, Marx said that it was significant to understand the material transformation of the economic conditions of production. The way to determine these lay in the precision of ideological forms, which is a stage where men become aware of the conflict and begin the fight. In the same way that an individual cannot be judged on the basis of his opinions about himself, a period of transformation cannot be judged by its consciousness. Instead, this consciousness is required to be explained on the basis of contradictions of material life and from the conflict that exists between the social forces and the relations of production. No social order is ever completely destroyed beforehand because the productive forces for which it is needed have been developed and in the same vein, the old relations of production are not replaced by new, superior ones before because the material conditions required for their existence have matured within the framework of the old society.

Therefore, mankind only gives itself those tasks to solve for which it has the potential. A close examination of such events reveals that conflicts arise only when the material conditions for its solution exist beforehand or are made in the course of its formation. The Asiatic, feudal, ancient and modern bourgeois modes of production can be broadly categorized as epochs which mark the progress in the economic development of society. The last antagonistic form of the social process of production is the bourgeois mode of production. However, those productive forces that develop within the bourgeois society also create such material conditions which prove as solutions for this antagonism as well.

### Historical Materialism

The concept of history according to Karl Marx is known as dialectical or historical materialism. 'To Marx', explains Larson 'matter is not a product of mind: on the contrary, mind is simply the most advanced product of matter.' Though Marx rejected Hegel's content orientation, he retained the dialectical structure. 'Historical materialism is the Marxist theory of society. This is clear in a detailed passage in the Preface to 'A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy'.

### Stages of Human History

One of the primary themes contained in Karl Marx's 'The Communist Manifesto' is the stages of human history. He differentiated the stages of human history on the basis of their economic regimes and categorized them into four modes of production which he called the asiatic, the ancient, the feudal and the bourgeois.

Being a materialist, Karl Marx looks believes thoughts to be based on facts. According to Marx, 'It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, it is their social existence that determines their consciousness.'

In this way, social laws change along with the history of social and economic evolution. There have always been conflicting classes in society. From historical evidence, these conflicting classes have three major forms, which are as follows:

- Society of slave tradition

- Aristocratic society
- Capitalist society

According to Marx, only a Communist society can resolve the conflict.

Even the economic basis of social evolution has two parts:

- Means of production
- Economic relations

The first comprises machines and second, ownership and ways of distribution, etc.

The order of society underwent a change with the development of the classes. With the development of agricultural implements, it entered into a state of agriculture.

The industrial age was conceived with the discovery of industrial machinery. In the same way, society underwent important changes with the entry of banks and currency into the medium of distribution.

### Modes of Production and Practical Aspects of Historical Materialism

Therefore, the history of society is reflected in the history of development and the law governed during the successive modes of production. This succession passes through six consecutive modes of production and you will learn about them ahead in detail.

- **Primitive society:** This was the first and the lowest form of organization of people. It existed for thousands of years. In this stage, men made use of primitive implements. The relations of production and the productive forces were not very developed. Everything was done on a communal basis. The people tilled the communal land together with common tools and lived in a common dwelling, sharing products equally. The productive forces developed slowly. With the growth of productivity, the clan began to break into families. The family became the owner of the means of production. Thus, private property arose and with it, social inequality. This resulted in the first antagonistic classes—masters and slaves.

- **Slave society:** In the earlier stages of human society, called primitive communism by Marx, the community was a society. People did not have the need of accumulation. However, when man started using the result of one day's labour over a number of days, the tendency to accumulate increased. This was the beginning of the convention of wealth.

Ownership of objects spread to ownership of men because slaves helped to increase the inflow of objects. In this way, the slave and master classes came into being in society and consequently, master and slave morality grew. This increased dissatisfaction which, in its turn, led to class conflict. Slaves revolted against masters for equal rights.

- **Feudal society:** As time passed, the masters did concede some rights to slaves. Though the slaves possessed some ownership over land, a major portion of the yield still went to the master. It was the inception of 'lordship society'. In this society, too, there were two conflicting classes—serfs and lords. Lords were superseded by kings or emperors. The serfs laboured and the lords or kings benefited. In order to give sanction to the authority of kings and lords, religion was resorted to.

In this way, religious ethics were born and the concepts of Heaven and Hell came into being. God was recognized as the religious emperor under whom lay many

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gods and goddesses. The serf was taught to pray to this God and to rest satisfied with his lot, which was allocated to him by God. It was God who had vested authority in the king. Also, there were lords authorized by the king. Thus, to obey their orders was the duty of the public. There was a vast difference in the status of the ruler and the ruled.

- **Capitalist society:** In this age, conflicts in the lordship system became more intense. On the other side, steam was discovered in the forces of production and factories derived power from steam engines. The lords abandoned their dukedoms and entered the industrial field. They created the capitalist or owner class. They joined hands with businessmen and white-collared middle-class people. The serfs went on to become the labour class. Thus, society was again stratified into two layers or classes—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In the bourgeois and proletariat morality too, there is a tremendous conflict as in all conflicting classes. The policy of the bourgeois is one of exploitation. They have nothing to do with the problems of the proletariat. Resorting to secular orders, laws of action and religion, they preach lessons of humbleness and patience to the labourers.
- **Socialist society:** After the working class has been exploited to the hilt, it looks for an escape. Class consciousness is built up that leads to revolution against the capitalists and if it is successful, socialism is gained. In socialism, production is directed by the elected councils of the workers. The means of production are transferred from the hands of capitalists to that of the workers. He called this change the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Economically, each worker is paid according to the amount of labour he contributes to society.
- **Communist society:** The Communist society, according to Marx, is the future society aimed at by all form of development and revolution in society. This is best defined by the Party Programme in USSR as, 'Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the, productive forces through continuous progress in science and technology; all the springs of cooperative wealth will flow more abundantly, and the great principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self-government will be established, a society in which labour for the good of society will become life's prime want of everyone, a necessity recognized by one and all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people.'

In the Communist state, the class struggle will come to an end. The disparity between mental and physical labour will lose recognition and the government and religion will be destroyed. Only then will true morality be conceived.

### Assessment of Historical Materialism

Historical materialism or the materialist conception of history is the direct application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the development of society. Karl Marx made explain what he means by his theory of historical materialism it is based on the economic interpretation of history. Marx probably used the word 'materialistic' to contrast his theory with that of Hegel as sharply as he could.

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The theory of the materialistic conception of history starts with the belief that economic activities are the basis of political, legal, cultural and religious institutions and beliefs. Various forms of state or varieties of legal system cannot be taken as results of the development of human mind but have their origin in the material conditions of human life. The theory starts with the simple truth that man must eat to live and in order to eat, he must produce. Thus, his survival depends upon the success with which he can fulfil his needs.

Production is the most important of all human activities. Society is the result of these necessities of man. Marx grouped the efforts of man in this regard into four main stages:

- Primitive or Asiatic stage
- Ancient stage
- Feudal stage
- Capitalist stage

In all these stages, the class which controls the means of production controls the rest. It is this fact of domination which creates a perpetual state of tension and conflict. In all stages of human life, the forces or conditions of production determine the structure of society.

Marx's theory of materialistic conception of history contains a greater amount of truth than his dialectical materialism. According to Marxist thinker Carew Hunt, all modern writers on social sciences are indebted to Marx, even if they do not admit it. In this sense, Marx's historical materialism or economism represents a very valuable advance in the methods of social sciences.

However, it is impossible to explain all historical movements exclusively in economic terms. Marx's theory ignores the fact that human passions, sentiments, emotions and religion also influence human behaviour. As a philosophical doctrine, the economic interpretation of history is incapable of universal application.

We may see reason in the emphasis laid down by Marx on economic factors though history cannot be explained in terms of decisions made by politicians and kings acting in a vacuum. The major problem arises when the views of Marx are offered as a complete explanation of extremely complex phenomena. Many ideals which, according to Marx, were only reflections of material interests of one's place in the economic order, actually attain independent status. It is possible that Karl Marx and his colleague Engels recognized the overemphasis that was laid on the economic factors. The excessive zeal of some of his admirers to make his ideas rigid led Marx on one occasion to say that he was not a Marxist. By this, he seems to have meant that he was rigid when they were applying the materialist conception of history.

### Rational Choice

The rational choice theory provides a framework for not just understanding but also modelling behaviour, both social and economic. Not only is it important in the school of microeconomics that is presently dominant but it is also of great significance in modern political science, sociology and philosophy. It is the same as instrumental rationality, which involves the identification of the most cost-effective method for achieving a specific goal without affecting the worthiness of that goal.

### Individual Preferences

The rational choice theory is based on the idea that behavioural patterns in societies represent the choices made by individuals during their attempt to maximize benefits and

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minimize their costs. In other words, the decisions of people regarding the way they act are made by comparing the costs of different actions with their benefits. As a result, patterns of behaviour will develop within the society the results from those choices. The concept of rational choice, wherein comparison of costs and benefits of certain actions are made by people is quite evident in economic theory. Since people want to get as many useful goods as possible at the lowest price, they will consider/weigh the benefits they get from a certain product (for example, how useful or appealing it is) compared to similar objects. They will then compare prices. Simply put, most consumers will select the object which will give them the maximum reward at the minimum price or cost. It is claimed that rational choice theory makes certain unrealistic assumptions to generate predictions that are tractable and testable. These include: An individual possesses complete information regarding what exactly will result from a certain choice. Models that are complicated depend on the probability of describing the outcomes. An individual possesses the cognitive ability and time to consider and weigh each against every other choice. Studies about the drawbacks or constraints related to this assumption are included in theories of bounded rationality.

**Proponent of Rational Choice Theory**

The application of rational choice theory was supported by Gary Becker, recipient of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences, in 1992, for his studies on crime, discrimination and human capital. In the late 20th century, the rational choice theory was the school of thought that dominated the study of political science. Rational choice is more self-consciously theoretical than other research programmes. History and culture are irrelevant for rational choice theorists, who wish to understand political behaviour. All they need to know is the interest of the actors and the assumption they these interests are pursued in a rational manner. While the decision-making approach in the past chose to explain the decisions of elite groups (usually in foreign policy-related issues), rational choice theorists chose to apply their formal theory (at times requiring mathematical notations also) to all aspect of political life.

**Rational Choice Theory: Practical Applications**

The main feature that defines the rational choice theory is that people attempt to always maximize their interests in situations where their vote is required or where they are required to volunteer politically. There are many variants to the approach. Decision theory, for instance, is based on cost-benefit analysis done by individuals without reference to anyone else's plans. The game theory, on the other hand, examines how people make choices on the basis of how they expect others to act.

The primary idea of the rational choice, economic and public choice (although these variants differ in important particulars) is that behaviour is purposive. Political norms. In fact, individuals possess goals which they attempt to achieve, acting as rationally as possible given the level of knowledge, available resources and the situation.

**Rational Choice Theory in Political Economy**

The rational choice theory refers to the interaction between the society, state and markets. It makes use of sophisticated analytic tools and techniques in its investigations. Rational choice theorists, examine individual behaviour as well as the state policies in terms of benefit maximization and cost minimization. The rational choice theory has become

more and more involved in social sciences other than economics, such as sociology and political science in recent times. It has had far-reaching effects on the study of political science, especially in fields like the study of interest groups, elections, behaviour in legislatures, coalitions, and bureaucracy. Models that depend on rational choice theory often adopt methodological individualism, and assume that social situations or collective behaviours are solely the outcome of individual actions; that larger institutions play no role. The mismatch between this and sociological conceptions of social situations is responsible for the limited use of the theory in sociology. Among other things, sociology focuses on the determination of individual tastes and perspectives by social institutions, conflicts with rational choice theory's assumption that our tastes and perspectives are given and inexplicable.

Rational choice theory defines 'rationality' more narrowly and specifically so as to simply mean that an individual tries to balance costs against benefits to decide on an action that gives maximum personal benefits. In general, the rational choice theory does not take into account or address the role played by an individual in terms of morals or ethical decision-making. Thus, economist and Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen refers to those who follow the rational choice model as 'rational fools'. This is because the rational choice theory is bereft of the understanding of consumer motivation. Some economists restrict the use of theory to understanding business behaviour where there is more clarity of goals.

**ACTIVITY**

If you are asked for ways to expand our democracy how would you suggest direct inclusion of citizens in the decision-making process?

**DID YOU KNOW**

Karl Marx and Friedrich Nietzsche shared similar views on society. Marx invented Communism and Nietzsche coined Fascism. Marx believed that Britain would be the first to adopt communist ideas and thought that Russia was too backward in this regard. However, just the reverse happened in 1917.

**7.3 SUMMARY**

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- On a broad scale, political development is the development of institutions, attitudes and values that form the political power system of a society. Many definitions have been used for the term political development. The common factor in all definitions is the reflection of societies and preoccupations of analysts.
- Political modernization refers to the assembly of changes, in terms of structure and culture, within the political system of societies moving towards modernization.
- All theories of modernization attempt to classify the social variables which contribute to social advancement and well-being of certain societies.

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**Check Your Progress**

6. \_\_\_\_\_ by Karl Marx lists the stages of human history.
7. The primary idea of the rational choice, economic and public choice (although these variants differ in important particulars) is that behaviour is purposive. (True/False)

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- Interest articulation is the manner in which people and social groups communicate their needs and demands to the government.
- Groups that are linked to politics, economy or the society and represent a set of people are known as interest groups.
- Karl Marx's approach on the subject of political economy is contained in his book *Das Kapital*.
- Marx said that political economists could study the scientific laws of capitalism in an 'objective' way because the expansion of markets had objectified most economic relations—the cash nexus stripped away all previous religious and political illusions.
- Men enter into definite relations by the force of economic circumstances such as the forces and relations of production. Thus, historical processes are determined by economic forces.
- One of the primary themes contained in Karl Marx's *The Communist Manifesto* is the stages of human history.
- The modes of production in society, according to Marx, evolved through six stages—primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist, socialist and capitalist societies.
- The rational choice theory provides a framework for not just understanding but also modelling behaviour, both social and economic.
- The application of rational choice theory was supported by Gary Becker, recipient of the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences, in 1992, for his studies on crime, discrimination and human capital.
- The main feature that defines the rational choice theory is that people always attempt to maximize their interests in situations where their vote is required or where they are required to volunteer politically.

## 7.4 KEY TERMS

- **Political economy:** It is a marxist terminology that refers to interdisciplinary studies drawing upon economics, law and political science in explaining how political institutions, the political environment, and the economic system—capitalist, socialist, mixed—influence each other.
- **Historical materialism:** It is a methodological approach to the study of society, economics and history that was propounded by Karl Marx.
- **Rational choice theory:** It is a framework for not just understanding but also modelling behaviour, both social and economic.

## 7.5 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The concept of political development projects Western liberal democracy as the model of a developed society.
2. The three characteristics of political modernization identified by the first model that was advanced by James S. Coleman and Lucian Pye were:
  - (i) Differentiation

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- (ii) Equality
  - (iii) Capacity
3. Structural differentiation implies the evolution of distinct structures and organs or institutions for the performance of different functions of a political system.
  4. According to Samuel P. Huntington 'modernization is a multifaceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity'.
  5. Social mobilization, as defined by Karl Deutsch is 'the process by which major clusters of social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour'.
  6. *The Communist Manifesto*
  7. True

## 7.6 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

## Short-Answer Questions

1. List ten meanings that Lucian W. Pye had attributed to the concept of political development.
2. What are the two levels of operation of structural differentiation?
3. Expansion of capabilities implies an increase in four types of capabilities of a political system. Which are these four capabilities?
4. What does the liberal approach to political development state?
5. What is Marx's view on political development.

## Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the concept of political development. What are the different issues that political scientists had to deal with in their definitional efforts?
2. Discuss the various approaches to political development.
3. Assess the liberal approach to political development.
4. Critically analyse the Marxist's approach to political development.

## 7.7 FURTHER READING

- Dahl, Robert A. and Bruce Stinebrickner. 2005. *Modern Political Analysis*. New Delhi: PHI Learning.
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## UNIT 8 CENTRE-PERIPHERY AND DEPENDENCY MODEL

### NOTES

#### Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Unit Objectives
- 8.2 Genesis of the Centre-Periphery and Dependency Model
- 8.3 Application of the Centre-Periphery and Dependency Model
- 8.4 Relevance of the Centre-Periphery and Dependency Model
- 8.5 Summary
- 8.6 Key Terms
- 8.7 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 8.8 Questions and Exercises
- 8.9 Further Reading

### 8.0 INTRODUCTION

There is general agreement among scholars that persons with high social status are likely to be active in politics. These persons are well- educated, engaged in good occupations, earn substantial income and belong to respectable families. They have easy access to communication media and they are physically mobile. They are exposed to industrialization and urbanization. All these make them mentally mobile and strong. Their political awareness and sense of political efficacy are generally high. Their privileged social connections and occupational links enable them to occupy key positions in different social and political networks or significantly influence those who are placed in these positions. It is thus obvious that persons with high social status are located at the political centre, and those who are less privileged have little chance of reaching the political centre. The latter are farther away from the centre and nearer to periphery where political communication is scarce and people have little inclination for political communication.

This unit deals with the genesis, application and relevance of the centre-periphery and dependency model.

### 8.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the genesis of the centre-periphery and dependency model
- Describe the application of the centre-periphery and dependency model
- Explain the relevance of the centre-periphery and dependency model

## 8.2 GENESIS OF THE CENTRE-PERIPHERY AND DEPENDENCY MODEL

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The centre-periphery dichotomy in respect of political participation, though largely true, fails to explain some important cases of political activism. There are many examples of people located at the social periphery, but involved in high-pitch political activities.

**Mobility:** Political participation is facilitated by mental mobility. A mobile mind is capable of responding to external stimuli and disengaging itself from prejudices, superstitions, outdated attitudes and values. And the level of the mental mobility of a person is, to a great extent, determined by his physical and social mobility. The nature of the residential location of a person would have some bearing on his participation in politics. Is he an old resident or a stranger? If he is an old resident, how long has he stayed in the community? The members of a community are unlikely to trust a stranger for any leadership position? He would take time to establish rapport with them. But an old resident does not suffer from this handicap. Being known to them for long, he is likely to enjoy their trust and understanding and receive their help and cooperation.

But in respect of the political participation of a community, the presence of strangers is not totally negative. Strangers come with fresh ideas. As a result, by slowly disseminating these ideas, they may help in enriching the quality of the political beliefs and ideas of the community. Further, a newcomer starts with a clean slate, and his past, even if bad, may escape the attention of the community. On the other hand, an old member of the community, with a bad record, is unlikely to win the support of the people.

Another aspect of physical mobility is urbanization. It has been argued that as an individual moves from a village to a town or a city, the possibility of his participation in politics increases. Urbanization has some advantage like higher rate of education, better transport facilities, higher exposure to mass media, the presence of large number of groups, networks and organizations, a climate of politicization, and, above all, different political parties which stimulate political activism. This view of urbanization as a positive factor of political participation has been articulated in what is known as the mobilization model.

Karl Deutsch of Harvard University is one of the well-known proponents of the mobilization model. However, some scholars have argued just the opposite. According to them, rural life fosters community feeling marked by a sense of solidarity, understanding and a sense of boundedness. In such an atmosphere an individual feels encouraged to be involved in the political process. On the contrary in a big town or a city where a sense of belonging is largely conspicuous by absence, the individual gets lost. He fails to discover his own identity in an ocean of vastness of city life. City life, being largely broken and fragmented, militates against the community feeling of solidarity. As a result, a town- or a city-dweller feels inhibited from taking an active part in politics.

Like physical mobility, social mobility has also some influence on political participation. Social mobility means change in the status of an individual in the society. While upward mobility refers to improvement in his status, deterioration in his status is known as downward mobility. As important components of social status like education, occupation and income have positive correlation with political participation, upward social mobility would stimulate political participation. For the same reason, downward mobility would slow down political participation.

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However, from another angle the relation between social mobility and political participation may be examined. Whether it is upward or downward mobility, the concerned person is likely to be subjected to cross-pressure. While living in the present, he may have weakness for the past. Even if he has a better status now, it would not be easy for him to throw away his old associations and values. This tendency to cling to both the present and the past will place him in an uncertain frame of mind and a lot of tensions. A man, in such a state of mind, is unlikely to take active part in politics. Thus, it is worthwhile to further study the hypothesis that upward social mobility stimulates political participation.

In some developed countries like the United States of America, and Britain, both upward and downward mobility have been found to have association with conservatism. In other words, whether a person goes up or goes down in the social hierarchy, he is inclined to embrace conservative attitudes and indulge in conservative politics. While in Britain such a man will join the Conservative Party, in the US his counterpart will support conservative issues and perhaps join the Republican Party which is relatively more conservative than the Democratic Party. In case of upward mobility the concerned person would be tempted to internalize the values and attitudes of the upper class to which he has been promoted, because he thinks that it is in his interest to identify himself with those values and political groups which befit his present class. This may also happen due to the social pressure of the new environment or anticipatory socialization. In case of demotion in the status of a person, he tends to stick to the values of his old class as a mechanism of compensating for the loss in his social position. In spite of decline in his status he is not prepared to delink himself from the symbols of his old status. However, in a few other developed countries like Italy downward mobility seems to have contrary effect on political participation. A person with decline in social status tends to be attracted towards political radicalism. In other words, he identifies himself with the values and politics of the people belonging to the class to which he has been denoted.

Some of the centre-periphery factors are outlined below.

1. **Psychological factors:** Some psychological impulses may drive an individual to politics. Politics may be a means of overcoming one's loneliness. Politics creates new bonds of association, and an individual can get rid of his fear of being isolated by joining politics. He gets new opportunities to establish fresh links with others. Man, being a curious animal, is keen on understanding the meaning and essence of his environment. He wants to know the people and world around him. He is tempted to unravel the mystery of a political environment which has a special appeal for him.

An individual may be guided by his psychological motives consciously or unconsciously. When he wants to overcome his loneliness or understand the meaning of his political environment by involvement in politics, he is conscious of what he is among. But sometimes he may be unconsciously dragged to politics by one psychological motive or another. A man, afflicted by psychic tension, may enter politics and may consequently get rid of this tension, though, while joining politics, he is not conscious of the fact that it will stop the flow of tension within him or help him in releasing his tension. Andrew Bonar Law, who suffered from intense pain as a result of the death of his wife in 1909, felt driven to very active politics. Eventually he became the leader of the Conservative Party, and then the Prime Minister of Britain. Woodrow Wilson, as a child, passed through severe psychological tension due to an agonizing conflict between his devotion to his parents, and his sharp differences with them in some important values of life. It has been argued that his vigorous search for power in later life was an unconscious response to his psychological need of overcoming this inner conflict.

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Power-hankering is almost a universal phenomenon. For an individual, power may be a means as well as an end. Power is a potent instrument at the hand of man. It can be used to gain material benefits; it may also win social esteem. Further, one may derive pressure from the exercise of power. And one of the surest and most direct ways of gaining power is politics. Political posts, party posts as well as governmental posts are repositories of power. One may consciously plunge into politics because he seeks power and prestige. Sometimes, he is unconsciously drawn to politics because of his psychological need of these valued objectives.

Another psychological explanation of political participation is status inconsistency. The main components of social status are education, occupation, income, religion, race and caste and it is argued that discrepancy between or among these components will create psychic tension in the concerned individual. For example, a person of high caste and low occupation on a person of low caste and high education is vulnerable to status inconsistency, and such a person is likely to be actively involved in social or political movements with a view to changing or breaking those structures or arrangements which, in his opinion, are responsible for his frustration and tension. He considers his participation in such movements as tension-reducing.

The theory of status inconsistency, which is relatively weak, suffers from a few but serious limitations. One, in complex and differentiated industrial societies, status inconsistency is likely to be widespread and large, and there will be temptation to trace back the political participation of all or most individuals to status discrepancy. Two, determination of status inconsistency at the cross-national level is extremely difficult, because the relative importance of individual status elements varies from nation to nation, and culture to culture.

The psychological correlates of political participation include personality traits which are of two types, namely, basic personality traits, and socially derived or socially learnt personality traits. The first group of personality traits includes rigidity, guilt, intolerance of ambiguity, manic depression and manifest anxiety while the second group of personality traits comprises sense of efficacy, sense of civic responsibility, sociability, sense of alienation, and authoritarianism. There is a great deal of agreement among researchers that while there is little correlation between basic personality traits and political participation, there is significant correlation between socially learnt personality traits and political participation.

**2. Political factors:** Politics is played in a political system. Thus, the nature and form of the political system would affect political participation. Further, political participation is also influenced by the context and setting in which it takes place. The form and direction of political participation are significantly determined by the nature of the political environment.

(i) Democracy is superior to dictatorship primarily because in a democracy the people have freedom to express their views even against their government whereas in a dictatorship this freedom is denied to the people. In a democracy the people have rights and opportunities to influence the policies and actions of their government. They take different steps in this regard. Such steps include discussions and voting at one end and strike, and protest march at the other end. Political participation is one of the core elements of democracy, and the quality of democracy is known from the quality of participation of people in the political process.

(ii) Political parties are a sine qua non of democracy. As democracy provides competing choices to the people, it is bound to have more than one party. It

may be a two-party system or a multiparty one. Political party is a powerful reference group for people. It imparts political education. It not only inculcates in them political interest, but also mobilizes them on issues of their concern or on some general issues of national concern. As in a democracy the relationship between political parties and citizens is of much consequence, the nature of parties would influence the participation of people in politics. The followers of a secular party are unlikely to indulge in communal politics. On the other hand, the followers of a racist party would indulge in racist violence. Further, the members of a revolutionary party would abhor democratic politics and seek to overthrow the political system by intensified violent activities.

It has been established by several researchers that there is little correlation between the party system and voter turnout. In bi-party systems voter turnout may be high or low. Similar fluctuation in voter turnout has been found in multiparty systems. Further, the assumption that with more parties competing for political office, there will be more office-holders and activists in parties has proved to be wrong. This is due to the fact that in each country there are only a small number of people who are willing and able to take up activist roles in politics. Some scholars believe that ideological polarization between political parties may result in increased voter turnout in elections. But the realities on the ground do not support this belief. In Norway, there is ideological cleavage between political parties; in Britain there is not much of ideological difference between political parties. But the voter turnout in these two countries is more or less the same.

Election campaigning is not only politically educative, but also arouses voters to action. Electioneering has three aspects. The first is its vigour and intensity. The second is the issues which are raised in course of campaigning. The third is the personality of candidates plays a big role in this regard. If a candidate has charisma, he or she will be able to attract more people to his side. The effectiveness of campaigning depends upon the techniques adopted by parties and candidates. While there is general agreement on the efficacy of face-to-face campaigning, in developed countries electronic media - specially TV - has proved quite effective in winning the support of voters.

The simplicity of rules and organization encourages political participation and vice versa. If the governmental machinery and other political organizations are complex, and if the rules thereof are difficult to understand, the people will have less enthusiasm for taking part in politics or for influencing the policies of the government.

The nature of franchise has direct bearing on voter turnout. While universal franchise enables large number of people to cast their votes in elections, limited franchise does the reverse. Where franchise is limited on the basis of education, income, race, caste or religion, a large number of people are deprived of voting rights.

## 8.3 APPLICATION OF THE CENTRE-PERIPHERY AND DEPENDENCY MODEL

During the Cold War, there were mainly two choices for Third World countries. They had to choose between democracy and communism. Democracy gives political freedom to people, but with regard to economic development, it takes time. Democracy has largely failed to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. While the rich become richer, the basic needs of the poor go unaddressed. On the other hand, communism looked promising to the poor. It was believed that communism would remove poverty in

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### Check Your Progress

1. What are the main components of social status?
2. What are the three aspects of electioneering?

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a short time. However, in a communist country, political choice is absent. One is not free to choose any path. He cannot form another party; he has to join the Communist Party. Thus, for Third World countries, it was a difficult dilemma. It was a Hobson's choice: each system involved a cost. Even after the end of the Cold War, the developing countries are still caught by that dilemma. Apart from a few Communist countries like China, Cuba and North Korea, there are many countries without democratic governments. There are one-party governments, military juntas and monarchies which promise quick results in respect of meeting the needs of the people. Though it is true that democracy is a slow process and that it has, to a great extent, failed to ensure distributive justice, it is, by all means, preferable to any non-democratic system. What is required is not to reject or throw away democracy, but to find out solutions to its problems. When democracy succeeds in ensuring political freedom and economic freedom and growth as well as the structure of the society and problems and compulsions of the state the right 'trade-offs' between growth and justice, and between political freedoms and economic freedoms need to be determined. Democracy is the central element of political development, and political development is inconceivable without it. Political development blossoms when democracy becomes effective and productive in meeting the needs of people, needs of the society and needs of the state.

The centre periphery model says that political development has been used in four different ways.

1. **Geographical** – Political development has been studied in the context of the politics of developing countries.
2. **Derivative** – It refers to the political aspects and consequences of the broader process of modernization.
3. **Teleological** – It is identified with movement toward one particular goal such as democracy, stability, legitimacy, participation, mobilization, welfare, justice, liberty, equality, capability, and differentiation.
4. **Functional** – It is thought of as a movement toward the politics characteristic of a modern, industrial society.

A deeper study of the case of political development in the context of the colonial and semi-colonial countries at the hands of A.G Frank, Paul A. Baran and F.B. Cardoso has led to the emergence of the idea of political underdevelopment. It seeks to re-examine the situation obtaining in a semi-advanced country in the light of the 'exploitation' of the proletariat by the native bourgeois (and also feudal) elements in collaboration with foreign capitalists operating through 'multi-national organizations'. In other words, it may be taken as a study of 'neo-colonialism' that covers not only the poor and backward countries of the Third World but also a number of semi-advanced capitalist organizations of the world. In realistic terms, it implies a condition of double exploitation' of the people of these countries-exploitation of the native working class directly by the native capitalists and indirectly by the foreign capitalists through the network of multi-national corporations.

This theory of political underdevelopment derives from Marx who argued that in the long run it would have a detrimental effect on the industrial metropole as well as on the underdeveloped periphery. In his thesis of 'imperialism as the final stage of capitalism', Lenin also stresses the point that the capitalist countries 'export' to their colonies not only innovation but their own internal crises as well. Therefore, capitalism creates gross social inequalities at home as well as in other areas under its control. As Paul A. Baran argues: 'Far from serving as an engine of economic expansion of technological progress

and of social change, the capitalist order in these countries has represented a framework for economic stagnation, for archaic technology, and for social backwardness'. Thus, to the extent to which it depends on the volume of aggregate output and income, the economic surplus in backward capitalist countries has necessarily been small. Not that it has constituted a small proportion of the total income.

On the contrary, the consumption of the productive population has been depressed to the lowest possible level, with 'lowest possible' corresponding in this case close to a subsistence minimum or to what in many underdeveloped countries falls notably below that benchmark. The economic surplus, therefore, while by comparison with the advanced countries small in absolute terms, has accounted for a large share of total output—as large as, if not larger than, in advanced capitalist countries.

It follows that the case of underdevelopment may be studied in the new role of native bourgeoisie working in alliance with multinational corporations. The capitalist class of a backward country aligns itself with the capitalist class of big and advanced countries and, as such, the consequent situation of 'double exploitation' places an independent country in the position of a semi-dependency. Underdevelopment goes hand-in-hand with economic dependency. On this basis Fernando Henrique Cardoso presents the model of associated-development that combines the idea of development with that of dependence. Changes in international capitalist organization have produced a new international division of labour, the key to which is the multinational corporation. The interests of the foreign corporations become essential to the internal prosperity and growth of dependent countries. On the one hand, they help to produce growth of dependent countries. On the other hand, countries hosting multinational corporations are dependent for their development on their decisions and activities. In the words of Cardoso the consequence of imperialism with respect to dependent countries and nations (or colonies) was the integration of the latter into the international market. Inequalities among nations and economies resulted from imperialism's development to the extent that the input of raw materials and export of manufactured goods were the bases of the imperialist-colonial relationship. The reproduction and amplification of inequality between advanced economies developed as a by-product of the very process of capitalist growth.

According to Andre Gunder Frank, the pioneer of the dependency theory, what is important for the purposes of development and underdevelopment is not the sacrifice of the nation in terms of its actual loss of income wealth or the absolute gain of the recipient country but the contribution of economic surplus accruing to the imperialist country. While the colonies and semi-colonies are denied the developmental possibilities of this capital, the metropolitan country can use it for its own economic development. The most unfortunate part of this phenomenon is that while the imperialist class may gain just a pound of flesh, the colonies or semi-colonies may lose a hundred times more in terms of their potential resources, their economic assets and their physical capacities. The reason behind it may be discovered in the control of the advanced capitalist countries over the sensitive and strategic areas of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It may be seen in the case of the economies of the Third World countries like Guinea and Nigeria as well as in those of the so-called advanced states of Europe like Spain and Portugal. The difference of a big degree may, however, be marked out between the exploitation of the poor and backward countries of the Third World and of the semi-developed states of the Western World.

In this regard, another great theorist is Immanuel Wallerstein whose 'world capitalist system' frankly asserts that there are today no socialist systems in the world economy

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any more than there are feudal systems, because there is one world system. It is world economy and it is by definition capitalist in form. This unified world economy system is three-tiered: the core, semi-periphery and periphery. (a) Core economies are the location for advanced economic activities such as manufacturing, banking and the processing of primary products. (b) Semi-peripheral areas trade with both core and periphery and occupy a kind of half-way position in terms of such features as profit margins and wage levels. (c) The activities of the peripheral economies are more or less restricted to the production of primary products. In this system of three circles, the semi-periphery plays a very important role in the operation of the world system as a whole. Prarik and Wallerstein joined hands with other writers of the same view.

We believe that there is a social whole that may be called a capitalist world economy. We believe that we cannot make an intelligent analysis of the various states taken seriously without placing their so-called internal life in the context of the world division of labour, located in the world economy. Nor can we make a coherent analysis that segregates economic, political and social variables.

We believe that throughout the history of the capitalist world economy, there has been increasing organization of oppressed groups within the world system and increasing opposition to its continuance. We believe that the hegemony of the US is declining owing to the 'increasing competitiveness' of West European and Japanese products, emergence of Washington-Tokyo-Beijing axis and wars among the states in the periphery. Thus, the cases of political underdevelopment and the world economic system are interrelated. The whole analysis is constructed on the basis of the centre-periphery relationship. Centre and periphery are distinguished in terms of the market relations that integrate them into the world capitalist system, whose expansion has brought about such differentiation. The centre develops on the basis of the expansion of its home market and in it the capitalist mode of production becomes the only mode of production. The capitalist mode of production is imposed on the periphery from outside, but in such a way that its penetration is incomplete.

Dependency theory is just a corollary to the theory of underdevelopment. It was through a discreet historical process, according to Celso Furtado, that development and underdevelopment became parts of the same continuum. Dependency is a containing or a conditioning situation. So Santos says: We can now define very clearly what is meant by dependence. In the first place, dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others. The relationship of interdependency between such economies and the world trading system becomes a dependent relationship when some countries can expand through self-impulsion, while others being in a dependent position, can only expand as a reflection of the expansion of the dominant countries which may have positive or negative effects on their immediate development. In either case the basic situation of dependency causes these countries to be both backward and exploited. The dependency theorists or the 'dependents' concede the point that some sort of capitalist industrialization has taken place in the Third World and it has created the model of 'new dependency'. Since this sort of development is a dependent development, Faletto and Cardoso call it associated-dependent-development'. For them the structural dependency perspective focuses on inter-relationship at three levels: the international economy, the nation-state and the alliance of social classes within the state. They are very clear that the state in Latin America is in no sense a passive agency 'mechanically conditioned by external dominance. The state is a system of domination which relates dialectically to external factors and one of

the tasks they set themselves is to develop concepts which will enable them to explain how internal and external processes of political domination relate one to the other.

Like Huntington, Rajni Kothari also attaches primacy to politics in political development, but he does it from a different angle. He argues that economic development is influenced by the policy made for the purpose, and policy reflects ideology and political dynamics. He advocates a model of political development which should be 'directly oriented to the specific political tasks of building viable states.' Elaborating his centre-periphery model, Kothari says that the centre should have the outward thrust of permeating the periphery and encourage democratic participation while not suppressing political conflict and intellectual dissent; and that the periphery, in response, should progressively mobilize its own social structure and move towards the centre through both struggle and coalition making. According to Kothari, technical and economic choices, though important, are to be treated as derivatives of larger institutional and ideological choices. He is convinced that politics, playing a 'creative role', can significantly contribute to a humane and viable political development.

## 8.4 RELEVANCE OF THE CENTRE-PERIPHERY AND DEPENDENCY MODEL

The process of economic expansion in the more developed countries of Latin-America (as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Chile) has posed the problem at the level of national politics of the incorporation of new social groups, the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and elements of the popular sector. The quest for the stake in the system on the part of such groups, together with the need of the state to reconcile economic expansion with political stability, has led to the emergence of varying patterns of alliance. The variations from country to country depended upon their respective resource base before the period of ISI (import-substitution-industrialization), the nature and degree of foreign involvement and the consequent balance of social forces.

The chief cause of political underdevelopment should be traced not only in the fact of 'satellite colonization' of the poor and the backward countries of the world but also in the existence of feudal and bourgeois classes at whose hands the native proletariat suffers exploitation. It may be described as a case of double exploitation. While the feudal aristocracy exploits the rural peasantry, the bourgeoisie exploits the urban working class. Thus, the feudal and bourgeois elements are combined and they acquire political power to perpetuate their hold. But contradictions develop within their ranks and, in order to remove them, the exploiters adopt tactics that leading to the vulgarization and criminalization of politics. It also happens that the disgruntled sections of the community take to the ways of violence as a result of which events of terrorism occur frequently to bring about structural changes in the social and economic system of the country.

Socialist development of a country may be described as a way out of this crucial difficulty. But we may take note of the fact that in most of the countries of the Third World, the clever leaders prefer to establish a kind of 'protosocialism' – a form of bureaucracy that elevates to power a new and essentially corrupt and repressive class. As a result of this, contradictions develop within the so-called socialist forces that create a more baffling situation. Moreover, a critical student of political economy may take note of the fact that the super-socialist powers like former USSR and China have their own vested interests in installing a kind of their satellite colonization. Liberalization trends in a satellite country like Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland were suppressed by force. It

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### Check Your Progress

3. \_\_\_\_\_ gives political freedom to people.
4. What are the three tiers of the unified world economy?

## NOTES

is also possible that an underdeveloped state like Chile or Guinea may become a 'proto-Stalinist' state in pursuit of its development through the course of socialism.

Such theories failed to have a long life. They became unfashionable in the 1980s for the main reason that their empirical base was very weak. It appeared that the socio-political consequences of underdevelopment and dependency had been worked out without much precision and evidence. Hurnza Alvi says that in post-colonial societies, the state is over-developed vis-a-vis the indigenous society and subservient to the metropolis. The neoliberals question the efficacy of structuralist or nationalist economic strategies finding vindication in the increasing economic difficulties and ultimate collapse of the communist system in the countries of East Europe. Todaro comments: Contrary to the claims of the dependency theorists, the neoclassical counter-revolutionaries argue that the Third World is under-developed not because of the predatory activities of the First World and the international agencies that it controls but rather because of the heavy hands of the state and the corruption, inefficiency and lack of economic incentives that permeate the economies of developing nations.

The story of underdevelopment is an account of exploitation of the backward and semi-backward peoples at the hands of the highly advanced countries of the world. The native bourgeois plays its own part in the nefarious drama of political economy. It becomes the exploited force at the hands of multinational corporations in one respect and a partner with them in exploiting the 'proletariat' of its own country for the sake of economic interests. It all occurs due to the existence of an imitated bourgeois state in the underdeveloped countries where the ruling party as a mass movement is only a shell within which compradors, or local bourgeois, manipulate power, inequality and unemployment flourish, with the result being agricultural stagnation, urban immigration, food shortages, inflation, balance of payments crises, further dependence on foreign finance, and a non-competitive domestic industrial sector.

This model sees development as a result of different forces interacting with one another on a continuous basis. It assumes that the various components of development are quantifiable and that these components include gross/national product and per capita income, literacy and education, employment, industrialization, political participation.

Development takes place in three stages. These three stages are the traditional stage, the transitional stage, and the modern stage. In the transitional stage, there is between the centre and the periphery. In the transitional stage, industrialization makes a beginning and people begin to be involved in the political process. This stage also marks the efforts of the centre to reach the periphery. The modern stage is characterized by high industrialization and urbanization, and the involvement of the individual in national endeavour through available official means of participation.

Political development will pass through (i) political unification, (ii) industrialization, (iii) national welfare and (iv) abundances. Political unification would help in making the state strong with enough powers in its hands while industrialization will lead to economic development. National welfare means that the state makes use of its political and economic powers to meet the basic needs of the people. In a highly developed stage the people get abundance: considerable material affluence becomes available to them.

Political conception of political development/political modernity was largely influenced by structural functional analysis, borrowed from Sociology/ Anthropology.

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He said, a political system performs input and output functions. While the input functions are political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation and political communication, the output functions are rule-making, rule-application, and rule-adjudication. Having suggested that political modernity can be defined in terms of structural differentiation and functional specialization and prevalence of 'modern styles' within the political culture, he said that political development is characterized by rational styles of specificity, universality, achievement and affective neutrality in contrast to traditional styles of diffuseness, particularity, ascriptiveness and affectivity.

Huntington says that political development or political modernization has been defined broadly in two ways. First, political modernization is a movement from a traditional to a modern polity. Second, it is defined as the political aspects and political effects of social, economic and cultural modernization. Huntington agrees with the first view, and not with the second one. The first view indicates the direction in which political change should take place. The second view does not indicate the direction of political change. It involves disintegration of the traditional political system which is not necessarily a significant movement towards a modern political system.

The relevance of the centre-periphery model in the traditional societies reflects that social mobilization and political participation would increase the aspirations of people. If the government, having developed required political institutionalization, is able to adequately meet the rising aspirations of people, there will be political order and development. If the government fails to do it, there will be political disaster, instability and decay. Huntington says that economic development and social mobility lag behind political participation causing a fast rise in the aspirations of people. This 'gap' between the rising aspiration of people caused by social mobilization and political participation, and the ability of the government to adequately meet these aspirations causes social frustration, political instability and political decay. Modernization encourages political participation, but it is the degree of institutionalization which would determine whether the system would experience development or decay. If political institutions are deficient or non-existent, there will be disorder and violence. A state, thus, may be modern without being politically developed.

The centre-periphery model of political development comprises the following three elements:

1. **Authority rationalization** – There should be a rational authority structure. In the traditional system, there are a large number of traditional, religious, familial and ethnic political authorities. They would be replaced by a single, secular, rational political authority.
2. **Differentiation** – As differentiation of political functions has taken place, there should be specialized structures to perform these functions.
3. **Political Participation** – The social groups throughout the society should increasingly participate in the political process.

## ACTIVITY

Write a report on the use of political development from geographical, derivative, technological and functional perspectives.

## Check Your Progress

5. Mention the three stages of development.
6. Mention two components of development.
7. Mention two input functions of a political system.

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### DID YOU KNOW

The centre-periphery model has two associated debates—the first concerns the elaborated of a theory of modes of production. The other tries leasing out the links between particular areas of the centre and periphery through examining the articulation of different modes of production.

## 8.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Political participation is facilitated by mental mobility. A mobile mind is capable of responding to external stimuli and disengaging itself from prejudices, superstitions, outdated attitudes and values. And the level of the mental mobility of a person is, to a great extent, determined by his physical and social mobility.
- Some psychological impulses may drive an individual to politics. Politics may be a means of overcoming one's loneliness. Politics creates new bonds of association. And an individual can get rid of his fear of being isolated by joining politics. He gets new opportunities to establish fresh links with others.
- Politics is played in a political system. Thus, the nature and form of the political system would affect political participation. Further, political participation is also influenced by the context and setting in which it takes place. The form and direction of political participation are significantly determined by the nature of the political environment.
- During the Cold War, there were mainly two choices for Third World countries. They had to choose between democracy and communism.
- The periphery model says that political development has been used in four different ways:
  1. **Geographical** – Political development has been studied in the context of the politics of developing countries.
  2. **Derivative** – It refers to the political aspects and consequences of the broader process of modernization.
  3. **Teleological** – It is identified with movement toward one particular goal such as democracy, stability, legitimacy, participation, mobilization, welfare, justice, liberty, equality, capability, differentiation.
  4. **Functional** – It is thought of as a movement toward the politics characteristic of a modern, industrial society.
- Dependence is a conditioning situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others.
- Development takes place in three stages. These three stages are the traditional stage, the transitional stage, and the modern stage.
- Political development will pass through (i) political unification, (ii) industrialization, (iii) national welfare and (iv) abundances Political unification would help in making the state strong with enough powers in its hands while industrialization will lead to economic development.

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- Huntington says that political development or political modernization has been defined broadly in two ways. First, political modernization is a movement from a traditional to a modern polity. Second, it is defined as the political aspects and political effects of social, economic and cultural modernization.

## 8.6 KEY TERMS

- **Bi-party system:** A system where two major political parties dominate voting in nearly all elections at every level of government and, as a result, all or nearly all elected offices are members of one of the two major parties.
- **Franchise:** A privilege or right officially granted a person or a group by a government.
- **Mobility:** The movement of people, as from one social group, class, or level to another.

## 8.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The main components of social status are education, occupation, income, religion, race and caste.
2. Electioneering has three aspects. The first is its vigour and intensity. The second is the issues which are raised in course of campaigning. The third is that the personality of candidates plays a big role in this regard.
3. Democracy
4. Core, semi-periphery and periphery. (a) Core economies are the location for advanced economic activities such as manufacturing, banking and the processing of primary products. (b) Semi-peripheral areas trade with both core and periphery and occupy a kind of half-way position in terms of such features as profit margins and wage levels. (c) The activities of the peripheral economies are more or less restricted to the production of primary products.
5. Development takes place in three stages. These three stages are the traditional stage, the transitional stage, and the modern stage.
6. Gross national product and per capita income.
7. Political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation.

## 8.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

### Short-Answer Questions

1. What are the advantages of urbanization?
2. What do you understand by social mobility?
3. According to the central-periphery model, in what ways can political development be divided?
4. The centre-periphery model of political development comprises three elements—what are they?

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### Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the genesis of the centre-periphery and dependency model.
2. Describe the application of the centre-periphery and dependency model
3. Explain the relevance of the centre-periphery and dependency model.

### 8.9 FURTHER READING

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## UNIT 9 SOCIAL CHANGE

### Structure

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- 9.1 Unit Objectives
- 9.2 Social Change – Concept
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### 9.0 INTRODUCTION

Sociologists have given different models through which they trace the trends of social change. With the development of sociology as a discipline, sociologists, including the founding fathers, have borrowed heavily from other disciplines to interpret social change and make an outline of the direction with which societies change.

This unit discusses the concept of social change from the perspectives of the revolutionary approach and structural approach.

### 9.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the concept of social change
- Explain the revolutionary approach in relation to social change
- Describe the structural approach to social change

### 9.2 SOCIAL CHANGE – CONCEPT

In the 19th century, evolution became the predominant model for interpreting change in biology and sociologists interpreted social phenomena in the same direction, emphasizing that change in society is gradual and continuous and it occurs in a sequence. Evolutionary theorists have traced the trends of social change in two different ways: unilinear and universal. Unilinear evolutionists claim that changes occur in society in a single direction. For them evolution is an irreversible and unidirectional process. Societies pass through different stages and every stage is a higher and improved one over the previous stage. Auguste Comte and Karl Marx are the proponents of this view. Comte, the father of the

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discipline, viewed evolution in three successive stages: theological, metaphysical and positive stages, most commonly known as the 'law of three stages'. Human thought and knowledge are the bases through which societies change from one stage to the other. In the theological stage, people believed in the supernatural forces. In the metaphysical stage, human intelligence was the product of abstract forces. The last stage was the positive stage. In this stage of evolution, reasoning and scientific observation dominated all social phenomena. People started thinking about reason rather than superstition. According to Comte, all the societies pass through these three successive stages and each stage is more progressive than the earlier stage. Karl Marx also talked about evolution of societies in a unilinear manner. He believed that the Western societies have developed through four main phases, i.e., Asiatic, Ancient, Feudal and Capitalist. Through the path of change and development, societies progress in a unilinear way and the basis of change is conflict between the classes of those who own the mode of production and those who do not. There is a conflict between the thesis and antithesis and as a result, the synthesis comes into existence. As to Marx, the Asiatic mode of production was the characteristic of primitive societies where ownership of land was communal and therefore there didn't exist any class. The next stage was the Ancient mode of production when slavery prevailed extensively. The master had the right of ownership over the slaves. Two types of classes existed during this phase as Marx propounded: the slave-masters and slaves. Following this, there was the Feudal mode of production which consisted of again two different classes namely, feudal lords and serfs. Serfs were deprived of property and were obliged to surrender their labour to the lords who on the other hand were the owners of private property. This stage laid the foundation for the next phase, i.e., the capitalist mode of production.

In this stage, capital is the dominant means of production. Capital can be money or credit. The capitalists own all means of production like land, machines and the bourgeoisie only own their labour power which they provide to the capitalists for their means of subsistence. As in other stages, the superior class exploits the inferior class in this phase of mode of production too. The bourgeoisie get exploited by the capitalists who pocket all profit and surplus value which leads to estrangement and alienation by the labourers or bourgeoisie class. This leads to a situation where the bourgeoisie world over will unite and raise their voice against their exploitation by the capitalists. Marx predicts, a conflict will erupt between the capitalists and the bourgeoisie following this. It will lead to a classless socialist mode of production.

Marx says that class struggle or conflict is the basis on which society changes from one mode of production to another. In his own words, 'The history of all hither to existing society is the history of class struggle.' So, his theory is based on the assumption that each society passes through four stages of development and each stage is progressive than the preceding one.

The second category of evolutionists is known as universal evolutionists who focused on the evolution of societies from one typical social structure to another. Emile Durkheim, Herbert Spencer and Ferdinand Tonnies are the proponents of this theory. Emile Durkheim has explained his theory of evolution in his book '*The Division of Labour*' (1893). He has discussed evolution of society from 'mechanical solidarity' to 'organic solidarity'. The ancient society has been identified by him as representing the 'mechanical solidarity' and the modern industrial society with 'organic solidarity'. In the ancient period, societies were united with the solidarity of sameness, likeness and resemblance. Such solidarity was possible because collective consciousness among the

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people was strong. Individual behaviour was regulated by the collectivity. Law was 'repressive' in nature. On the other hand, 'organic solidarity', Durkheim explains, is the solidarity based on differences. This is the characteristic feature of industrial societies marked by high degree of division of labour and specialization. Collective consciousness in this type of society is relatively less effective and law therefore becomes 'restitutive'. In the transition from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity, division of labour plays an important role.

Herbert Spencer also traced the change in society in an evolutionary way. As he said, 'Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion during which matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to definite, coherent heterogeneity.' Spencer for the first time introduced systematically the laws of 'natural selection' and the 'survival of the fittest' hypothesis into sociology. In his '*The Principles of Sociology*' he emphasized that human society had progressed from small groups to larger ones and from simple to compound and later doubly compound ones, i.e., from a homogenous to heterogeneous form. Similarly, Ferdinand Tonnies believed that societies evolved from 'Gemeinschaft' to 'Gesellschaft'. To him 'Gemeinschaft' represents the type of society characterized by community feeling and intimate face-to-face relationships.

All the members of community know each other personally and, therefore, cooperation among them binds the whole community. The individual members are controlled by informal means such as morals, values, gossips and gestures. Tonnies said that the rural societies represented the 'Gemeinschaft' kind of society. On the other hand, 'Gesellschaft' represents the modern urban life. Such type of society is characterized by impersonal relationships among the members and social control is maintained by formal means like laws and legally defined punishments.

Apart from the evolutionists, there are other theorists who trace the trends of social change in a cyclical manner. Sorokin and Vilfredo Pareto are two such sociologists. According to Sorokin, a particular society or culture progresses to a certain point reaching its peak and then reverses back to its original position. He states that society moves from 'ideational culture' to 'sensate culture' and vice versa. While moving in a cyclical manner these two types of cultures make space for a third type of culture, i.e. 'idealistic culture'. The 'ideational culture' is characterized by spiritualism and otherworldliness. The 'sensate culture' is fundamentally opposite to the 'ideational culture'. Here people give importance to their material sense and not to their spiritual senses. The 'idealistic culture' on the other hand is a mixture of the other two types where both materialism and spiritualism elements are present. Human knowledge is based on both supernatural and spiritual intuition and sensory experiences.

Vilfredo Pareto also analysed change in a cyclical method. His theory is known as the 'circulation of elites'. According to Pareto, any society consists of elites and masses and it is the elites who bring change in the society. There can be two types of elites in a society according to Pareto: the governing and non-governing elites. The governing elites are those who play a role in government and hold power. The non-governing elites are those who don't enjoy power and are out of the government. To Pareto, elites can be of 'foxes' type and 'lions' type. The former type of elites rule the society by cunning, fraud and manipulation; whereas the latter type of elites control power through direct use of force. Pareto says that major changes occur in society when one type of elites replaces another, i.e. the process of circulation of elites. The elites fall and lose their control over government as they decay in quality and lose dynamism. There are also couple of sociological models that created analogies between

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social change and the technological advancement of the Western societies. In the mid-20th century, sociologists and anthropologists borrowed a theoretical model from linguistics and analysed social change. This approach is called 'structural functionalism'. The theory propounds that social institutions are all interrelated and a change in one institution brings change in other institutions.

### 9.3 SOCIAL CHANGE – REVOLUTIONARY APPROACH

In the first unit, you have learned about the dynamics of change and the meaning and nature of social change. As you have understood, social change is the alteration or modification of the structure and function of any societal system. It can be the change in interpersonal relationships, social organizations, social patterns and values, inter-caste and inter-community marriage, and change in family type from joint-living to nuclear households.

Sociologists have given different models through which they trace the trends of social change. With the development of sociology as a discipline, sociologists including change and make an outline of the direction with which societies change. In the 19th century, evolution became the predominant model for interpreting change in biology and in society is gradual and continuous and it occurs in a sequence. The evolutionary theorists have traced the trends of social change in two different ways: unilinear and universal. The unilinear evolutionists claim that changes occur in society in a single direction. For them evolution is an irreversible and unidirectional process. Societies pass through different stages and every stage is a higher and improved one than the previous stage. Auguste Comte and Karl Marx are the proponents of this view. Comte, the father of the discipline, viewed evolution in three successive stages: theological, metaphysical and positive stages, most commonly known as the 'law of three stages'. Human thought and knowledge are the bases through which societies change from one stage to the other. In the theological stage, people believed in the supernatural forces. In the metaphysical stage, human intelligence was the product of abstract forces. In the positive stage, human this stage of evolution, reasoning and scientific observation dominated all social phenomena. People started thinking about reason rather than superstition. According to Comte, all societies pass through these three successive stages and each stage is more progressive than the earlier stage.

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#### Check Your Progress

1. \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ are the bases through which societies change from one stage to the other.
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and serfs. Serfs were deprived of property and were obliged to surrender their labour to the lords who on the other hand were the owners of private property. This stage laid the foundation for the next phase, i.e., the capitalist mode of production.

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There are also couple of sociological models that created analogies between social change and the technological advancement of the Western societies. In the mid-20th century, sociologists and anthropologists borrowed a theoretical model from linguistics and analysed social change. This approach is called 'structural functionalism'. This theory postulated that the existence of social institutions like kinship determines human behaviour. The theory propounds that social institutions are all interrelated and a change in one institution brings change in other institutions.

### 9.3.1 Patterns of Social Change

In this section, you will learn about the patterns of change with special reference to the process of Sanskritization. While analysing the process of social change, and in particular modernization and secularization serve as important conceptual tools.

#### Sanskritization

Noted Indian sociologist M.N. Srinivas had made a sincere effort to analyse the process of social change in Indian society through his significant work, *Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India* (1952). This book was probably the first such attempt to study change in Indian context in a systematic manner. The term Sanskritization which was coined by Srinivas, during his study on the Coorgs, was primarily meant to analyse the process of cultural mobility. According to him, it is a process which has been occurring throughout the Indian history and still continues to occur. Srinivas (1966) defines

Sanskritization as 'the process by which a low Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently "twice-born" caste'. As he says, such changes are initiated by a claim to higher positions in the caste hierarchy than that the particular caste traditionally conceded to the claimant caste by the local community. The claim is made over a generation or two. Srinivas (1966) said that occasionally a caste claims a position in the caste hierarchy which its neighbours are not willing to concede. To illustrate this, he says the Harijan castes in Mysore will not accept cooked or 'pukka' food and water from the Smiths who are certainly one of the touchable castes and therefore superior to Harijans even if their claim to be Vishwakarma Brahmins is not accepted. Similarly, the peasants or the 'Okkaligas' and others such as Shepherds or the 'Kurubas' do not accept 'pukka' food and water from *Marka Brahmins*, who are certainly included among the *Brahmins*.

Srinivas further maintained that Sanskritization is usually accompanied by and often results in upward mobility for the concerned caste. However, as you have learned in the first unit the mobility associated with Sanskritization is only *positional* change in the system of caste hierarchy and doesn't lead to any *structural* change, i.e., a particular caste moves up in the local caste hierarchy and the neighbour caste comes down, but this takes place in the broader caste hierarchy as a whole. There is no change to the caste structure as such.

Sanskritization, moreover, as a process is not confined to the Hindu system but also happens to the tribal groups as well, such as the *Bhils* of western India, the *Gonds* and *Oraons* of central India, and the *Pahadis* of the Himalayas. This usually results in the tribe undergoing Sanskritization claiming to be a caste and, therefore, Hindu. In the traditional system, the only way to become a Hindu was to belong to a caste, and the unit of mobility was usually a group and not an individual or a family. So the main argument that Srinivas wants to place is that contrary to the theoretical and book view of the caste system, there is scope for mobility inside the caste structure. As he said (1952, 32):

The caste system is far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible, and especially in the middle regions of the hierarchy. A caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by Sanskritizing its ritual and pantheon. In short, it took over, as far as possible, the customs, rites and beliefs of the Brahmins, and adoption of the Brahminic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden. This process has been called as Sanskritization.

Originally, Srinivas used the term 'Brahminization' to describe the process of mobility inside the Hindu caste system. However, later looking at the broader nature of the process, he used the term Sanskritization to denote the inter-caste mobility. The term 'Sanskritization' is a much broader concept than 'Brahminization' because not only it encompasses non-Brahmin models like Kshatriyas model, Jat model, Vaishya model and models of other 'twice-born' castes but also denotes a wide spectrum of values and lifestyles (Hasnain 2006, 601). Srinivas said that Sanskritization was no doubt an awkward term, but it was preferred to Brahminization for several reasons: Brahminization is subsumed in the wider process of Sanskritization though at some points Brahminization and Sanskritization are at variance with each other. For instance, the Brahmins of the Vedic period drank 'Soma', an alcoholic drink, ate beef and offered blood sacrifices.

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Both were given up in the post-Vedic times. It has been suggested that this was the result of Jain and Buddhist influence. Today, Brahmins are by and large vegetarians; only the *Saraswat*, *Kashmiri* and *Bengali* eat non-vegetarian food. All these Brahmins are, however, traditionally teetotalers. In brief, the customs and habits of the Brahmins changed after they had settled in India. Had the term Brahminization been used, it would have been necessary to specify which particular Brahmin group was meant, and at which period of its recorded history. Again the agents of Sanskritization are not always Brahmins (Srinivas 1962[2002], 42–43). It is not only the Brahmins, but also local ‘dominant castes’ who have been the models of imitation. Srinivas (1966) defines ‘dominant caste’ as one that ‘yields economic or political power and occupies a fairly high position in the hierarchy’. Traditionally, the castes having high ritual status were enjoying high political and economic power. However, later new factors affected dominance and Western education, jobs in the administration and urban source of income became significant in contributing to the power and position of a particular caste. The dominant castes were thus enjoying high status in the local hierarchy. The people belonging to lower castes looked at them as their reference groups and imitated their life-styles and rituals and, therefore, the dominant castes gradually became a source of socio-cultural change in the local caste system and a different model of Sanskritization.

Different castes have been found changing their traditional cultural practices while aspiring for higher positions in the local hierarchy. The process of Sanskritization has many consequences. As Hasnain (2006, 601–2) remarked, it may result in the erosion of cultural autonomy of the women folk which includes erosion in the freedom to choose life-partner and prevalence of a rigid sexual morality. Changes in family structure include a movement towards the orthodox Hindu joint family and the concomitant stronger authority of father, monogamy and a stronger caste organization with increased tendency of ostracism. Also a rigid commensality prevails along with changed food habits prohibiting beef and pork and consumption of liquor while giving importance to higher education and adopting dowry practice instead of token ‘bride-price’. Besides, in the sphere of religion, it frequently results in the donning of sacred thread, giving up animal sacrifice at the time of wedding and increased emphasis on pilgrimage.

According to Srinivas, Sanskritization means not only the adoption of new customs and habits, but also exposure to new ideas and values which have found frequent expression in the vast body of Sanskritic literature, sacred as well as secular. *Karma*, *Dharma*, *Papa*, *Maya*, *Samsara* and *Moksha* are some of the most common Sanskritic theological ideas, and when a group becomes Sanskritized, these words occur frequently in their talk (1962, 48). As he stated, the spread of Sanskritic theological ideas increased during the British period. The advancement in science and technology and especially communication technology carried Sanskritization to areas which were inaccessible earlier and also the spread of literacy in the country carried it to lower caste groups who were mostly illiterate before. Besides, the introduction of Western political institutions like the parliamentary democracy has also played a phenomenal role in increasing the instances of Sanskritization in the country.

It is pertinent to mention that there are several other processes which are technically different from Sanskritization but have often been confused with it. For example, S.L. Kalia discussed about the process of ‘tribalization’ that occurred in Jaunsar-Bawar of Uttar Pradesh and in Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh in which high-caste Hindus temporarily resident among tribal people take over the latter’s mores, rituals and beliefs which are in many respects antithetical to their own (Srinivas 1966). Besides, a

study by D.N. Mazumdar gives evidences of an opposite process that shows the members of higher castes abandon their rituals, dressing pattern and traditional mode of life and even taking up the professions traditionally practiced by the lower castes. He called this process ‘de-Sanskritization’. According to Mazumdar, the shrinkage of distances between castes is not due to Sanskritization but its reverse. The lower castes are not moving towards the higher but the higher castes are abandoning their lifestyles (Sharma 2004).

Y. Singh (1977) observed that the process of Sanskritization, though apparently cultural, reflects many complex motivational urges for social mobility. An important element in this process is the manifest rejection of the norms of institutionalized inequality fostered by the traditional caste-stratified system. It leads, however, to a paradox: Sanskritization reinforces the normative system which is represented by caste stratification, but it also, at least in principle, violates its basic tenet, i.e., the acceptance of the principle of hierarchy. For this reason, many sociologists have seen in the process of Sanskritization a latent form of class conflict which results because of the peculiar structural constraints of Indian society (Gould 1961; Leach 1960; Singh 1977[1999], 35). Srinivas made this point indirectly while analysing his concept of ‘dominant caste’.

### Westernization

Westernization is another concept and a process of social change that has been discussed by Srinivas at length. It is a process whereby societies increasingly adopt Western cultures, lifestyles, technology, food pattern, language, alphabet, religion, ideas, philosophy and value systems. Srinivas used the term ‘Westernization’ particularly to indicate the change that took place in Indian society during the British rule in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Westernization as a process started having its impact substantially on the elites of the country since they had access to modern and British education especially English. The Brahmins and other higher castes, who were enjoying power and position in the society with the tradition of learning, eagerly took to secular education system that the Britishers imparted with English as the medium.

Srinivas (1966, 46) wrote that British rule produced radical and lasting changes in Indian society and culture. It was unlike any previous period in Indian history as the British brought with them new technology, institutions, knowledge, beliefs and values. The new technology and the revolution in communication technology which this brought about enabled the Britishers to integrate the country as never before in its history. During the 19th century, the Britishers slowly laid the foundations of a modern state by surveying land, settling the revenue, creating a modern bureaucracy, army, police, instituting law and courts, codifying the law, developing the communications like railways, post and telegraph, roads, canals, establishing schools, colleges and so on. They also brought with them the printing press that made a significant impact on Indian society since a publication of books and journals transmitted modern and traditional knowledge to a large number of people. As Srinivas (1962) defined the term, ‘Westernization refers to the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule, and the term subsumes changes occurring at different levels—technology, institutions, ideology, values.’

Srinivas (1966, 47–48) made distinctions between Westernization and two other related processes: industrialization and urbanization. As he mentioned, on the one hand, there were cities in the pre-industrial world, though they differed from post-industrial revolution cities. For one thing, they needed large rural population for their support, so that ancient and medieval countries remained dominantly agricultural in spite of a few

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big cities. Again, while the Industrial Revolution resulted in an increase in the rate of urbanization and highly urbanized areas are generally highly industrialized areas, urbanization is not a simple function of industrialization. As he stated, while most of the Westernized people are usually found in big cities, it will be wrong to equate Westernization with urbanization. Even in a country like India, there are people in rural areas who are as much and may be more Westernized than many of their urban counterparts.

Westernization resulted not only in the introduction of new institutions like press newspapers, journals, and elections but also in fundamental changes in the old institutions. So, although India had schools long before the Britishers came to India, they were fundamentally different from the schools introduced by the British in that they were restricted to only upper-caste elites and transmitted mostly traditional knowledge. Besides, there were certain value preferences implicit to the process of Westernization as well. One of the important values is 'humanitarianism'. This meant an active concern for the welfare of humanity irrespective of caste, class, religion, age and sex. It encompassed both equalitarianism and secularization. Humanitarianism resulted in many administrative measures taken by the British to fight epidemics, famines, and building schools and hospitals and also brought in several civil and procedural laws that put an end to certain inequalities that existed in Hindu and Islamic personal laws. Also, Christian missionary activities were remarkable in making humanitarian efforts especially in the form of providing education and health facilities. As mentioned by Srinivas (1966), the missionaries were the bitter critics of Hindu social institutions like caste, untouchability, low status of women and child marriage. This led to reinterpretation of Hinduism at both ideological and institutional levels and the conversion of the lower castes like 'Harijans' to Islam and Christianity. Such factors were instrumental in producing a changed attitude among the Hindu elites towards the traditional caste system and untouchability.

According to Srinivas, the increase in Westernization does not retard the process of Sanskritization; rather both go on hand in hand and to some extent, increase in Westernization accelerates the process of Sanskritization. For instance, the postal facilities, railways, buses, and media which are the fruits of Western impact on India rendered more organized religious pilgrimages, meetings and caste solidarities (Singh 1973[2001], 9). As mentioned before, Sanskritization and Westernization are concepts that analyse the process of cultural change and have no scope for systematic explanation of changes in the social structure (ibid). Srinivas pointed out that to describe the social changes occurring in modern India in terms of Sanskritization and Westernization, we need to describe it primarily in cultural and not in structural terms. An analysis in terms of structure is much more difficult than an analysis in terms of culture (Srinivas 1966; also in Singh 1973[2001], 9-10).

As observed by Singh (1973[2001], 25 and Jena and Mohapatra ([1993] 2001, 150-58), the process of Westernization has had its impact on both the 'little' and 'great traditions'. Its influence on 'little traditions' is termed by Singh as 'primary westernization' and on 'great tradition' as 'secondary westernization.'

- (i) **Primary Westernization:** By primary Westernization Singh meant changes induced by the Western impact on the Indian traditions. At the initial phases, Western culture made its impact on peripheral aspects of Indian culture. It created a sub-cultural pattern limited to a very specific group of people within a particular geographical area. That means, during the early periods of British rule, the Western impact was localized and peripheral. To illustrate the primary Westernization, Singh remarks that in the British trade centres,

like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta there emerged a new commercial middle-class, the social composition of which differed from place to place. In Calcutta they were 'Baniyas' (Merchants) in Madras, it was the Brahmins, whereas in Bombay they were mostly Parsis. These commercial middle-classes served as the middle-men between the native Indians and the British traders. This class was not Westernized to any significant extent though they adopted Western dress, language and way of living. In their basic psychological disposition, they were quite Indian. Singh called them 'quasi-westernized middle men'. Towards the early part of the 19th century, another group emerged: a group of English-educated professionals who played a major role in the process of Westernization. These English-educated people took up the values and ideologies of Western culture like humanism and equality. Different socio-cultural reform movements grew during this period, which were spearheaded by these English-educated classes to campaign against 'sati-system', untouchability, child marriage, etc. The role of the movements like the *Brahmo Samaja*, the *Prarthana Samaja*, etc., was very important in this context. Such reformist movements though local in spread influenced the British administration and many progressive laws were passed as a result, e.g., prohibiting 'sati', child marriage, introducing widow-remarriage and so on. The expansion of modern education, transportation and communication served as a prelude to the greater Westernization in the basic structural pattern of Indian society. The Western cultural traits of humanism, rationality and equality started stimulating Indian minds which later on brought about changes in the 'great tradition' of Indian society.

- (ii) **Secondary Westernization:** Towards the end of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the process of Westernization started taking firm roots in the Indian social structure. Western culture emerged as the basic ideology. Many social reformers justified the adoption of Western cultural spirit in order to make the Indians feel the necessity of liberty, freedom and equality. Besides, the cumulative effects on the changes in 'little tradition' and many other economic, political as well as administrative policies also affected the 'great traditions' of the country. Gradually, a new structural pattern with many new institutions started replacing many of its old institutions. Some such changes in the 'great tradition' of the country included introduction of the universalistic legal system, expansion of modern, scientific and universal education, urbanization and industrialization, development in transport and communication, growth of the sense of unity and nationalism, etc.

### Modernization

During the fifties and the sixties of the 19th century, modernization became one of the dominant themes of research. In fact, it is one of the important concepts of the sociology of development. Modernization studies deal with the effects of economic development on traditional social structure and values. The process of modernization is related to industrialization, urbanization, high standard of living, development of civilization and broadness of view point. According to Eisenstadt, 'From a historical point of view modernization is a process of change towards those type of social, economic and political systems which were developed in Western Europe and North America from the 17th to the 19th century, and after that spread over to South America, Asia and Africa during the

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19th and 20th century' (Hasnain 2006, 609). In social science disciplines, modernization refers to the transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' type of society to a 'modern' society. Many sociologists associate modernization with the spread of education, urbanization and industrialization. As to Kendall (2007), urbanization is a process which has accompanied modernization and the rapid process of industrialization. In sociology, modernization is also linked to the process of rationalization. In modernized society, the individual becomes much more important, gradually replacing the family or community as the primary unit of society. As societies experience the process of modernization, the importance of religion and traditional values becomes less important and people start thinking more about reason and rationality. As Hasnain (2006) mentions, the term modernization is less value-loaded than its predecessor—Westernization. Most countries in the Third World region were proud of their cultural heritage and deeply attached to it. While they were attracted to Western culture, they had no plans to abandon their own lifestyles and value systems. The concept of modernization recognized the strength of roots; it didn't pose any overt threat to the cultural diversity of the people aspiring for rapid change. To the elite of the Third World, the ideal of Westernization was difficult to swallow; they accepted modernization readily because it didn't appear to offend their own cultural dignity. According to Lerner (1958), there are three features of modernization which are core to a modernized personality—empathy, mobility and high participation. Empathy is the capacity to see things as others see them. All societies possess this capacity in some measure, but to sharpen and strengthen, it can make a qualitative change in human interaction. The second attribute, mobility, doesn't only imply geographical mobility; rather it is used in a more comprehensive sense. Unlike the traditional societies which had ascribed status, the modernized societies have open status system and largely give emphasis to achievement rather than birth. The third attribute—high participation—refers to the increased role of individuals in realizing social goals and objectives in more active ways (Hasnain, 2006, 609–10). The character of modern society is rational in cognitive aspects, universalistic in membership aspects, functionally specific in substantive definitional aspects, neutral in affective aspects, individualistic in goal orientation aspect and hierarchical in stratification aspects. Units of society tend to be more specialized and self-sufficient in modern society and there is increasing evidence of role differentiation, solidarity and integration (Jena and Mohapatra [1993] 2001, 133).

Singh 1973[2001], 61) remarked that modernization symbolizes a rational attitude towards issues, and their evaluation from a universalistic and not a particularistic view point, (when it involves an emotional response to problems), orientation is empathic and not constrictive. Modernization is rooted in the scientific worldview. It has deeper and positive association with levels of diffusion of scientific knowledge, technological skill and technological resources in a particular society. However, what may be essential to modernization is the commitment to scientific worldview, the internalization of humanistic and philosophical viewpoint of science or contemporary problems and not merely the volume of technological advancement. It is possible that a society as also an individual might command a maximum of scientific skills and resources but a minimum of its necessary psychic and emotional requisites. It is otherwise possible that a successful advanced society may also be the one which is most tyrannical. He further mentioned that the distinction between modern values and traditional values may be maintained on grounds that modern values, like science, being evolutionary universal, might not be typical to any one particular cultural tradition, whereas traditional cultural values may be

particularistic and typical. Modernization in its essential attributes or in ideal-typical forms is a universal-cultural phenomenon. Like science, modernity is not an exclusive possession of any one ethnic or cultural group, but it belongs to humanity as a whole.

Singh (ibid) analysed modernization in the Indian context of change in a very systematic manner. According to him, the sources of change can be endogenous or exogenous. Endogenous sources of change are the sources within the social system and exogenous sources are those coming from outside. Besides, change takes place in 'tradition' and 'social structure'. Tradition according to Singh is characterized by hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence and is divided into 'Great tradition' and 'Little tradition'. The former is the cultural belief and value systems that are practiced throughout the country, while the latter comprises the folk cultural beliefs and oral traditions and localized adoption of the 'Great tradition'. Both Hinduism and Islam in India featured holism, hierarchy, continuity and transcendence. Modernization of 'Great tradition' in both these cases referred to a pattern of change from hierarchy to equality, from holism to individualism, from continuity to historicity and from transcendence to rationalism and secularism. In India, following the process of Westernization, there was educational modernization, emergence of universal legal system, advancement in communication systems and transportation, expansion of urban centres and modern political institutions. Similarly, in the sphere of little tradition, two forces of change, Sanskritization and Islamization (conversion to Islam) came through.

Further, he analysed change in social structure which he divided into macro and micro-structure. The change in macro-structure referred to change in the political, industrial and urban structures. For example, the elite structure in the country indicated that they came from homogenous backgrounds. However, the post-independence era saw the change in such macro-structure and elites came from different socio-cultural backgrounds. Change in the micro-structure referred to the change in caste, family and communities. The modernization of caste for example was seen in its association with politics without losing its social functions. Voting behaviour is largely influenced by the caste of the candidate contesting the election. So, Singh claimed that India's modernization process is very unique and it is being instituted through the adaptive changes in the traditional structures rather than structural breakdown.

For a clear understanding, Jena and Mohapatra ([1993] 2001, 133–4) gives the following indicators of modernity.

- (1) A degree of self-sustaining growth in the economy or at least growth sufficient to increase both production and consumption regularly;
- (2) Increasing use of inanimate sources of power to meet human requirement and to solve human problems;
- (3) A noticeable degree of both individual and collective effort to achieve technological advancement;
- (4) A measure to mass participation in the political affairs or at least a sort of democratic representation in defining and choosing policy alternatives;
- (5) A diffusion of secular-rational norms in the culture;
- (6) An increment of mobility in the society—understood as personal freedom of physical, social and psychic movement;
- (7) The emergence and growth of specific functional organizations and attendant changes in social structures and values;

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- (8) A corresponding transformation in the model personality that equips the individuals to function effectively in social order.

Ram Ahuja (1999, 485–6) cites the following problems of modernization.

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- (1) The first paradox of modernization is that modern society must change in all ways at once but such a regular, coordinated pattern of growth cannot be conceivably planned. A certain amount of social unrest is, therefore, inevitably created. For example, mass educational system demands that trained individuals must be absorbed in occupational roles commensurate with their training and knowledge. However, it is not always possible to provide jobs to all educated people. This leads to unrest among educated unemployed people.
- (2) The social problem is that structural change is uneven during periods of modernization. For example, industries may be modernized but family system, religious system, etc. remain conservative. These discontinuities and patterns of change affect the established social and other structures and produce lags and bottlenecks.
- (3) Modernization of social and economic institutions creates conflicts with the traditional ways of life. For example, trained doctors pose a threat to traditional medicine men. Similarly, machine-made finished products pose a threat to traditional hand-made crafts and the livelihood of the artisan communities.
- (4) Most often, roles adopted by people are modern but values continue to be traditional.
- (5) There is a lack of cooperation among agencies which modernize and among institutions and systems which are modernized. This often leads to cultural lag as well as institutional conflicts.
- (6) Modernization raises the aspiration of people but many times social systems fail to provide opportunities to them to achieve those aspirations. This creates frustrations, deprivations and social unrest.

## Secularization

Secularization is another important process of social change in the modern Indian context. It refers to the transformation of a society identified with religious values, ideas and institutions towards non-religious ideas, values and institutions. As societies progress and modernize, the people follow values of reason and rationality; while religion, religious scriptures and institutions lose their influence on people and their social life. So secularization is a process where societies lose their religious significance. Max Weber opined that the scientific and technological advancement would weaken peoples' belief on religion and supernatural powers. Rationality will also overpower superstitious beliefs and dogmas. Weber called this process as the 'disenchantment of the world'. The term 'secularization' was first used in Europe in 1648. It was then understood as the process of transferring of Church properties to the control of the rulers. Bryan Wilson (1966) defined secularization as 'a process where religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance'. Similarly, Peter Berger (1973) defined secularization as 'the process by which sections of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols'. Further, M. N. Srinivas (1966) wrote that 'the term secularization implies that what was previously regarded as religious is now ceasing to be such and it also implies the process of differentiation which results in the various aspects of socio-economic, political, legal and moral becoming

increasingly discrete to each other.' Singh (1973[2001]) remarked that secularism is a sub-process of modernization.

M.N. Srinivas (1966, 118–119) wrote elaborately on the process of secularization in his analysis of social change in Indian society. According to him, British rule brought with it a process of secularization of Indian social life and culture, a tendency that gradually became stronger with the development of communications, growth of towns and cities, increased spatial mobility and the spread of education. The two World Wars and Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience campaigns, both of which socially and politically mobilized the masses, also contributed to increased secularization. Following independence, the Constitution also recognized India as a secular state and maintained that all citizens are equal before law. Comparing both Sanskritization and secularization, Srinivas opined that of the two, secularization is the more general process, affecting all Indians; while Sanskritization affects only Hindus and tribals. As he mentioned, broadly, it would be true to say that secularization is more marked among the urban and educated sections of society and Sanskritization among the lower Hindu castes and tribes. Quoting the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, he elaborated that one of the essential elements of secularization is rationalism, a comprehensive expression applied to various theoretical and practical tendencies which aim to interpret the universe purely in terms of thought, or which aim to regulate individual and social life in accordance with the principles of reason and to eliminate as far as possible or to relegate to the background everything irrational.

Following the analysis made above, as outlined by Jena and Mohapatra ([1993] 2001, 159–60), the main ingredients of secularization can be discussed below.

- (1) **Decline in religiosity:** Religion is based on a distinction between sacred and profane in which the term 'sacred' is associated with a faith in a mythical or supernatural power. However, the process of secularization in contrast implies a gradual decline of religious feelings. In a perfectly secularized society, religious considerations are replaced by rationalistic considerations. Thus, as the process of secularization proceeds, the social institutions and individual actions become increasingly free from the influence of religion.
- (2) **Rationality:** With the gradual decline of religious controls, there takes place a corresponding increase in rationalism in the process of secularization. People start thinking about the problems of their day-to-day lives. Reason takes the place of faith. Instead of taking everything for granted, people try to find out the cause of happenings in their individual as well social life. A tendency towards establishment of cause and effect relationship becomes increasingly popular.
- (3) **Empiricism and commitment to scientific world views:** The process of secularization results in growth in empiricism and scientific world view. Human knowledge is based on observation, experimentation and verification. Experience and experimentation governs the human consciousness. Beliefs, faiths and mythical orientation are increasingly replaced by the scientific knowledge derived from empirical observation.
- (4) **Process of differentiation:** The growth of empiricism and rationalism necessarily results in a corresponding differentiation in the social structure. Different aspects of social life come to be differentiated from each other. Each such aspect for example, economic, legal, political and moral sub-systems becomes increasingly distinct. Each sub-system gets further differentiated which results in the increasing specialization and professionalization.

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So, to sum up it can be said that secularization is a process which brings change in the approach of people towards things where rationality and reason increasingly influence their attitude and orientations and where religious and superstitious beliefs have less control on human behaviour.

As has been discussed in brief in the earlier paragraphs, the process of secularization in India started with British contact. However, there is a difference between the Western model of secularization and the Indian model of secularization. The Indian experience of secularization is unique. In the West, especially in Europe, secularization meant isolating the Church/religion from public life/control. So, the Western model is without religion. However, the Indian model of secularization is with religion. The Indian Constitution mentions in its 'Preamble' that it is a 'secular' country where each and every religion will be treated by state equally and that there wouldn't be any state religion. The Constitution also defines that every individual has freedom to practice, profess and propagate any religion. It has been instituted as one of the Fundamental Rights of Indian citizens. The Right to Freedom of Religion is guaranteed under Article 25 of the Constitution of India. As it reads, Article 25(1) says, 'Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practice and propagate religion.' Again, Article 25 (2) says, 'Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law: (a) Regulating or restricting any religious practice; (b) Providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.' So this Article in the Constitution of India guarantees that every person in India shall have the freedom of conscience and shall have the right to profess, practise and propagate religion, subject to the restrictions that may be imposed by the state on the following grounds, namely: (1) Public order, morality and health; (2) Other provisions of the Constitution; (3) Regulation of non-religious activity associated with religious practice; (4) Social welfare and reform; (5) throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes of Hindus.

## 9.4 STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL CHANGE

Change and continuity are the inevitable facts of life. Not only do people themselves undergo the process of change, but also the habitat they live in. That's why 'change' is often called as the unchangeable or inescapable law of nature. Change is the only reality. Looking at the inevitability of change, the Greek Philosopher Heraclitus pointed out that a person cannot step into the same river twice since in between the first and the second occasion, both the water in the river and the person concerned get changed (Giddens 2001, 42). History reveals that man's life has been transformed from the caves and jungles to the palatial buildings. People, family, religion and value system will not remain the same forever. Societies grow, decay and modify to changing conditions. Every society, from primitive to industrial and post-industrial, has witnessed continuous state of transformation. Change is permanent, although the intensity or degree of change is different in different societies. As to Giddens (2001), in human societies, to decide how far and in what ways a particular system is in a process of change or transformation, we have to show to what degree there is any modification of basic institutions during a specific time period. There are social systems which change very fast, whereas there

### Check Your Progress

- Who made the first attempt to study the changes in Indian society in a systematic manner?
- What is the difference between 'Sanskritization' and 'Brahminization'?
- What were the forces that gave rise to Westernization?
- What is meant by 'primary westernization'?
- What do you mean by 'secondary westernization'?
- How the importance of religion comes down in a secular society?

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are others which have ties with the remote past. World religions like Christianity and Islam maintain their ties with ideas and value systems pioneered thousands of years ago. Primitive societies considered change as external and problematic phenomena. However, in modern times, change is seen as natural and necessary. Every new generation faces different and new socio-economic challenges and yet they forge ahead with new possibilities of life keeping continuity with the past.

Like natural scientists study different aspects of change in the nature, social scientists study change in the social life of man. Change and continuity have long been the subjects of research and study for social scientists and philosophers. Scholars like Aristotle, Plato, Hegel and others have written at length on various aspects of change during their times. In fact, sociology as a separate discipline emerged in the middle of the 19th century as an effort to explain the socio-cultural and economic changes that erupted in Europe following the industrialization and democratization processes. It will not be wrong to state that major classical sociologists were preoccupied with explaining change, more precisely articulating on the change that followed the rise of capitalism in the West. Considering change as an important aspect of study, the father of sociology, August Comte, even remarked that the role of this discipline is to analyse both the **Social Statics** (the laws governing social order) and **Social Dynamics** (laws governing social change) (Slattery 2003, 57). Similarly, Herbert Spencer also talked about change in his analysis of 'Structure' and 'Function'. 'Structure' indicated the internal build-up, shape or form of societal wholes, whereas 'function' signifies their operation or transformation (Sztompka 1993, 3). He has measured change or progress taking into consideration the degree of complexity in society. According to Spencer, society passes from simple, undifferentiated, homogeneity to complex, differentiated, heterogeneity. Another classical sociological thinker, and one of the founders of the discipline, Emile Durkheim talks about evolutionary change in his famous work '*The Division of Labour*' and observes that society passes from 'mechanical solidarity' to 'organic solidarity'. Karl Marx explains societal change with his economic deterministic model and describes change of society from primitive communism to socialism. Max Weber's analysis of religious codes and its impact on economic development in his '*The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*' examines the major aspects of change.

Before going into details about social change, it is pertinent to discuss the meaning of the term 'change'. 'Change' refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time. As Strasser and Randall (1981, 16) have said, 'If we speak of change, we have in mind something that comes into being after some time; that is to say, we are dealing with a difference between what can be observed before and after that point in time.' Similarly, the *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology* defines change as a 'succession of events which produce over time a modification or replacement of particular patterns or units by other novel ones' (Sekulic 2007, 4368). Time is an important factor in the context of change.

'Social change' on the other hand indicates the changes that take place in human interactions or interrelationships. Society is regarded as a 'web of social relationships' and in that sense social change refers to change in the system of social relationships and in that sense social change refers to change in the system of social relationships (Shankar Rao 2000, 484). It is the alteration or modification of the structure and function of any system. For example, change in interpersonal relationships, inter-caste and inter-community marriage, change in family type from joint-living to nuclear households, etc. can be called as social change.

Different scholars have defined social change in different ways. A glance at some of them can make understanding clear. According to Morris Ginsberg (1986, 129),

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'Social change is the change in social structure, i.e. the size of a society, the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its organization. The term social change must also include changes in attitudes or beliefs, in so far as they sustain institutions and change with them.' Here, he talks about two types of changes: changes in the structure of society and changes in the values system of society. However, these two types of changes should not be treated separately because a change in one brings on changes in the other, as a change in the attitude of people may bring about changes in the social structure and vice versa (Kar 1994, 500). Describing it as a part of 'cultural change', Kingsley Davis says, 'Social change is meant only such alterations as occur in social organizations, i.e. the structure and function of society' (Kar 1994, 501). Macionis (1987, 638) defines social change as the 'transformation in the organization of society and in patterns of thought and behaviour over time'. Again, according to Ritzer et al. (1987, 560), 'Social change refers to variations over time in the relationships among individuals, groups, organizations, cultures and societies.' So, it can be summarized from the above definitions that almost all the authors while defining social change, give emphasis on social relationships, social organizations, social patterns and values. Social change, therefore, is change in the societal system as a whole.

Different scholars debate over if 'change' is a revolutionary process or it happens gradually. However, they settle with the fact that it is both an evolutionary and a revolutionary process. Every change has an effect over different aspects of life and different components of the societal system. The development of the Internet for example in contemporary society has enormous implications for other institutions and ideas—it affects psychology, ideology, the political system, industry, education and the media. It is a revolutionary force but it builds upon previous developments so that it is both gradual and insurrectionary (Hoffman 2006, 561).

#### 9.4.1 Nature of Social Change

Following the meaning and definitional analysis of the concept, the features of social change can be discussed as given below:

- (i) **Social change is universal:** As discussed in the above section, social change is inevitable. It is not only inevitable, but is also universal. It is found in every society. From primitive society to the post-industrial one, change is found everywhere. No society or culture remains static forever. Human beings changed themselves from nomads, food gatherers to agriculturists and later modern, industrial beings.
- (ii) **Social change is continuous:** Right from the time mother earth came into being to the present times, society/life has been in a continuously changing mode. No society or people can be stopped from the influences of change. It is a never-ending process.
- (iii) **Social change may produce chain reactions:** Change in one aspect of a system may lead to changes of varying degrees in other aspects of that system. As to Biesanz and Biesanz (1964, 63), the change from hunting and food gathering to agriculture was a revolution in technology that led eventually to the development of civilization by making large and diversified societies possible. Similarly, the Protestant emphasis on Bible reading as a road to salvation led to a great rise in literacy. Further, introduction of the system of reservation for backward communities in Government institutions and offices in India has brought changes in their socio-economic status, interpersonal relationships and also in the social and economic structure of the country. Similarly, improvement in literacy in the country leads to

economic independence of women which in turn brings changes in the whole notion of family, marriage and husband-wife ties.

- (iv) **Social change may be planned or unplanned:** Change may occur with or without proper planning. People, government or any other agent may initiate change through plans or programmes and may determine the degree and direction of change. The Government of India after Independence devised several socio-economic developmental programmes to bring the country out of poverty and unemployment through the broader provision of Five Year Plans. In the 60 years of Independence, the country has seen phenomenal improvement in literacy, health, infrastructure and industry, and considerably managed to overcome poverty, hunger and unemployment problems. Apart from the planned social change, there can be changes which are unplanned and happen accidentally. Changes due to natural calamities like earthquakes, tsunamis, and volcanic eruptions belong to this category.
- (v) **Social change is temporal and directional:** Change can be directional. It occurs in a particular direction. In several instances, such direction is planned, predetermined and is fixed ideally. Such changes are called progress. However, change in general may take place in any direction. Similarly, the rate or tempo of change varies from time to time and place to place. Some changes may take months and years while some may occur rapidly. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.
- (vi) **Social change is value-neutral:** The concept of social change is not value-laden or judgemental. It doesn't advocate any good or desirable and bad or undesirable turn of events. It is an objective term which is neither moral nor immoral. It is ethically neutral.

#### 9.4.2 Forms of Social Change

There are different types of social change. The term 'social' is so vast in scope that different forms of change which carry several names of their own can actually be brought under the broader concept of social change. However, different types of change are discussed below for better understanding of the concept.

- (i) **Social change and cultural change:** Social and cultural changes are often regarded as the same and denote similar kind of change. However, there are differences between the two. 'Social' refers to interactions and interrelationship between people. 'Culture' on the other hand refers to the customs, beliefs, symbols, value systems and in general the set of rules that are created by people in society. It can be both material and non-material. Material culture consists of manufacturing objects and tools like automobiles, furniture, buildings, roads, bridges, books, mobiles, TV sets and anything of that sort which is tangible and is used by the people. Non-material culture includes belief systems, values, mores, norms, habits, and language. The concept of culture relates to the body of knowledge and techniques and values through which a society directs and expresses its life as an interacting entity (Mohanty 1997, 13). So, the change in social relationships, human interactions, modifications in role expectations and role performance are regarded as social change, whereas changes in human artefacts, beliefs, values and body of knowledge are called cultural change. Culture changes through time and it spreads from place to place and on the span of time since World War II began, immense changes have taken place in the way of life and human relationships.

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#### 9.4.2 Forms of Social Change

There are different types of social change. The term 'social' is so vast in scope that different forms of change which carry several names of their own can actually be brought under the broader concept of social change. However, different types of change are discussed below for better understanding of the concept.

- (i) **Social change and cultural change:** Social and cultural changes are often regarded as the same and denote similar kind of change. However, there are differences between the two. 'Social' refers to interactions and interrelationship between people. 'Culture' on the other hand refers to the customs, beliefs, symbols, value systems and in general the set of rules that are created by people in society. It can be both material and non-material. Material culture consists of manufacturing objects and tools like automobiles, furniture, buildings, roads, bridges, books, mobiles, TV sets and anything of that sort which is tangible and is used by the people. Non-material culture includes belief systems, values, mores, norms, habits, and language. The concept of culture relates to the body of knowledge and techniques and values through which a society directs and expresses its life as an interacting entity (Mohanty 1997, 13). So, the change in social relationships, human interactions, modifications in role expectations and role performance are regarded as social change, whereas changes in human artefacts, beliefs, values and body of knowledge are called cultural change. Culture changes through time and it spreads from place to place and group to group. As Biesanz and Biesanz (1964, 61-62) put it, in the span of time since World War II began, immense changes

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have taken place. Television, since the experimental stage before the war, has entered almost every living room in the world. From the first atomic reaction in the early decades of the 20th century, we have progressed to space capsules and satellites and in a few short post-war years, plastics and synthetic fabrics, wash-and-wear clothes, stretch socks, automatic washers, dishwashers, clothes driers, food freezers and packaged mixes have changed the housewife's fate.

It is important to mention here that sometimes changes that occur in a cultural system don't go smooth and face maladjustment with other parts of the system. Such a situation is termed as 'cultural lag'. Defining the concept, Ogburn (1957), wrote, 'A cultural lag occurs when one of the two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other parts does, thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously.'

However, any cultural change has its impact on human relationships and, therefore, influences social changes too. The advent of mobile telephony and internet has far-reaching consequences on interpersonal relationships. Thus, cultural change positively affects social change and change in a society comes through both social and cultural changes. As Kingsley Davis stated, cultural change is broader than social change and social change is only a part of it (Shankar Rao 2000, 485). All social changes are cultural changes, but not vice versa. Those cultural changes that affect social organizations and human interpersonal relations can be called social changes.

- (ii) **Social change and social progress:** Progress is a change in a desirable direction. It can also refer to change for the better. It involves value judgement because it implies betterment or improvement. Progress involves change that leads to certain well-defined goals. It is also a type of social change. However, there are differences between the two. Every change is not progress, but every progress always denotes change for the better. In that sense, progress is a value-laden concept. It has been discussed before that change can be planned and un-planned. Nonetheless, progress is always planned and ideally fixed. Besides, change is obvious and certain. Small or big, slow or fast, change takes place in every society, but progress is uncertain (Mohanty 1997, 21).
- (iii) **Social change and social evolution:** The use of word evolution or 'social evolution' in sociology is borrowed from biology. Biology studies 'organic evolution' which denotes the evolution of all kinds of organisms. Social evolution on the other hand refers to the process of evolution of human society, human social relationships, societal values, norms and the way of life. It involves the idea that every society passes through different phases, from simple to complex. Sociologists and social anthropologists were impressed by the idea of organic evolution which could convincingly explain how one species evolves into another, and wanted to apply the same to the social world (Shankar Rao 2000, 491). As put forward by MacIver and Page (2005, 522), evolution means more than growth. Growth does connote a direction of change, but it is quantitative in character. Evolution involves something more intrinsic, a change not merely in size, but at least in structure also. Social evolution is also a type of social change. Both of them are natural and inevitable facts of life. However, there are differences between the two. First, every change is not evolutionary in nature, whereas, evolution always implies change. Second, evolution, unlike change is a continuous process. Third, the cause

of social change may be both internal and external, whereas evolution is mostly affected through the operation of internal factors. Fourth, social change can be planned or unplanned but evolution is an automatic process. Fifth, social change is a value-neutral concept, whereas evolution is value-loaded. Sixth, there can be slow or fast social change, but evolution is always a slow process (Mohanty, 1997, 27).

As discussed in the beginning of this sub-section, any kind of change that we witness in society can come under the broader definition of either social or cultural change. However, some specific variety of change can also be discussed here, although they come under the umbrella term of social or cultural change.

- (iv) **Demographic change:** Demography deals with the size, distribution and growth of population over a period of time. Demographic change is change in the patterns of fertility, mortality, age structure and migration. High fertility or high mortality can have important implications in any society. The same can happen if the rate of such indicators are too slow. High fertility might lead to large-scale instances of poverty and unemployment, and might affect the developmental efforts of a state. Over-population also leads to greater use of natural resources and affects environmental sustainability. High birth and death rates bring about change in the attitude of people towards family and marriage. In India, demographic change in the form of high fertility led to the adoption of family planning programmes and following which there was a decrease in the population growth rate. The small family norm has introduced change in social relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, the status of women and so on.
- (v) **Technological change:** Human civilization is moving from the most rudimentary technology of bow and arrow to the modern and highly sophisticated instruments of the present day. The invention of computers, Internet, mobile phones, jet planes, atomic bomb and discoveries of men like Vasco da Gama and Columbus have changed the socio-cultural space of the modern man dramatically. Ancient man walked on bare feet. Then came the bullock cart which made movement comparatively faster. Subsequent technological innovations brought about bicycles, automobiles, jet planes and so on. These have helped the movement of people faster than ever before. These technological changes have enormous societal implications. The introduction of high-yield seeds in the form of Green Revolution in India that ensured massive increase in foodgrains like rice and wheat managed the hunger situation in the country quite well. Dramatizing the fact that technological change may lead to social change, sociologist William F. Ogburn once attributed the emancipation of women to the invention of the automobile self-starter, which enabled women to drive cars, freed them from their homes and permitted them to invade the world of business (Biesanz and Biesanz 1964, 64). The modern means of entertainment and communication like TV, Radio, Internet and cell phones have drastically changed the family life in India and substantially affected the role of women in society. Not only they are empowered and emancipated but also the husband-wife ties are now being seen as that of co-partners rather than that of superiors and inferiors. Although technological changes have not spread equally everywhere in the country, still phenomenal improvement in this respect cannot be ignored.
- (vi) **Economic change:** Economy plays a cardinal role in man's daily life. Noted sociologist and philosopher, Karl Marx, pointed out the significance of economy

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as a factor in social change. He propounded that economy which constitutes the means of production like labour and instruments and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion and polity are the superstructure. As he says, a conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed, haves and the have-nots brings change in society and the society transforms to a new mode of production. In this manner, Marx says, society gets transformed from primitive communism to slavery, slavery to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism and from capitalism, Marx predicted, socialism, a classless society will emerge (Morrison, 2006). In Indian society, industrial economy brought enormous change in the lives of people. Not only did it change the occupation structure in society but also affected inter-personal relationships. People from rural areas migrated to cities to work in factories. This drastically reduced the effect of caste/untouchability and also transformed joint families to nuclear households. India, once an agricultural economy, is now manufacturing industrial products to emerge a world leader in producing software, making it a service economy. The software giants like Infosys, Wipro and TCS are renowned world over. So economic change is one of the important forms of social change.

Development is a process that makes the human society a better place to live in. It brings social well-being. The nature of development is analysed below (Jena and Mohapatra 2001; Mohanty 1997).

- (i) Development is a revolutionary process. In many cases, it involves sudden and rapid change of the social structure. In its technological and cultural dimensions, it is comparable to Neolithic revolutions which had turned food-gatherers and nomads into settled agriculturists. Now, during the development revolution, society is getting transformed from rural agricultural one to urban and industrial.
- (ii) Development is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves a lot of economic, behavioural and institutional rearrangements. It involves equity, socio-economic and political participation.
- (iii) Development is a systematic process. Change in one aspect brings chain reaction and corresponding changes in other aspects also.
- (iv) Development is a lengthy process. The process of development needs substantial level of efforts over a long period of time.
- (v) Development is an irreversible process. It always moves forward. Although some aspects of the process might have some occasional downfalls, but the whole process of development is irreversible.
- (vi) Development is a universal process. Developmental ideas and know-how are diffused from centre of origin to other parts of the world. There are transformations of ideas and techniques between nations world over.
- (vii) Development is directional. It is a process that moves in a direction. In that sense, development is also called an evolutionary process. As stated by Spencer, primitive communism to capitalistic mode of production and finally to socialism. As discussed by Durkheim, it can be from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity and so on.
- (viii) Development is a value-loaded concept. Qualitatively, it talks about improvement of something over something else. It talks about improvement in lifestyle,

infrastructure, education, health system and so on. Quantitatively, it always advocates for more (of anything) in number. So it is a process that involves value judgement.

## 9.4.3 Interrelationship between Change and Development

Development is a form of change. However, there are differences between the two. Change is a value-neutral concept while development, as discussed in the previous sections, is value-loaded one. Change is ethically neutral and suggests alterations or modifications in the structure and functioning of society over a period of time. Development on the other hand, advocates change for good. It is a process of desired change. Although development leads to change, all forms of change don't indicate development. Those changes which are planned are termed as development. A change to be defined as development must occur continuously in a desired direction. These desired goals are set looking at the values, norms and needs of any society. Any change in society must get absorbed in the system and must be felt by the people to make it more effective. Such change can then be regarded as development. Advancement in education and modern means of transport and communication has resulted in high female literacy in modern societies. This has led to women joining in various jobs in both government and non-government establishments, changing the family relationship as a whole. Such a move leads to a situation like role conflict where the modern women are confused whether to perform the role of a traditional family woman, a mother, a daughter, a wife or to play the role of a teacher, an administrator or an engineer. Such a phenomenon is an example of social change. However, such change can be regarded as development only when proper institutional arrangements and social adjustments are made so that a working woman doesn't face the situation like role-conflict and manages both her roles well. Such institutional arrangements and social adjustments will then be called development (Jena and Mohapatra 2001; Mohanty 1997).

As discussed in previous sections, development is a multi-faceted term and there are lots of confusions over its meaning and definition. Questions are often raised on how should one count the development parameters. How can a society be called developed and underdeveloped? What should be the basis? To understand the concept clearly, the indicators of development are discussed as follows.

- (i) **Literacy or education:** Education is the medium through which the members of society are socialized and the modern means of knowledge, skill and technique are imparted to them. Formal education and training expands opportunities for people and increase their capacities. Availability of educated labour force in a country is a pre-requisite for development, better governance system and healthy functioning of democracy. In India, to eradicate illiteracy, the successive governments have come out with policies like 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' (SSA), 'Mid-day Meal Scheme', 'Mahila Samakhya Scheme', and 'Teacher Education Scheme'. Following the National Literacy Mission (NLM), set up in 1988, the 'Total Literacy Campaign' was initiated to eliminate illiteracy. India's soaring literacy helped the country to become a knowledge economy. From a mere 12 per cent during independence, India's literacy has reached 65 per cent (2001 census) now. This is a strong indicator of development.
- (ii) **Health:** Health is as the World Health Organisation (WHO) defines it 'a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity'. Good physical health is the basic requirement for a stable

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society. Low maternal and infant mortality, good quality of life and availability of proper health facilities to all sections of a society are necessary conditions for a healthy and developed society. In India although phenomenal improvements in various health indicators have been witnessed in post-independence period, still several facts need wide attention. Year 2007 data show, in India, the infant mortality rate (IMR)—the probability of a child dying before the first birthday—is still high, i.e., 55 per one thousand live births, although it has shown continuous decline over the years. Again 43 per cent of children in India under age five are underweight (India 2010, 519–522). According to UN World Food Programme report released in 2009, more than 27 per cent of the world's under-nourished population lives in India. Besides, 40 per cent of women are found with chronic energy deficiency and around 30 per cent of babies in India are born underweight (Bhattacharya 2010). Development of any country with such bad health indicators will be difficult.

- (iii) **Income:** Adequate level of employment generation is essential for a country to raise income level of its populace. High income per capita and increased Gross National Product (GNP) make a country economically healthy. When a country has enough economic resources and its per capita income is high, it can invest in social sectors like health and education. Therefore, income and economic welfare are most important indicators of the development process.
- (iv) **Democratic participation:** Participation in the political process of a state is a rational thing every citizen would want to carry out. The political process can enable or hamper developmental process. The participation of people in every developmental activity makes it more effective and serves developmental goals. Right to choose one's representative and the right to choose one's government are important for the people in polity. The introduction of adult franchise in India soon after independence is a significant step in this context. However, only right to vote is not enough for a country to be called as developed. People must also have the right to choose the development that is meant for them. This makes a state democratic and people friendly. It is an important indication for development when people enjoy such freedom.
- (v) **Scientific and technological advancement:** Technological prowess makes a country advanced and that enables the creation of better facilities for its citizens. When a country is technologically advanced, its people have larger choices for scientific and technological knowhow. There are very few countries who can afford substantial amount of resources devoted for Research and Development (R&D) since it is very expensive and involves complicated processes. However, a country with adequate and latest technology can manage its various needs well and make facilities available for its masses.
- (vi) **Strong and sustained cultural civilization:** A country for its true development needs not only scientific tools and economic growth but also a strong urge to sustain its traditional heritage and cultural civilization. The very notion of Human Development Index (HDI) devised by UNDP is that progress and development is no longer to be measured just in terms of GDP or per capita income but also in terms of human well-being which includes a number of factors like cultural identity, a sense of security, of both one's personal safety as well as safety of one's culture and one's place in this world. In that sense, Bhutan has very high indicators of human happiness. This is due to Bhutan's flourishing craft activities, linking craft to Bhutan sense of identity (Chatterjee and Ashoke 2005). So traditional

cultural ethos and values are major parts of a country's development. In India, it is the traditional skill (local knowledge) of the handicrafts artisans that is a major basis of their identity and in post-liberalization India that identity is either getting vanished or diluted and the skill/local knowledge is very much influenced by the market forces (Jena 2008, 22). Sustaining one's own cultural heritage of any form in modern globalized times is one of the greatest challenges for any country. Without this, true development of the nation and humanity is impossible.

#### 9.4.4 Change in Structure and Change of Structure

To Kingsley Davis, social change refers to alterations in the 'structure' and 'function' of a society. This was discussed while dealing with the definitional analysis of change. The notion of 'structure' is important in this context. 'Structure' refers to the ordered arrangements where various parts of a system or whole are organized and follow established rules and norms. Structure itself remains invisible to public eye, but it produces visible results. It controls the behaviour of fellow human beings in a society. The members of a societal system are controlled by the structure or established rules, values, norms, customs, laws and so on. There can be two types of change related to social structure—the change that is witnessed inside the structure and the change of the societal system or structure as a whole. Among these two types of changes, structural change or change of structure is most important and relevant. 'Perhaps the reason for emphasizing structural change is that more often it leads to change of, rather than merely change in society. Social structure makes up a sort of skeleton on which society and its operations are founded. When it changes, all else is apt to change as well' (Sztompka 1993, 6).

When there is change inside the structure of any societal system, the change takes place in parts, not to the whole. Here, the structure as a whole remains the same, but the internal arrangements experience alterations. Changes in this case are only partial and restricted and it doesn't have any repercussion for other aspects. The process of Sanskritization is a change in Indian social structure (not change of the structure).

The term Sanskritization was coined by M.N. Srinivas. In his study on the Coorgs, Srinivas tried to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional Indian caste system. He holds the view that caste system in traditional India has never been so rigid system. He holds the view that caste members to alter or raise their status. He and there is always scope for different caste members to alter or raise their status. He defines Sanskritization as the 'process by which a low caste or tribe or other group takes over the custom, rituals, beliefs, ideology and life style of a higher caste and in particular vegetarian diet, quit liquor and animal sacrifice to embrace the lifestyle of higher castes. While following this for a generation or two, they may claim higher rank in their local caste hierarchy and achieve upward mobility in their status. This process of mobility is inside the system of caste. It doesn't lead to any structural change. The Indian caste system as a whole is not changing; rather the different ladders of it are getting altered. With the process of Sanskritization, there is no end to the system of inequality in the caste system. There are only few individuals who may claim higher status or improve their traditional social position within that unequal structure. So it is a process of change in the structure, rather than change of the structure. As to Srinivas, Sanskritization leads to *positional* change not *structural* change.

On the other hand, changes may occur in the core aspect of a structure. In this case, fundamental changes are found in the societal structure where the post-change or

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new structure becomes different from the pre-change or old structure. Changes of the structure might lead to lack of equilibrium among different parts of the system and the strain might disturb the smooth running of the system. In this context, Ginsberg has illustrated about Europe. As he says, 'The domain economy was made impossible in Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the rise of the towns. The urban population couldn't feed itself and had therefore to obtain the means of subsistence by purchase from the rural areas. This meant that the domains no longer restricted their production to meet their own needs. As production became remunerative, the idea of working for profit began to exercise people's mind. On the other hand, the landowners, restricted to customary revenues, found it difficult to satisfy their growing needs. In this way the moral and economic foundations of the domainal system were shaken by the growth of cities and the change in the relationship between town and country.' (Ginsberg 1986, 140-141).

Similarly in India, colonialism brought two important structural changes in society: industrialization and urbanization. Industrialization is the process of socio-economic change that transforms a society from agricultural to industrial one. This is a process where socio-economic development is closely associated with scientific and technological innovation. It refers to the beginning of machine production by the use of inanimate energy. The biggest transformation that is experienced following industrialization process is the change in occupation structure of people. People start migrating from agriculture to factories. Industrialization started with the industrial revolution in the United Kingdom in the 18th century which later spread to other parts of Europe and later the world over. Being a colony of the British, India witnessed sea change in its societal structure after the Industrial Revolution. Again, urbanization is a process where there is movement of people from rural or country areas to cities or urban areas. Industrialization in India led many people in villages to migrate to cities to work in factories. Therefore, industrialization and urbanization are always seen as associated facts. With industrialization and urbanization in India, the old Indian system of extended or joint families got disintegrated into nuclear households. Transition from joint to nuclear household, not only changed the size and type of residence but also the interpersonal relationships. With modern education and economic independence, the youths of modern times challenged the authority of traditional family and family head. Similarly, the role of women in society has greatly changed. Greater number of women are found working outside home and are economically independent. Due to industrialization, the earlier system of child marriages has seen a dramatic decline and nowadays has become almost non-existent. The earlier system of Hindu marriage as a sacred bond is giving way to 'live-in' relationships. The arranged marriage system where the parents played important role in selecting partners is disappearing and instances of love-marriage is spreading fast where young boys and girls prefer choosing their own soul-mates. In fact, marriage as an institution is also getting changed and becoming irrelevant with the prevalence of 'gay' and 'lesbian' marriages. The recent verdict of the Honourable Delhi High court treating Section 337 of the Indian Penal Code as unconstitutional is relevant in this context. The Court ruled that treating consensual gay sex between adults as a crime is a violation of Fundamental Rights. Such changes following industrialization and urbanization in India are significant and are structural changes in the societal system. The changes of the whole structure of family and marriage in rural and urban areas have enormous impact in the daily life of people. Hence, structural change has always been an important area of research among sociologists.

## Check Your Progress

9. When does a 'cultural lag' occur?
10. Define the term 'progress'.
11. From where the concept of 'social evolution' derives its roots?
12. What do you mean by demographic change?
13. How did Karl Marx signify the importance of economy as a factor of social change?

## ACTIVITY

Write an essay on the forms of Social change that have taken place in India since 1947.

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## 9.5 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- Social change refers to change in social relationships, social organizations, social patterns and values. It is change in the societal system as a whole. 'Change' refers to any alteration or transformation in any object, situation or phenomena over a certain period of time. Social change is a universal and continuous process.
- Social change is a universal and continuous process. Social change can be planned or unplanned. It is temporal and directional in nature. Social change is a value-neutral concept.
- Development refers to improvement in the quality of life of people and advancement in one's state or condition. It may refer to improvements in one's well-being, living-standards and socio-economic opportunities. You have learned about different forms of change and change in and of the social structure with different examples.
- Development means improvements in one's well-being, living-standards and socio-economic opportunities. Development is a revolutionary multi-dimensional, systematic and universal process. It is a value-loaded concept.
- Sanskritization is a process of cultural mobility, where the low Hindu caste or tribe or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently 'twice-born' caste.
- Westernization is a process whereby societies increasingly adopt Western cultures, life-styles, technology, food pattern, language, alphabet, religion, ideas, philosophy, value systems, etc.
- Modernization refers to the transition from a 'pre-modern' or 'traditional' type of society to a 'modern' society; especially, it is associated with the spread of education, urbanization and industrialization.
- Secularization on the other hand refers to the transformation of a society identified with religious values, ideas and institutions towards non-religious ideas, values and institutions.

## 9.6 KEY TERMS

- **Social statistics:** It is the use of statistical measurement systems to study human behaviour in a social environment.
- **Culture:** The set of shared attitudes, values, goals and practices that characterizes an institution, organization or group.
- **Development:** Systematic use of scientific and technical knowledge to meet specific objectives or requirements.

- **Structural change:** Deep-reaching change that alters the way authority, capital, information and responsibility flows in an organization.

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## 9.7 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Human thought, knowledge
2. Unilinear
3. Noted Indian sociologist M.N. Srinivas had made a sincere effort to analyze the process of social change in Indian society and it was made in his significant work, *Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India* (1952). This book was probably the first such attempt to study change in Indian context in a systematic manner. The term Sanskritization which was coined by Srinivas, during his study on the Coorgs was primarily meant to analyse the process of cultural mobility.
4. The term 'Sanskritization' is a much broader concept than 'Brahminization' because not only it encompasses non-Brahmin models like Kshatriyas model, Jat model, Vaishya model and models of other 'twice-born' castes but also denotes a wide spectrum of values and life-styles. Brahminization is subsumed in the wider process of Sanskritization though at some points Brahminization and Sanskritization are at variance with each other. For instance, the Brahmins of the Vedic period drank 'Soma', an alcoholic drink, ate beef, and offered blood sacrifices. Both were given up in post-Vedic times.
5. Westernization resulted not only in the introduction of new institutions like press newspapers, journals and elections but also in fundamental changes in the old institutions. So, although India had schools long before the Britishers came to India, they were fundamentally different from the schools introduced by the British in that they were restricted to only upper-caste elites and transmitted mostly traditional knowledge.
6. By 'primary westernization' we mean the changes induced by the Western impact on Indian traditions. At the initial phases, Western culture made its impact on peripheral aspects of Indian culture. It created a sub-cultural pattern limited to a very specific group of people within a particular geographical area.
7. 'Secondary westernization' started towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. The process of Westernization started taking firm roots in Indian social structure. Western culture emerged as basic ideology. Many social reformers justified the adoption of Western cultural spirit in order to make Indians feel the necessity of liberty, freedom and equality.
8. Religion is based on a distinction between sacred and profane in which the term sacred is associated with a faith in a mythical or supernatural power. However, the process of secularization in contrast implies a gradual decline of religious feelings. In a perfectly secularized society, religious considerations are replaced by rationalistic considerations.
9. 'Cultural' lag occurs when one of the two parts of culture which are correlated changes before or in greater degree than the other part does, thereby causing less adjustment between the two parts than existed previously.

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10. Progress is a change in a desirable direction. It can also refer to change for the better. It involves value-judgment because it implies betterment or improvement. Progress involves change that leads to certain well-defined goals. It is also a type of social change.
11. The use of the word 'evolution' or 'social evolution' in sociology is borrowed from biology. Biology studies 'organic evolution' which denotes the evolution of all kinds of organisms. Social evolution on the other hand refers to the process of evolution of human society, human social relationships, societal values, norms and the way of life.
12. Demographic change is change in the patterns of fertility, mortality, age structure, and migration. High fertility or high mortality can have important implications in any society. The same can happen if the rates of such indicators are too slow.
13. Karl Marx pointed out the significance of economy as a factor in social change. He propounded that the economy which constitutes the means of production like labour, instruments, etc. and the relations of production is the infrastructure and all others like family, legal system, education, religion, and polity constitute the superstructure.

## 9.8 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

## Short-Answer Questions

1. Define social change.
2. Give your opinion on whether 'change' is a revolutionary process or not.
3. What is cultural change?
4. What is the relation between social change and social progress?
5. How is social change responsible for social evolution?
6. Write a brief note on demographic change.
7. What do you mean by technological change?
8. How is 'development' 'directional' in nature?

## Long-Answer Questions

1. What is change and what is the difference between change and social change?
2. Discuss the meaning and the nature of the process of social change.
3. Discuss with examples different forms of social change.
4. What is development? Discuss its meaning and nature.
5. How can you define development and what are its indicators?
6. Discuss with suitable examples the difference between change in structure and structural change.
7. Critically evaluate different forms of social change.
8. Explain the difference between 'change in structure' and 'change of structure'.

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## 9.9 FURTHER READING

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## UNIT 10 POLITICAL MODERNIZATION

## NOTES

## Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Unit Objectives
- 10.2 Political Modernization: Basic Concepts
- 10.3 David Apter's Analysis
- 10.4 Lucian Pye's Analysis
- 10.5 Sidney Verba's Analysis
- 10.6 Summary
- 10.7 Key Terms
- 10.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 10.9 Questions and Exercises
- 10.10 Further Reading

## 10.0 INTRODUCTION

This unit deals with the concept of political modernization. It also studies the discussion put forward by David Apter, Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba in relation to political analysis and development. David Ernest Apter, an American political scientist, is famous for his outstanding contribution to the field of political analysis. His books are: *The Politics of Modernization* (1965), *Political Change* (1973) and *Choice and Politics of Allocation*. His contribution to the field of development theory is much significant. Lucian Pye before presenting his own view of political development has tried to remove some misconceptions about it. According to Pye, it is wrong to equate political development with economic development, administrative development and legal development. American political scientist, Verba's interest lies in the study of comparison.

## 10.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

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

- Examine political modernization from different perspectives
- Discuss David Apter's concepts associated with political analysis
- Explain Lucian Pye's views on political development
- Describe Sidney Verba's views on contrasts between political orientations of different cultures

## 10.2 POLITICAL MODERNIZATION: BASIC CONCEPTS

The political systems of modern societies have undergone some structural and cultural changes and the political aspects of modernization refer to these changes itself. All

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those activities, processes, institutions and beliefs, which go into the making and execution of policies of the state as well as the pursuit and attainment of collective goals, comprise a political system. On the other hand, a political structure comprises the patterns and interrelationships of political roles and processes. Political culture in contrast is contained of complex contemporary attitudes, beliefs and values about a political system.

The complete process of modernization indicates those changes in the institutional spheres of a society owning the expansion in man's knowledge as well as tightening of control over his/her environment. Political modernization is thus, about the process of differentiation of political structure and secularization of political culture, which in turn enhance its effectiveness and efficiency and help a society's political system perform better.

The framework within which political modernization works is found in the changing sources that legitimize authority and the process of its diffusion and centrality in the social structure. Since a society generally conceives its power from traditional sources, the authority is often found in traditionally established and institutionalized offices of kings or chiefs. However, in such a kind of system, authority retains a hierarchical character and is not consensual.

A democratic system and its framework challenge all traditional notions and structures of power. With democracy, power loses its hierarchical character and it also broadens the sphere of political action by allowing space for mass mobilization.

### Perspectives on political modernization

Some of the perspectives from which political modernization can be analyzed are historical, typological and evolutionary. These are described below.

- **Historical political modernization:** This perspective takes inspiration from the changes in the political and cultural structures which are affected or were affected by some of the major periods in the transformative process in the society. This includes secularization, commercialization and industrialization, among others. These ideas first spread in western Europe in the sixteenth century and have spread subsequently, though unevenly and incompletely, throughout the world.
- **Typological political modernization:** The process where the pre-modern traditional polity is trans-mutated into a post-traditional modern polity is indicative of this process.
- **Evolutionary political modernization:** This perspective draws upon the growing yet an unprecedented increase in the capacity of a political man to develop those structures or institutions that can help him cope with or resolve problems to absorb and adapt to change which is a continuous process. It also helps man strive purposively and creatively towards attainment of new social goals. As against the historical and typological perspectives, political modernization is a process which helps develop some image of a modern polity.

### Theoretical Approaches to Modern Polity

The three main approaches to explore modern polity, including its complex characteristics, are the following:

- The trait-list approach:** This approach begins with the identification of some of the major structural and cultural features which are inherent and are regarded as modern by observers of contemporary politics.

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- The reductionist approach:** This approach deals with a single preceding factor, a variable that explains it, a correlative or determinant which is treated as the prime index or the most distinguishing feature of modernization. By implication, this is thought of as determining political modernity. Some of the unique characteristics which have been included with the in this approach are the concepts of capacity, differentiation, institutionalization, national integration, participation, populism, political culture, social mobilization and socio-economic correlates. Multivariate causation is not denied with the usage of these reductive efforts. In fact, they are reflective of the timeless quest for a single and comprehensive concept of modernity or the desire to enrich the formerly neglected and an under emphasized variable.

- The ideal-type approach:** This approach is found either explicit or implicit in most analyses of a modern political system as well as the processes of political modernization. The ideal-typical approaches are usually found in the descriptive traits of a generically modern polity. The fact that it is a modern polity is implicit of an ideal-typical traditional polity which is then opposite and a transitional polity. This becomes an intervening type on a continuum of political modernization.

Traditional polity is usually governed by predominantly descriptive, as well as particularistic and diffused. In comparison, a modern polity is mostly achievement-oriented, universalistic and specific. Therefore, political modernization should be understood as a movement or a process from the traditional pole to the modern pole of the continuum.

### Characteristics

Differentiation has been one of the dominant empirical trends in the historic evolution of modern society. It is a process of progressive separation and role specialization and institutional spheres and associations in the process of development of political systems. Its universal characteristics are social stratification and the separation of occupational roles from kinship and domestic life; separation of religion from the universalistic legal norms; differentiation between religion and ideology as well as between administrative structure and public political competition. This differentiation is implicit of greater functional specialization, structural complexity and interdependence and heightened effectiveness of political organization in both administrative and political spheres.

The notion of equality is the second and the central characteristic of political modernization. It is the central ethos and an ethic that pervades all operative ideals of all features of modern life. Modernity has its ethos in equality. The quest for the same and its eventual realization form the basic crux of the discourse on modernization. It finds voice in the notions of universal adult citizenship, prevalence of universalistic legal norms and rule of law in the relationship of government with its citizens as well as importance given to the criteria of achievement in recruitment and allocation to political and administrative roles. It is a fact that these features of equality are only imperfectly realized in modern day politics. Yet, they form the central standards as well as imperatives of modernization and its achievement and the establishment of political legitimacy. In most definitions of political modernization, popular participation or involvement in political system is a central theme.

Capacity is the third characteristic of political modernization. It refers to the ever growing adaptive and creative potentials that man is capable of to manipulate his environment. Thus, acquiring increased capacity for political administration is the third major characteristic of political modernization. Its essential feature is the increase in the

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scope of polity functions, growth of the political community, increased efficiency of the implementation of various political and administrative decisions in the power processes of the institutions represented by the central government and the growth of assertions of various political associations. The process of political modernization can be analyzed as an endless process of differentiation, the imperatives and realizations of equality, as well as of some capacities of a political system like its integrative, adaptive and creative features. It is also a process of progressive acquisition of enhanced political capacity which is sought consciously. It is also qualitatively new as can be seen in the effective institutionalization of new patterns that create stimulus for integration as well as conflict and tensions that emerge out of various differentiation processes. It also involves new participation patterns as well as those of resource distribution which adequately respond to the new demands of equality as well as goal achievement.

**Basic Features**

When political modernizations takes place, the old structures of authority like the feudal or religious institutions, begin to lose their ground. In their place, a singular, secular and a national political authority starts emerging. Authority is centralized in this democratic institution. To meet challenges of the growing political system, there start to grow a network of differentiated and specialized political and bureaucratic institutions. Not only are political and bureaucratic institutions become increasingly differentiated but also specialized. With this, people also become increasingly involved and participate in the modern political system. Some of the main agents that help to bring about a change and initiate the process of modernization in the political system are colonialism, elites, revolutionary leaders, political parties, military and bureaucracy.

**Political Modernization in India**

All political systems undergo the process of modernization. India has been on the road to modernization of its own political system since Independence. These have been set into motion through a series of reconciliation processes with a number of regional interest groups. These can be seen in the political realm in the linguistic formation of states; the growing emphasis on mixed economy in the sphere of economic policy; the stress on secularism and neutrality in the domain of international relations. They are predominantly reconciliatory pattern of political modernization in the country. Even in case of role of traditional institutions in politics, the same pattern holds true.

It is important to mention here that caste associations, kin groups and ethnic groups have also successfully imbibed the needs of a modern democratic political culture. Modern forces have set into motion changes even in the political sphere of the society. These can be seen in the court laws regulation, formation of village panchayats as well as local autonomies, which have changed the fact of the traditional political system. Caste panchayats are dwindling in villages and their traditional functions have been taken over by the courts.

At the same time, however, the influence of caste in politics is increasing. Leadership patterns are changing. Low income groups are now actively participating in politics. Political unity has been firmly established and this can be seen in the active role being played by all-India parties. Political arena now actively discusses regional differences of culture and language. States have been delimited. Sources indicate that politics was dominated by intellectuals since Independence. The mass movements that the country saw during the time of the independence are being revived again as has been seen in the form of peasant movements etc. Students are also becoming active in the political life

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even though factionalism has increased within political parties. Studies have found that factionalism is closely associated with the culture of traditional villages itself. Reservation for the scheduled castes and tribes has also led to the formation of parties devoted to the interests of these sections. These parties have eaten into the voters' share of major political parties and their role has become significant in national politics. One can easily see the dichotomy, the conflict between traditional social arrangements, the caste system and religion and new relationships brought out by economic growth.

**10.3 DAVID APTER'S ANALYSIS**

David Apter coined the famous paradigm of development with democracy, the problem of innovation and marginality and the question of governability and violence. Apter himself developed an empirical study on comparison with the system of development of the outside world. He said that development will lead to democracy. Apter recommends an innovative comparative study of development. Apter has given many successful models of political socialization in order to learn the process of development of political socialization.

According to Apter, there are four models of political socialization. They are the accumulation model, the interpersonal transfer model, the identification model and the cognition-development model.

The accumulation model states that the more information is fed to a child, the more knowledge he gains. However, it is to be emphasized that information needs to be specific. In other words, to have better understanding of any particular political organization, one must be in possession of large quantity of information related to that organization. Similarly, to have clear knowledge of the role of any political actor, one must have at the disposal sufficient information relating to that political actor. More the information, more the knowledge. But this information must be related to the object, one is interested to know.

The interpersonal transfer model talks about the diverse relationships that an individual forges with the figures of authority. For a child the most perceptible figure of authority is his father. He develops some image of authority, though this image is far from clear. As he grows, he comes across other figures of authority, and his images of these authority figures are, to a marked extent, based upon his earlier image of authority.

The identification model points out that the values, attitudes and behaviour pattern of a child are significantly influenced by much older persons like parents or teachers. For them, the child has a great deal of respect. He trusts them, and for him they are 'role-models'. As he observes them from a close angle, he is profoundly influenced by them. Having observed them for a long time, he creates an image for himself, and once this image is fixed, it offers the basis for his attachments and affiliations to different groups and organizations.

Last but not least, the cognitive development model says that as over the years the cognition of the child improves, he develops capacity to translate an understanding of the individual figure into an understanding of similar individuals and to their roles in of the individual figure into an understanding of similar individuals and to their roles in a whole political system. With gradual increase in his conceptual understanding of an order or system, the child becomes able to grasp the role of any political actor in relation to other political actors. He slowly gains a comparative and theoretical perspective of the political system as the child passes through adolescence to enter

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adulthood. It is only during adulthood that an individual's cognitive map of the political order gains maturity.

Political development has several stages, and no single political system can cover all the stages. This is quite obvious, because the needs and problems of each stage are in a sense unique. The nature and degree of political control must, therefore, vary. Following Apter, we can broadly distinguish between two stages of development processes—pre-industrial and post-industrial. In a developing society, where there does not exist a broad-based industrial infrastructure, the political problem of controlling and integrating the process becomes increasingly crucial. Hence, the passage to industrialization needs an extra-ordinarily organized political system with in-built capability of maintaining a high-degree control and cohesion. In view of the magnitude of the problem, Apter suggests the adoption of high control system for a successful transition to industrialization, once the industrial phase of development is completed, the perspective is bound to change. The necessary focus of industrialized societies is increasing generation and use of new knowledge. Therefore, the need in post-industrial societies is for wider devolution of authority and greater decentralization of high control systems. If the industrial infrastructure can also carry with it certain organizing properties, they reduce the need for direct government control, a non-coercive, high information situation will result with government playing a mediating and coordinating role.

It is, however, difficult to fully accept Apter's analysis, particularly for a democratic society involved in a process of change and development. The transition to industrialization requires massive community mobilization, and naturally the problem is how to actively involve the citizens in the process in a meaningful way. Such associations are difficult to attain in a high control system. It is not high mechanism, but a wide measure of social justice and the appropriate patterns of popular participation which can integrate the people with the developmental process in a spirit of joy and spontaneity and bring about a desired level of mobilization. A simple high control system is bound to erode the popular enthusiasm, and fail to secure the necessary level of mass mobilization for development. In India, for instance, it is extremely doubtful if Apter's recommended high control political order alone can ensure the transition to industrialization. Perhaps, the model of Western development is in Apter's mind, and known that the active role of human beings in early stages of development in the West was not recognized. But today in a democratic polity the role of man in development can be ignored only at an enormous peril. Similarly, the Marxist model of political development has manifested limits in new states like India. Its acceptance of capitalist technology and of an extremely high political control system in the earlier stage of all for Marx the main frame of reference was Western experience.

Actually, the term 'political development' has an important element of imprecision, and has no fixed meaning. In view of divergent social and cultural conditions and variant organizations of political forces in different countries, there cannot be one but several roads to political development.

## 10.4 LUCIAN PYE'S ANALYSIS

According to Pye, it is wrong to equate political development with economic development, administrative development and legal development. Economic development would

### Check Your Progress

1. What are the four models of political socialization according to Apter?
2. The \_\_\_\_\_ model talks about the diverse relationships that an individual forges with the figures of authority.
3. The \_\_\_\_\_ model points out that the values, attitudes and behaviour- pattern of a child are significantly influenced by much older persons like parents or teachers.

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contribute to political development, but the latter is not exclusively dependent upon it. The criteria of political development should be independently determined. Developing countries would take a long time to achieve economic development. It would be wrong to ask them to delay political development till the achievement of economic development. Political development in these countries should continue irrespective of progress on the economic front.

Weber and others have emphasized the role of bureaucracy in state-building. It has a role in rule-making and rule-application. Political development would include administrative and legal development, but it is much more than that.

Pye does not agree that the pace of industrialization determines political development and that political development is equated with the politics of industrialized countries. In his opinion, political development can also be achieved in non-industrialized societies. Similarly, he would not accept the equation of political development with democracy. He is against the imposition of the Western model of political development on non-Western countries.

Pye is in disagreement with the view that political development is mobilization of power. It is argued by some scholars that a developed state is capable of realizing its full potential and maximizing the utilization of its resources. While rejecting this view, Pye argues that mobilization of power is maximized only in democratic states, while it is deliberately limited in non-democratic systems. Therefore, it would be wrong to equate political development with mobilization of power.

Pye is equally opposed to the view that mass mobilization and political participation constitute political development. He draws our attention to the danger that the mass is vulnerable to manipulation, and that the participation of people in politics, caused by sterile emotionalism and demagoguery, is not their genuine participation. Such mass mobilization and participation, Pye warns, would prove detrimental to the state and the society.

### Pye Differs from Karl Deutsch and F. W. Riggs

Riggs emphasized stability and orderly change as crucial parameters of political development. According to Pye, stability or order is of secondary importance while 'getting things done' is of primary importance. Orderly change may be desirable, but still more important is the direction of change.

As opposed to Edward A. Shills and K.H. Silvert who have defined political development as the organization of political life and the performance of political functions according to the standards expected of a modern nation-state, Pye has focused on nation-building. Though nationalism has a role to play, nation-building demands much more attention. Pye says, 'Development entails the translation of diffused and unorganized nationalism into a spirit of citizenship and equally the creation of state institutions that can translate into policy and programmes the aspiration of nationalism and citizenship'. In brief, political development is nation-building.

Pye also disputes the view-point that political development is political modernization, because such a view would create an impression that political development is part of the modernization process. He asserts that political development has an autonomous character which it would lose if it is assumed that political development is part of modernization.

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Having removed the misconceptions about political development, Pye presents his own model of political development which he calls 'development syndrome'. According to him, political development consists of three elements, namely, equality, capacity and differentiation.

**Equality:** The members of the system should enjoy political and legal equality. Law should recognize all of them as equals, and they should have equal rights to take part in the political process. Nobody should suffer from any type of discrimination, and achievement rather than ascription should be the basis of recruitment to public offices.

**Capacity:** The system should have the capacity to deliver the goods and meet the aspirations of people. A developed polity is distinguished by the nature of its performance, and by the quantity and quality of its outputs. The government should be effective and efficient and should be able to look after the welfare of people. The political system should have the capacity to affect the rest of the society and economy. The political development of a system is also correlated with its secular orientation and administrative rationality.

**Differentiation:** In course of time political functions have multiplied both in nature and number, and in order to perform these numerous, diverse functions, there is the need of differentiated structures. Functional specialization can be ensured only by differentiated structures. Thus, the third element of political development is functional specialization and structural differentiation.

Pye says that these dimensions of equality, capacity and differentiation lie at the heart of the developmental process, but this does not mean that they necessarily fit easily together. On the other hand, there have been acute tensions between the demands for equality, the requirements for capacity and the process of differentiation. Pye calls this 'developmental trap'. A political system can avoid falling into this trap if it succeeds in absorbing and managing tensions arising from such conflicting demands. Pye is also of the view that development is not unilinear, and that it is not marked by distinct stages. On the other hand, development is characterized by a range of problems arising separately or concurrently.

Differentiation refers to increasing separation, and delineation and specialization of roles and associations which accompany modernization. With more and more development the political structure will attain greater complexity and there will be larger number of functional units. By equality we mean egalitarianism and widespread social justice. By capacity we mean the ability not only to overcome the divisions and manage the tensions resulting from increased differentiation, but to respond to or contain the participatory and distributive demands created by the principle of equality. It also includes a capacity to explore and direct routes to continuous change. All the three imperatives operate in a condition of reciprocal dependence. For instance, it is egalitarianism which strengthens the capacity to overcome divisions and promotes integration. Similarly, the realization of the principle of equality in education can fulfil the specialized needs of a modern differentiated society. Again, the proper differentiation of roles and inter-capacity of a polity. Thus the three elements in the syndrome are interdependent. Because of this interdependence, sometimes a 'lag' is experienced. In short, it means that unless the three elements simultaneously grow and at a largely uniform rate, political development is bound to be lopsided and uncoordinated.

## Check Your Progress

4. According to Lucian Pye political development is \_\_\_\_\_.
5. What is differentiation?

## 10.5 SIDNEY VERBA'S ANALYSIS

## NOTES

On the basis of differential distribution of political orientations in different cultures, Almond and Sidney Verba have classified political cultures into three types, namely, parochial, subject and participant cultures.

1. **Parochial culture:** The members of this culture do not have significant orientation towards national objects like national political structures and actors, and policies and decisions made by them. Their interest in and awareness of national developments are minimal. On the contrary, their interest in local affairs is quite substantial. They are also inclined to be active in family and community activities. They are concerned about their caste, tribe, and region and least concerned about national government and its policies.
2. **Subject culture:** In this culture individuals have high frequency of orientation towards the political system as a whole and its outputs, but they have little orientation towards its inputs as well as towards the 'self'. They have a fairly good idea about the national government and what it is doing. They want the government to make favourable policies and decisions. But they would not make efforts to influence these policies and decisions. They have little confidence in their capacity to influence the authorities and fight against injustice. They are quite passive and they think that it is their duty to accept the system and not to challenge or change it.
3. **Participant culture:** The individual belonging to this culture tends to play an activist role. He has not only high awareness of the political system and its inputs and outputs. He also seeks to be actively involved in them. On the one side, he ignites political demands and support. On the other, he plays a meaningful role in policy-making. Having a sense of political efficacy, he takes an active part in different spheres of politics.

The three types of political culture discussed above are the Weberian types. It is almost impossible to find them anywhere in a pure form. On the contrary, three mixed varieties of political cultures are mostly in existence.

1. **Parochial-subject** – In this culture, there is a tendency on the part of the individual to drift away from purely local structures and institutions and he has some idea of specialized roles in the government. But his awareness of national political bodies is quite vague, and his knowledge of his own role in the political system is poor. Moreover, his confidence in his capacity to influence the government is small.
2. **Subject-participant** – The members of this culture are divided into two groups. While some of them are politically active and have high orientation towards all types of political objects, others are passive in politics and do not have a sense of political efficacy. Such cultures are present in Germany, France and Italy.
3. **Parochial-participant** – In this culture the input institutions are generally local, and the output institutions at the national level are fairly developed. The people are also officially encouraged to take part in the political process. But they are inclined to be mostly involved in local institutions and organizations like caste and tribal associations. Even the national organizations like the civil service, army and legislature lose much of their vitality because

of the corrosive influence of parochial forces like casteism, communalism, and regionalism. National political parties infrequently indulge in pampering parochial groups.

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**When two cultures meet, according to Verba**

When a society comes in contact with another society, the cultures of the two societies are likely to be influenced by each other. Either culture, while accepting some elements of the other culture, may also pass on some of its elements to the latter. In this process of mutual influence, some parts of each of the two cultures may be totally transformed or may undergo partial modification. This pattern of cultural penetration in both directions occurs when the two cultures are, more or less, of equal strength, and when both are open to new ideas. If, on the other hand, there is a meeting of two societies which are closed systems and intensely suspicious of alien ideas, there is little possibility of the two cultures influencing each other unless neither of them is strong enough to force the other to open its windows.

When there is an encounter between two unequal societies, the pattern of cultural penetration would be different. The weaker society will open its windows to the culture of the stronger one. The former may do it voluntarily or it may be forced to do it. Colonial rule in Asian and African countries presented several patterns of culture contact. In the case of encounter between two unequal cultures, the nature of influence on the recipient culture would depend on the nature of the recipient culture as well as that of the donor culture.

The donor culture may be agglomerative or assimilative. An agglomerative culture would favour slow and gradual changes in the recipient culture, but would not abolish the hierarchy, status and privileges of its constituent groups. For example, British administration in India did not change the hierarchical order conferring prerogatives, privileges and status on the native rulers and their officials, although democratic and secular ideas were slowly injected into the Indian society. The assimilative culture, on the other hand, is in a sense equalitarian. When it meets the people of another culture, it either accepts or rejects their humanity. There will be few ranks and privileges in the new society. One is either accepted as a full member of the society with full rights and privileges, or he is denied membership of the society. In case one is denied membership, he is kept outside the core of the society in some 'reserved' category. While the British culture is agglomerative, the French culture is assimilative. However, these are ideal types, and political cultures tend in one direction or another. In most cases, cultures are 'mixtures': while some parts of a culture are agglomerative, its other parts are assimilative.

The recipient culture has two options.

It may welcome the donor culture and express interest in accepting some elements of the latter, or it may resist the donor culture. In the case of unequal relationship culture resistance on the part of the weaker society is not possible. If not willing, the weaker society would be forced to accept culture penetration by the stronger society.

Whether it is voluntary or forcibly imposed, acculturation may be analysed in terms of syncretism. Syncretism occurs when any element of the donor culture is perceived by the members of the recipient culture not in the way it is understood by the members of the donor culture, but in such a way that it seems compatible or congruent with their central values. When the members of the recipient culture perceive an external idea or value not as alien to them, but in conformity with their cultural milieu, they welcome it

and incorporate it into their culture. At the time of acceptance, the borrowed cultural element does not lose its original meaning or form; it is only reinterpreted by the recipient group so as to fit into its conceptual framework. Where syncretism occurs, acculturation becomes easier.

Political cultures can be divided into two types, namely, consummatory and instrumental. In consummatory cultures, religion has a predominant influence, and every social relationship is linked to it. All that happens in society is explained in terms of wider transcendental meaning. No surprise, there is little differentiation in consummatory culture. On the other hand, instrumental cultures are characterized by internal differentiation, and different spheres of life like religious, social, economic and political enjoy large amount of autonomy. In these cultures, other spheres of life are not subordinate to the religious sphere, and no attempt is made to attribute everything to some transcendental force. Instrumental cultures seek immediate gratification; in consummatory cultures one feels gratified by the transcendental value which is attached to his act.

Acculturation proceeds in an orderly manner in instrumental cultures which are capable of taking the syncretic route. In other words, the members of this culture are inclined to give a new meaning to the borrowed elements of the donor culture so as to fit them into the central values of their culture. But the consummatory cultures are seldom capable of taking the syncretic route. They tend either to resist all change, because they fear that change in one sphere will affect everything else, or to change totally and rapidly when they change.

Acculturation helps in passing on good ideas of the donor culture to the recipient culture. As a result of this, the recipient culture is likely to get rid of some of its elements which are undesirable and harmful. The borrowing culture may drift away from autocracy to democracy, from parochialism to universalism, and from backwardness to development. But there is also the possibility of the borrowing culture being polluted and infected by certain features of the donor culture. One of these harmful effects is 'culture pollution'. There is now deep concern among the intellectuals of the developing world that their cultures are being increasingly polluted by the onslaught of the Western electronic media. Some ideas may be good for Western societies, but may prove to be bad for developing societies. Even if some of these ideas have value for developing countries, the latter are not yet ready to welcome or absorb them.

In the initial stage of acculturation, political leaders belonging to the recipient culture will pass through some strain: there will be ambiguity regarding their personal identity as a result of which their capacity to forge and strengthen national identity will be undermined. These leaders will be subjected to double pull in opposite directions. Though inclined to welcome the new, they are not yet willing to leave the old. This mood of belonging to two opposite worlds is bound to strain their self-identity and consequently cripple their capacity to build a strong national identity.

**ACTIVITY**

Apply Sidney Verba's theory to the Indian sub-continent and write a report reflecting your ideas.

## NOTES

**Check Your Progress**

6. The members of parochial culture have significant orientation towards national objects like national political structures and actors, and policies and decisions made by them. (True/False)
7. In the subject culture individuals have a high frequency of orientation towards the political system as a whole and its outputs. (True/False)

## 10.6 SUMMARY

In this unit, you have learnt that:

- David Ernest Apter is considered as an American political scientist. He is famous for his outstanding contribution to the field of political analysis, *The Politics of Modernization*, 1965, *Political Change*, 1973, *Choice and Politics of Allocation* etc. His contribution to the field of development theory is much significant. With his famous work, he coined the famous paradigm of development with democracy, the problem of innovation and marginality and the question of governability and violence.
- According to Apter, there are four models of political socialization. They are the accumulation model, the interpersonal transfer model, the identification model and the cognition-development model.
- Following Apter we can broadly distinguish between two stages of development processes: pre-industrial and post-industrial stages.
- Lucian Pye before presenting his own view of political development has tried to remove some misconceptions about it. According to Pye, it is wrong to equate political development with economic development, administrative development and legal development. Economic development would contribute to political development, but the latter is not exclusively dependent upon it.
- Riggs emphasized stability and orderly change as crucial parameters of political development. According to Pye, stability or order is of secondary importance while 'getting things done' is of primary importance.
- Differentiation refers to increasing separation, and delineation and specialization of roles and associations which accompany modernization.
- Sidney Verba is an American Political scientist. His interest lies in the study of comparison. On the basis of differential distribution of political orientations in different cultures, Almond and Verba have classified political cultures into three types, namely, parochial, subject and participant cultures.

## 10.7 KEY TERMS

- **Acculturation:** It is the adoption of the behaviour patterns of the surrounding culture.
- **Political modernization:** It is the political aspects of modernization, which refers to the ensemble of structural and cultural changes in the political system of modern societies.
- **Political socialization:** It is the study of the developmental processes by which people of all ages and adolescents acquire political cognition, attitudes, and behaviours.

## 10.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. According to Apter, there are four models of political socialization. They are the accumulation model, the interpersonal transfer model, the identification model and the cognition-development model.
2. Interpersonal transfer
3. Identification
4. Nation-building
5. Differentiation refers to increasing separation, and delineation and specialization of roles and associations which accompany modernization.
6. False
7. True

## 10.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

### Short-Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on Apter's Interpersonal model and Cognitive model.
2. According to Lucian Pye what are the three elements of political development?
3. According to Sidney Verba, what happens when two cultures meet?
4. What is political modernization?

### Long-Answer Questions

1. How do Pye's ideas differ from Karl Deutsch and F. W. Riggs?
2. Write a short note on the four models of political socialization as suggested by Apter.
3. Explain political modernization? List its features.
4. What is David Apter's idea of political modernization?
5. Discuss Lucian Pye's views on political modernization.
6. State Sidney Verba's view on political modernization.

## 10.10 FURTHER READING

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