

MODERN POLITICAL THEORY

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MODERN POLITICAL THEORY

Unit I

- a) Meaning, Nature and Scope of Modern Political Theory
Approaches of Modern Political Theory-Traditional, Modern and Marxian
State of Political Theory Today-Decline or Resurgence

Unit II

- a) Political System-Meaning, Characteristics and Functions
- b) Capabilities and Performance of Political System-Extractive, Regulative, Distributive, Symbolic and Responsive Capabilities
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- a) Behaviouralism and Post Behaviourism – Meaning, Nature and Characteristics
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- c) Determinants of Voting and Non-Voting Behaviour

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UNIT - I

Lesson 1.1 - Meaning, Nature and Scope of Modern Political Theory

Unit Structure

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1.1 Objective

This particular unit has prepared the learners to understand the very basic language of Political Science, which comes with the theories. So, after studying this entire Unit, learners must be able to familiarise and understand points like;

- The meaning of Political Theory or the underlying language of political science.

- The scope of political theory in understanding the regular political scenarios from an analytical perspective.
- Approaches that distinguish and define Modern Political Phenomena and Processes from different theoretical viewpoints.
- The state and current relevance of Political Theory.
- Understanding the resurgence or the declining phenomenon of Political Theory and Political Science.

1.2 Introduction

Political Theory is considered the core area of Political Science. Rather it is the base language of understanding and getting introduced to the study and approach of political science as an established discipline. Starting from various scholars in ancient Greece to the present-day scenario of the world order, political theory has come across several fundamental and perennial ideals of the structure of state and governance. Generally, Political Theory mainly reflects upon understanding and explaining the history of the political phenomenon, political thought, processes, and institutions with respect to the scientific philosophical, and dynamic objective of political behaviour by subjecting it to an ethical level of understanding.

According to Micheal A. Weinstein, Political Theory has been referred to as an Activity that mostly involves posing questions that are responded to by developing answers to those particular questions by creating an imaginative perspective on the public life of human beings. With the help of political theory, a lot of probing questions are being addressed, such as;

- Regarding the meaning, relevance, nature, purpose, and everything about the existence and meaning of the state and also its formation.
- Preference of a state as per man's behavioural and socio-cultural needs for existence.
- The mode of administrating and governing a state. It is where we have to know and understand the institutions and stakeholders who are involved in the functioning of a state and their nature or objective.
- The ends and means involved with the functioning of a state along with the relations between the state and the individual. However, starting from the age of Western philosophers such as Plato or Aristotle the importance of Modern Political Theory has remained

deeply concerned with the fate of man and his ability to create a strong community where both the rulers and the citizens of a state can be able to pursue their privilege.

However, on the same hand, political theories also work as a critique of the existing political, economic, and social conditions that prevail or have prevailed over the time of a particular theorist or a political philosopher, following which he puts forward his visualization of the functioning of the state and its resultant impact upon the society and the citizens.

Though the scope, identity, and perspectives of the state have changed over the passage of time which has led to the creation of a specific identity and principles, concepts, and institutions of governance, that aim to describe, explain, and analyze this subject which gives this particular Sub-discipline its name and identity of being the Modern Political Theory.

1.3 Meaning, Nature, and Scope of Modern Political Theory

At the heart of the socio-political discourse at the juncture of philosophy and governance, political theory stands as a towering concept of these ideals. Thus, overlooking the domain of political science, the sub-discipline of political theory has played an important role in weaving the cornerstone of the Concepts of **Power, Governance, Justice, Equality, Liberty, and Authority**. Political Theory somewhat goes ahead in that direction to examine the ethical dimensions of political life by delving into the nature and justification of political obligation and authority in a much broader concept.

As an interdisciplinary concept, Modern Political Theory incorporates various fields like economics, history, philosophy, and sociology, and tries to delve much deeper into understanding the theoretical concepts of democracy, liberalism, socialism, and conservatism. Modern Political Theory also seeks to understand and explain the political phenomenon by prescribing different ways and means to address the shortcomings.

So, in order to proceed further with the study of political theory it becomes very important to understand and know the meaning of political theory as a concept.

As political theory has been defined by different political theorists according to their own ideas and perspectives, it has been understood in different ways altogether. However, for the purpose of study, political theory

has been divided into distinct streams like classical, modern, empirical, etc. Classical Political Theory deals with the description, explanation, prescription, and evaluation of a political phenomenon.

Empirical Political Theory claims itself as a science and has always primarily concerned itself with the description and explanation of being studied as a science under the description of an explanation as a political reality.

Thus, referring to the perspectives of the meaning of modern political theory as a discipline at the most general level it can be considered as 'a body of knowledge related to the phenomenon of the state.' Whereas 'theory' is derived from the Greek Word 'Theoria' which means a mental vision that reveals the existence of an object and its clauses or systematic knowledge, 'political' has been derived from the Greek word 'Polis' which is known as 'City State' and also it refers to matters of public concern and modern refers to the present or recent times, as opposed to the remote past.

Thus, tracing the origin of the contributions of the Greeks in the realm of knowledge, political philosophy has always remained intermingled with religion where the Greeks for the first time introduced a separation of religion and superstitious beliefs from politics and thereby gave it an independent nature of science.

Generally, political theory is concerned with several statements, some of which are empirical, logical, and evaluative by nature. Thus, some of their major characteristics can be gradually understood as;

- Its concerns and relations with politics.
- Its methods include description, explanation, and investigation or analytical understanding.
- Aiming to build a good state of affairs and a harmonious and healthy society.
- The descriptive explanatory attempts to evaluate and predict a better political phenomenon.

1.3.1 Definitions of Political Theory as per the viewpoint of several Political Philosophers:

To be specific, Modern political theory is considered the study of the nature and the purpose of political authority, analyzing the role of the

state, and the relationships between the individual and the state which is characterized by the number of key themes and ideas that like democracy, liberalism, socialism, and conservatism. Some of the key influential thinkers who have shaped the study of political theories mainly include theorists like Karl Marx, John Rawls, Robert Nozick, Carl Schmitt, and Jurgen Habermas.

According to David Held, 'Political Theory is defined as a set network of concepts and generalizations about the political life involving ideas, assumptions, and statements of the nature, purpose and the features of government, state, and society that concerns the political capabilities of the human beings.

According to Andrew Hacker, 'Political Theory is a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of a good state and society on one hand and as a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other hand.'

According to Geroge Catlin, 'Political Theory includes both the study of Political Science and Political Philosophy. As 'Science' refers to the phenomenon of control in many forms over the processes of a whole social field, which is concerned with the means, whereas, 'Philosophy' is concerned with the end or the final value, as when a man asks, 'what is a national good' or 'what is good for the society.'

According to Germino, 'Political theory is the most appropriate term to employ the designated intellectual traditions that affirms the possibility of a transcending sphere of immediate practical concerns with viewing the societal existence of a man from a critical perspective.'

According to Sabine, 'Political Theory is simply the attempt of a man to consciously understand and solve the problems of his group life and the organization. It is also designated as the disciplined investigation of political problems which not only shows the meaning of political practice, but it also shows its meanings.'

According to the Dictionary of Political Science, 'Political Theory is the evaluation of Political Events, the set of ideas explaining to predict them.'

According to John Plementz, "Political Theory has been defined as the systematic consideration of the objectives of the government along with the explanation of the functions of a government.'

1.3.2 Nature and Scope of Modern Political Theory

Political Theory involves a disciplined investigation of Political Phenomenon to understand the institutions of governance and the whole political system in which the state operates. The study of political theory entails the realm of the context on the basis of which it exists. At the same time, it is needed for us to understand how political theory stands as a bridge to link 'political' and 'non-political' terms to integrate and coordinate the results that have been found through various social sciences.

Actually, the nature and scope of Political Theory do not stand to be limited by what it constitutes. Suggesting the task of defining the scope and nature of Political Theory, Sheldon Wolin has sought the following contents to define political theory;

- i. A form of activity centering around the quest for finding a competitive advantage between groups, individuals, and societies;
- ii. A form of activity conditioned by the fact that it occurs within a situation of change and relative scarcity.

The main distinctions between political theory and political thought, political philosophy, and political science have been concerned mainly with the nature of how a state's character is studied.

As it has been stated, Political Theory is the Study of the Phenomenon of the state from both philosophical and empirical points of view. Although all of these terms are concerned with explaining the same phenomenon, yet political theory is different from all of these terms.

Difference between Political Theory and Political Thought-

Political Theory and Thought are different as Political thought is a general thought that comprises the theories and values of all those persons or a section of the community who think and write about the day-to-day activities and policies or decisions of the state. These people who write on such issues can be termed Philosophers, Writers, Journalists, Poets, and Political Commentators, as well. Political thought has no fixed forms and can be seen in the form of treatises, speeches, political commentaries, etc. But anything that stands as an important factor is the 'time bound' approach to changes in the programs of the Government.

On the other hand, **Political Theory** is the systematic speculation of a particular writer who specifically talks about the phenomenon of a state, as

these speculations are based on the hypothesis of valid criticism. Political Theory also provides a model of explanations by creating a link between other disciplines like History, Economics, and Sociology lastly the task of the theory is not only meant to explain the political reality. So, according to Barker **Political Thought** is an immanent philosophy of a whole age, whereas political theory is the speculation of a particular thinker. While, as political thought stands implicit and immersed in the stream of action, whereas political theory is explicit and stands to get detached from the political reality of a particular period.

Difference between Political Theory and Political Philosophy

Philosophy is generally called as the 'science of wisdom,' whereas this wisdom is an allinclusive thing that tries to explain everything. At a time when it is applied to the study of political phenomenon or the state, it gets to be called **Political Philosophy**.

Thus, political philosophy belongs to the category of normative political theory. Also, political philosophy is not only connected with contemporary issues but also certain universal issues that keep on occurring within the political life of man such as the nature and purpose of the political organization, the basis of political authority, the nature of rights, liberty, equality, and justice.

This distinction between political philosophy and political theory is explained well by the fact that whereas a political philosopher is a political theorist, a political theorist might not necessarily be a political philosopher. This part of the theory deals with addressing the same issues that political philosophy might address, but also it can work towards explaining both of them from an empirical point of view. In other words, political philosophy can be abstract or speculative, whereas political theory can be both normative and empirical by their nature.

Referring to its nature, Political Theory is much interested in explaining the nature and the purpose of the state as it goes on to describe the realities of political behaviour and the actual relations between the state and the citizens. As Arnold Bretech pointed out philosophical explanations of political theory are unscientific by nature, despite their theories. On the other hand, Political Theories are concerned both with Political Institutions and the ideas or aspirations that form the basis of these institutions. But at the same time, it is also needed to be able to analytically distinguish

between philosophy and theory. But if the political theory is separated from political philosophy its meanings will appear as distorted and will prove irrelevant from being understood.

Difference between Political Theory and Political Science

As a discipline, Political Science is a comprehensive and diverse field that covers different range of subjects like Political Thought, Comparative Politics, Political Philosophy and Ideologies, International Relations, Public Administration, etc. Similarly, Political Theory is also a similar discipline which is a subfield or separate sub-discipline within Political Science.

The rise of political science as a separate discipline has made political theory one of its subfields. Thus, specifically, the terms are used with an emphasis on 'science' as distinct from 'theory,' whereby political science refers to the study of politics with the use of scientific methods in contrast to political philosophy which is free to follow intuition. When political theory is opposed to political philosophy, at that time Political Science stands to describe and explain the realities of political behaviour, besides any generalizations about a man and political institutions on the empirical evidence along with the role of power in society.

Political Theory is not only concerned with the behavioural study of the political phenomenon, but also it studies the goals, which states, governments, societies, and citizens pursue. Also, it aims to generalize the right conduct of political life and the legitimate use of power, which makes it neither a pure thought, nor a philosophy, nor a science. While it draws examples from them on the one hand, on the other hand, contemporary political theory also tries to attempt a synthesis between political philosophy and political science.

Difference between Political Theory and History

Any forms of similarities between Political Theory and History have been empathetically advocated by scholars like George Sabine. It is generally known that political theory has been developed on the basis of historical understanding and co-relation of processes and disciplines. But not all political theory stands to be history. At the same time, it is also true that Political Theory without History can be considered as a building without a foundational base. So, in order to study and analyze politics,

what we learn as history is mainly based in order to understand a political tradition, as a concrete way of behaviour to set a defined approach towards the discipline.

It is also proper that the study of politics must be essentially linked with the study of history. Professor L.S. Rathore terms Political Theory as eternally significant and instructive inseparably being linked to the contemporary and perpetual progress of mankind. Referring to the similarities with history, political theory conserves the significance of concepts such as Justice, Liberty, Equality, and Obligation which have evolved through the passage of time. It can also be equally considered that the relations between politics and history are the same as it seeks to understand the time, place, and circumstances through which it evolves.

The Characteristics of Political Theory

Political theory is an intellectual and moral creation of man, tracing to the origin of its nature. It is a speculation of a single individual who attempts to offer a theoretical explanation of the political reality. Every theory by its inherent nature holds an explanation built on the basis of certain hypotheses that may or may not be valid which are always open to criticism.

- Firstly, whatever is found in political theory is a number of attempts that are made by thinkers starting from Plato, who has given several modes of explanation that largely attempt to seek the truth as the thinker sees it and expresses it through treatises like Plato's Republic, Aristotle's Politics, Thomas Hobbes' Leviathan, or John Rawls' A Theory of Justice.
- Secondly, Political Theory looks after containing the explanation of man, society, and history. It probes the nature of a man and society on how society is made up or how it works along with the elements or sources of conflicts that revolve in the society and how they are resolved.
- Thirdly, Political Theory is Discipline-based, which means that the phenomenon that the theorist seeks to explain, it remains the same, such as the state, irrespective of the theorist's affiliation. As we are confronted by a variety of political theories, each of those is mostly distinguished by a discipline on which it is generally based.

- Fourthly, Political Theory not only works to comprehend, but it also explains the social and political reality besides being actively engaged with hastening the process of history. In this case, the main task of a political theorist or a political scientist is not only to understand and explain a process but also to devise ways and means to change the society.

As per Harold Laski, the task of Political Theory is not merely describing the meaning of the entire process, but it is also a prescription of what it ought to be. Thus, in such a way political theory recommends agencies of action to initiate means of reforms, revolution, or even conservation as well. Generally, Political Theory contains programs that embody the ends and means, but it also plays an important role in understanding society to suggest how imperfections can be removed.

- Lastly Political Theory also includes the study of political ideologies. Ideology is a simple language that means a system of beliefs and values or ideals by which people allow themselves to be governed with. A number of different ideologies in the modern world like **Marxism**, **Liberalism**, **Socialism**, etc. reflect a distinct ideology of a writer. Political theory in the form of political ideology includes a system of political values, institutions, and practices that a society has adopted as its ideal. Political theories in the form of political ideologies include a system of political values, institutions, and practices that a society has adopted as its ideal. Thus, all forms of political theories adopted by Western Europe and America have been dominated by liberalism, and theories accepted by China and the erstwhile USSR have been influenced by a particular brand of Marxism. However, in this case, each of the theoretical expressions, attributed to the universality to lead the ideological conflicts.

Thus, in short, political theory is associated with providing the explanation and evaluation of the political phenomenon which can be examined as a statement of the ideas and ideals that work as an agent of socioeconomic changes.

Scope of Political Theory

Political Theory is a branch of political science that is defined as a science of the state. Though the scope of political theory is broad and diverse in nature, it encapsulates various facets of socio-political life. Thus,

in order to understand the pivotal aspects related to the Scope of Modern Political Theory, we can identify three major aspects;

- **Normative Analysis-** Political Theory explores around analyzing the ethical questions concerning governance power, and the effectiveness of political processes. Mainly, it lays the foundation for moral norms that dictate the positive or negative points arising in terms of performing Political functions.
- **Empirical Analysis-** While the normative dimensions work in the direction of guiding the moral aspects, empirical analysis provides a strong ground for a practical perspective, which delves into the factual, observable political phenomena and institutions.
- **Conceptual Analysis-** In this case, Political Theory works towards breaking down abstract concepts like democracy, justice, power, and equality to explain their practical implications.

The scope of modern political theory goes through a state of gradual development which can be understood in a well-defined manner;

- The earlier explanation on the scope of study over political theory includes the study of evolution, the nature, composition, necessity, and purpose of the government apparatus, and also the understanding of human nature of perception and their relationship with the larger community.
- Modern Political Theory is also concerned with the study of power and influence. As per David Easton, Political Theory is related to the authoritative allocation of resources and values in a community.
- According to the modern view of the behaviouralists or the realists, there lies a strong shift in terms of the focus of the theory from the abstract items in political reality. So, in order to study human behaviour, it will have a strong influence on the election process in a democratic system of political events.
- Political theory also reflects upon understanding a political phenomenon, processes, and the functioning of institutions with their actual behaviour by subjecting them to the political order, which stands to be a part of a larger and more fundamental question.

- Political theory involves the study of political activities by engaging the citizens of a state and witnessing their activities of states, like decision-making, or propagating political ideologies.
- The scope and study of political theory also involves the study of conflicts. As in the case of the struggle for power conflicts keep on occurring, as when one conflict goes to the verge of getting eliminated, another conflict parallelly arises. As conflicts are a genuine factor in Politics and State, which can be resolved through the help of consensus building.
- Political theory also aims to study and devise ways and means to solve any forms of conflicts and problems that arise or are confronted by society.
- Political Theory is a sub-field of political science that studies conceptual frameworks, operational concepts, and logical relationships that are employed for the better understanding of the political system and political activities.
- The study of Political Theory also involves the development of a quest for analyzing the methods and testing a hypothesis along with evaluating the applicability that broadens their scope.
- It also tries to attempt to explain the attitudes and the actions that arise with respect to ordinary political life to generalize them in a particular context. Thus, political theory is mainly concerned with studying the relationship between the concepts and the circumstances that revolve around studying the dynamics of the state.

The Theories Defining the Scope of Political Theory

- **Classical Political Theory-** Classical Political Theory emerged during the ancient Greek Period and has come to the light of understanding through the writings of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle and thereafter it continued to emerge till the beginning of the early 19th Century. In the classical paradigm, political theory consisted of the following features that justified its scope-
 - (i) Classical Political Theory aimed at acquiring reliable knowledge relating to the matters concerning the people, and their philosophical pursuits to establish a rational belief.

- (ii) It sought to identify a link of commonality between the people. For example, in the Greek '*Polis*' (City States) denoted to sharing a link of commonality among the people as their partners.
 - (iii) Its basic unit of analysis relied on the political whole like the body politic, where all activities related to ruling warfare, education, religious practices, and relationships involved the interactions between the social classes, the rulers, and the ruled between the superiors and the inferiors.
 - (iv) Relating itself to a political whole, where classical political theory relied on emphasis on order, balance, equilibrium, stability, and harmony.
 - (v) Classical Political theory also laid emphasis upon the importance of comparative studies for supplying a more comprehensive explanation of the political phenomenon on a wider range of alternatives. It was the main reason on the basis of which classical political theory developed a classification on political forms to explain the differences and similarities between them.
 - (vi) Classical Political Theory was largely ethical in perspective, with reference to its response being rooted in a moral outlook. For example, as Plato advocated the formation of an ideal state, Aristotle advocated a state that can achieve the best possible forms. Thus, classical political theory undertook to appraise the various constitutional reforms to determine the most suitable circumstances in the best possible forms.
 - (vii) Classical political theory projects the best forms of political ideals by revealing the boldness and the radicalism of classical theorizing, though somewhere there has been the dismissal of attempts that were merely utopian and visionary.
- **Modern Political Theory-** Modern Political Theory encompasses in itself a host of diverse trends like institutional, structural, scientific, positivistic, empirical, behavioural, and post-behavioural Marxists. These trends dominated the greater part of the twentieth century, which also made Modern Political Theory oppose the two divisions of the liberal including the individualistic, the elitist, and

the pluralist on one hand and to an extent historical or modern political theory on the other hand. Modern Political Theory began with a liberal stance in the 15th-16th Century which later expressed itself as an institutional positivist, empirical-behavioural and postbehavioural trend dubbed with the whole classical tradition to be as dull in nature. The key advocates of this theory sought to lay stress on the present rather than on the past.

Modern Political Theory in the Western Liberal-Democratic age attempted to build a science of politics, with objective, empirical, observational, measurable, operational, and value-free features which can be summed up as;

- (i) The facts and data constituting the basis of the study are used for testing the hypothesis.
- (ii) Human behaviour can be studied and all forms of regularities of human behaviour can be expressed with generalizations.
- (iii) Subjectivity gives way to objectivity, therefore philosophical interpretations to analytical explanations, their purpose to procedure, descriptive to observational, normative to scientific.
- (iv) Facts and values can separate and the values so arranged can make the facts to be perceived as relevant.
- (v) Having a self-conscious methodology that is explicit and quantitative in nature.
- (vi) Values are an important factor that works to support facts, substances, and theories of research that lead to a status quo social change.
- (vii) At the other end Modern Political Theory also stands with the Marxist Political Theory which is also called '**Dialectical Materialism**' or the '**Scientific Socialist**' Theory, mainly goes around describing the general laws of motion in the development of all phenomenon. However, its importance lies in the change through the struggle between opposites, between the relations of production and productive forces with a view to having a better mode of production and development from the lower stage to the higher one. Such as from capitalistic to socialistic and socialistic to communistic. Mainly it is a theory that provides a systematic and scientific framework for analysing and explaining social and

political change. However, it is also a method of interpreting the past to understand the present and projecting the future.

Contemporary political theory also further highlights its characteristic features, which as per David Held's Perspectives can be further understood as;

- (i) Contemporary Political Theory has been viewed as the history of political thought involving an attempt to examine the significance of texts in the historical context.
- (ii) Also, it has sought to revitalize the discipline as a form of conceptual analysis in the process of finding political theory as a level of a systematic reflection upon and the classification of the meaning of key forms of concepts like sovereignty, democracy, and justice.
- (iii) It has been developed as a systematic elaboration of the underlying structure for our moral and political along with the disclosure, examination, and reconstruction of the foundations of political value.
- (iv) It has even been through processes of revitalization as a form of argument with abstract theoretical questions and particular political issues.
- (v) Also, it has been championed as a critique against all forms of fundamentalism, either post-modernist or liberal defenders. Accordingly, it also presents itself as a stimulant to initiate dialogue and conversation among human beings.
- (vi) It has also been elaborated as a form of systematic model for building influential theoretical economics in terms of a rational choice of theory and game theory which aims to construct formal models of political processes.
- (vii) It has also developed a theoretical enterprise of the discipline of Political Science as it attempts to construct the theories on the basis of an observation with a modest empirical generalization.

Tasks defining the scope of Modern Political Theory

There are several tasks laid before political theory. As per David Held those tasks can be understood in the following ways;

- (i) In order to identify the significant political variables and describe their mutual relations, this analytical scheme is essential, which renders meaningful research by arranging facts leading to wide generalizations.
- (ii) The existence and the wide acceptance of consensus by workers in the field of a theoretical framework would somehow enable the results of the research that be taken for comparison. It would also help in the verification of conclusions drawn up by the earlier research which might reveal the areas of research requiring empirical work.
- (iii) Finally, the existence of a theoretical framework besides a relatively consistent body of concepts can make the research more reliable.

1.4 Approaches to Modern Political Theory – Traditional, Modern, and Marxian-

The approaches in Modern Political Theory are mainly divided into three main aspects which can be mentioned as Normative, Empirical, and Historical Approaches. However, these three approaches can be stated in the following manner;

➤ **Normative Political Theory-**

Normative Political Theory is concerned with seeking to identify the real forms of government and the values that lead them to be governed. Normative Political theorists often draw on moral philosophy, ethics, and religion to support their arguments.

➤ **Empirical Political Theory-**

It is concerned with seeking to describe and explain the political phenomenon. Empirical Political Theorists gather data on things like government policies, public opinion, and behaviour of the citizens and the impact of those upon the citizens. The data generated through the research being carried out using these theoretical approaches can be used to test the hypothesis about how political systems work.

➤ **Historical Political Theory**

It is mainly concerned with how political thought has evolved over the passage of time, with studying the ideas and the arguments of

the thinkers who lived in the past and who to date live in the present ages. The main aim in this case is to understand the development of political ideas, whereby historical theorists often use methods of history, philosophy, and sociological data in their work.

1.4.1 Schools of thought followed in Modern Political Theory: Traditional, Modern, and Marxian

Approaches in Modern Political Theory can be broadly categorized on the basis of the three main schools of Political Thought which can be understood as Traditional, Modern, and Marxian. However, each of these approaches aims to provide a distinct lens through which political theorists look forward to analyzing and understanding a political phenomenon.

However, the main schools of thought can be further elaborated as;

1. Traditional Approach-

The roots of the traditional approach to political theory actually trace to ancient and medieval political thought, including the works of philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, and Thomas Aquinas. The Traditional Approach to Modern Political Theory draws examples from Classical Liberal Thinkers like John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

The key feature that draws the structural or theoretical basis of this Theory can be understood in the following ways;

- (i) **Natural Law-** The traditional approach often emphasizes the existence of Natural Law, which is a set of moral and ethical principles that help to govern human behaviour to serve as a foundation for political authority.
- (ii) **Social Contract-** The Social Contract Theory has been expounded by thinkers like John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau as a central concept. It mainly points the individuals to come together in order to form a government for supporting mutual benefit and ensuring the protection of natural rights.
- (iii) **Social Contract-** The Social Contract Theory as it has been expounded by thinkers like John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau stands to be a central concept. It also points out that if all individuals come together to form a government for mutual benefit, they can ensure the protection of human rights in a much better condition.

- (iv) **Limited Government-** All traditional theorists have advocated sharing limited power with an emphasis on the liberties of the individuals along with their property rights.

The main focus of the Traditional Approach to Modern Theory has been primarily concerned with the questions related to the legitimacy of political authority along with the nature of justice, and the rights and responsibilities of the citizens.

The critiques of this theory have widely argued that the traditional approach often fails to account for issues of social inequality and economic disparities which might be too focussed upon individuals at the expense of collective concerns arising in this case.

Characteristics of Traditional Approaches

Traditional approaches define some important characteristics, which can be understood gradually as follows;

- Traditional approaches are mainly largely normative and stress the values of politics.
- Laying emphasis on the study of different political structures that are related to the study of Modern Political Theories.
- Traditional approaches have made very little attempt to relate to the case of theory and research together.
- This approach also believes that facts and values are closely related and interlinked in the study of political science which makes the study of Political Science more analytic and logical in nature.

The different types of traditional approaches within the Traditional Approaches to Modern Political Theory-

➤ Philosophical Approach-

This approach is considered the oldest approach in the arena of Political Science. The development of this approach can be traced back to the times of Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle. Leo Strauss was one of the main supporters of the philosophical approach, whereby he considered philosophy as the quest for wisdom and political philosophy as the attempt to truly know about the nature of political things and the right or good political order. At the same time, Vernon Van Dyke observed that philosophical analysis is an effort to clarify the nature

of the subject to about ends and means in studying where this aims to approach to evolve the standard of right and wrong for the purpose of critical evaluation of existing institutions, laws, and policies.

This approach is based on the theoretical principle that values cannot be separated from the study of politics, where the main concern is to judge what is good or bad in any political society. This is mainly an ethical and normative study of politics which looks toward addressing the problems of the nature and functions of the **state, citizenship, rights, and duties**. The supporters of this approach consider political philosophy to be strongly associated with political beliefs. Therefore, they are of the opinion that a political scientist must have prior knowledge of a good life and a good society.

➤ **Historical approach-**

Theorists who developed this political approach focused on historical factors like the age, place, and the situation in which it evolved, after being taken into consideration. This approach is related to the history of emphasizing the study of the history of every political reality to analyze a situation. Political thinkers like Machiavelli, Sabine, and Dunning considered that politics and history have been closely related to the study of politics and always have been closely related to the study of politics should have a historical standpoint.

According to Sabine political science should include all those subjects which have been discussed in the writing of different political thinkers from the time of Plato. This approach has been strongly maintained with the help of the belief that the thinking of the dogma of every political thinker is formed by the surrounding environment. Furthermore, history also provides details related to the present and the past as well and it tries to develop links with the present events. History gives a chronological order of every political event that can help in the future estimation of the events, whereas studying past political events, institutions, and the political environment would be an erroneous effort to analyze present politics. However, the critics of the historical approach have designated that it is not possible to understand the ideas of the past ages where the terms of contemporary ideas and concepts.

➤ **Institutional Approach-**

This is a traditional and significant approach that is referred to while studying Political Science. Primarily, this approach looks forward to featuring and studying the behaviour of the Government and the political institutions or structures.

This institutional approach also stands for determining the relevance of the formal structures like the legislature, executive, judiciary, political parties, and interest groups. However, the supporters of this approach also include both the ancient and the modern political philosophers.

Thus, among the number of ancient thinkers who are studied as a part of this approach, also include James Bryce, Bentley, Walter Bagehot, and Harold Laski.

2. Modern Approach-

The study of this modern approach mainly emerged from the Enlightenment period which has been referred to the writings of philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, John Stuart Mill, and Jeremy Bentham along with incorporating the elements of Liberalism and Utilitarianism. The focus of the Modern Approach is also concerned with the questions related to ensuring the legitimacy of the government alongside ensuring the protection of individual rights for the promotion of human welfare through rational policymaking.

After studying politics with the help of traditional approaches the political thinkers of the later stage felt the necessity to study politics from a new perspective. Thus, in order to minimize the deficiencies of the traditional approaches various new approaches have been advocated by some new political thinkers. The Modern Approach is a fact-based approach, which lays emphasis on the factual study of political events whereby they try to arrive at a scientific and definite conclusion with the sole aim of replacing normativism with empiricism, which is marked by the empirical investigation of relevant data.

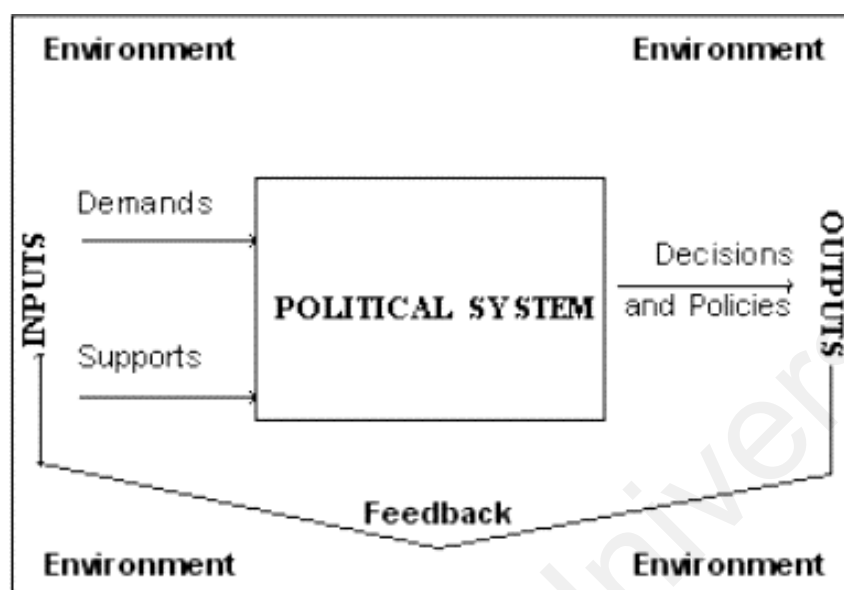
Thus, some of the other approaches falling within the Modern Approach can be considered as;

- **System Approach Theory-** This approach belongs to the category of the Modern Approach, where it tries to make an attempt to explain the relationships of political life with other aspects of social life. The idea of a system was originally developed and borrowed by Talcott Parsons who also conceptualized the concept of Social System. Following him, David Easton further developed the concept of a political system. Thus, according to this approach, the political system operates within the social environment, whereby it is not possible to analyze the political events in isolation from other aspects of the society. Gradually, any influence from society also leads to a number of changes to a greater extent in shaping the political processes.

The political system operates within an environment, as this environment generates demands from different sections of the society, such as demands for reservation in the matter of employment for certain groups, which covers ensuring demands for better working conditions, demand for better transportation, and health facilities.

Different demands have different levels of support, and both of them constitute what David Easton calls 'inputs.' The political system also received these 'inputs' from the environment and finally, after taking various factors into consideration, the government decides to act upon some of these demands where others do not act upon them. Thus, through the help of the conversion process, the 'inputs' are generally converted to 'outputs.' This goes through a process of conversion where the 'inputs' get converted to 'outputs' with the help of the decision-makers in the form of policies, decisions, rules, regulations, and laws. These 'outputs' finally flow back into the environment as a feedback mechanism giving rise to some fresh 'demands,' which makes it a cyclical process.

The Diagrammatic process of the Systems Approach has been mentioned below



Source- Approaches to Political Science- https://www.iilsindia.com/studymaterial/304736_1599930722.pdf

Model of structural functional analysis (Source: Gauba, 2009)

	Environment			Environment		
	Function	Structure		Function	Structure	
INPUTS	Political socialisation and recruitment	Family, peer Group, School, Church, etc.	POLITICAL SYSTEM	Rule-Marking	Lagislature	OUTPUTS
	Interest Articulation	Interst Groups		Rule-Application	Executive	
	Interest Aggregation	Political Parties		Rule-Adjudication	Judiciary	
	Political Communication	Mass Media				
	Environment			Environment		

Source- [https://www.civilserviceindia.com/subject/Political- Science/notes/political-theory-meaning-and-approaches.html](https://www.civilserviceindia.com/subject/Political-Science/notes/political-theory-meaning-and-approaches.html)

- Structural Functional Approach- The Structural Functional Approach treats society as a single interrelated system where every

part of the system has a definite and distinct role to play. The structural-functional approach may be regarded as an offshoot of the system analysis.

These approaches emphasize the structure and functions, Gabriel Almond stands as a supporter of this approach, as he defined the political system as a special system of interactions existing across all societies performing certain functions. According to Gabriel Almond, the main characteristics of a political system stand as comprehensiveness, interdependence, and the existence of boundaries. Like David Easton, Gabriel Almond also believes that all political systems perform the same input and output functions. The input functions of political systems are political socialization and recruitment, interest-articulation, interest-aggression, and political communication. Gabriel Almond makes a three-fold classification of governmental output functions relating to policy-making and implementation. These output functions can be considered as;

- Rule-Making
- Rule-Application
- Rule Adjudication.
- **Communication Theory Approach-** This approach tries to investigate how one segment of a system affects another by sending messages or information. Robert Weiner spoke of this approach, and later on, Karl Deutsch developed it and applied it in Political Science. He believes that the government is responsible for administering different communication channels, where it treats the government as the decision-making system.
- **Decision-Making Approach-** This approach tries to find out the characteristics of decision-makers as well as the type of influence that the individuals have on the decision-makers.

Scholars like Richard Synder and Charles Lindblom have developed this approach. A political decision has been taken by a few actors who influence a larger society and such a decision is generally shaped by a specific situation. Therefore, it takes into account the psychological and social aspects of decision-makers.

Some of the key features determining points like;

- **Rationality-** Modern Political Theory places a strong emphasis on justifying the grounds of reason and rationality as the basis for political decision-making and building strong ethical judgments.
- **Utilitarianism-** Utilitarianism is a key concept in this approach that suggests the actions and policies must be aimed toward maximizing the concept of happiness and ensuring the well-being of society.
- **Liberal Democracy-** Modern Theorists often advocate the cause for establishing a just and liberal democracy by combining representatives of the government who would work in the direction of protecting the rights of the individuals and the society as a whole.

The critiques of the modern approach argue that this approach might sometimes move towards prioritizing the rights of individuals at the expense of social justice, which may not adequately help to address the issues arising out of inequality and power imbalances. Characteristics of the Modern Approach-

- The Modern approaches try to draw conclusions from empirical data.
- These approaches go beyond the scope of studying political structure and the historical analysis associated with them.
- The Modern Approaches to Political Theory are inter-disciplinary in terms of their nature and area of study.
- The Modern Approaches emphasize the study of attempting to draw scientific conclusions within Political Science.

The Modern Approaches to Political Science include the sociological approach, the psychological approach, the economic approach, the quantitative approach, the simulation approach, the systems approach, behavioural and Marxist approach.

3. Marxist Approach-

The Marxian approach provides us with a theory of social change and scientific philosophy that helps to understand the laws of social

development. Its main ideas are found in the two major texts of the 'Communist Manifesto' written by both Fredrick Engels and Karl Marx, and 'Das Capital' written only by Karl Marx.

In order to understand the Marxian approach to political science we must know the liberal views of politics, at first. According to liberal theories, the state of the art is an instrument of public good, which also states that Sovereignty rests in the people and above all democracy is the best form of government. The liberals believe that the authority of the state is based upon the general will and that the aim of the state is to ensure the welfare of the people. Karl Marx rejected the idea of conventional political analysis. According to Karl Marx, material conditions determine the ideological super-structure of society, and politics is actually conditioned by the economic system. It holds the fact that economic systems determine the class structures, combined by means of production, distribution system, and exchange.

There are corresponding changes in the relations of masters and slaves, the capitalists and workers, the dominants, and the dominated classes. Marxism holds the view that all the phenomena that we experience a material, concrete, and objective factors. This factor also holds the phenomenon characterized by internal conditions.

The process of development through internal contradictions is called the Dialectical process. In order to understand any of the phenomena, one needs to grasp the nature of change, where human life necessitates the consumption of certain articles, which are produced by men. The way by which these articles are produced is through the means of production. Thus, the relations of production divided men on the basis of two classes. They are class-controlling means of production through ownership contributing to labour power. These classes are mostly opposed to each other on the basis of their interests, which leads to class conflict or class struggle. Thus, the Marxist stand on class conflicts actually encourages class consciousness and prepares the people to counter a revolution to alter the existing class-dominated capitalist system.

Thus, according to Karl Marx, the only basis of the subject to power and an integration of all political, economic, and ideological has a different attitude towards the individual. He felt that a man is firstly a social creature and then a political creature. Man's life is closed in a prism of society. The dominant classes in society have invented the state to hold on to economic power to exploit the other classes of society.

The Key Features of Marxism-

The Marxist Political Thought has been formed on the basis of some of the key features which can be gradually understood as;

- **Historical Materialism-** The Marxian Theory has been built based upon the concept of historical materialism, which posits that economic structures and class relations work as the driving force to result in any historical changes.
- **Class Struggle-** Marxist Theorists emphasize the fact that class struggle is the primary engine that leads to any form of historical change, with the working class (proletariat) eventually overthrowing the Capitalist or ownership class (Bourgeoisie).
- **Communism-** The Marxist Theory looks forward to creating a classless society. This classless society can be also called a Communist Society in which the means of production are collectively owned and wealth is distributed according to the needs of the people.

Communist or Communism is a political ideology that advocates for a classless society and private property or private ownership of resources. The word Communism means 'Common Universal' which has been derived from a Latin Word termed 'Communis.'

The main focus of the Marxist approach is concerned with the issues of economic inequality, class exploitation, and the transformation of society through revolution.

However, the critiques of the Marxian approach argue that this approach can actually lead to oversimplifying the complex social and political dynamics to underestimate the importance of individual rights and freedoms. Additionally, the historical attempts to implement Marxian ideas with force have quite often led to the development of authoritarian regimes, taking references from the international scenario of Governments, like the Former Soviet Union, China, Pol-Pot's Cambodia, Cuba, etc.

Thus, considering the three approaches together, it can be understood that the Traditional, Modern, and Marxian approaches have provided distinct perspectives of the Modern political theory, where each of these thoughts has its own set of foundational ideas, with their key features and their individual areas of focus. Political theorists often try to draw upon

elements with the help of these approaches to analyze and address complex political issues.

1.5 State of Political Theory Today- Decline and Resurgence

The study of Political Theory has taken a course towards the preservation of modern democracy, today. It includes a discussion focusing on the ideas of the modern state, contemporary theories of the state, the problems of power and legitimation, and the fate of sovereignty that persists in the modern state system or system of governance. Political Theory is also focused on examining the questions relating to the changes in the nation-state system, the forms of sovereignty, domestic and international law, violence and warfare, and the domestic and international challenges arising in the field of political economy.

1.5.1 The Decline of Political Theory

After the end of the Second World War, all our efforts were made to follow political theory as the basis of political theory upon the foundation of empirical research to scrutinize political principles with their data and facts. Thus, in the earlier periods, it was seen that political theory had no separate existence and importance of its own, and Political Science was made to cohabit with history, economics, and sociology, as there was a place left for any serious research and investigation in the field of political science.

As per David Easton, Political Theory is more interested in primarily discussing upon the history ideas, which was the exact sign of the character of political theory. Also at the same time, it was inextricably associated with the notions or values of general principles.

However, the classical and the modern traditional political scientists did not exert any attention towards the development of the theoretical analysis with the help of any data. Thus, the meaning of Political Theory was rewritten to treat it as a part of an empirical science and to reject it explicitly. The classical and the modern traditional political scientists also did not pay any attention to the development of the theoretical analysis with the help of any data.

The classical and modern political scientists also did not pay any attention to the development of theoretical analysis with the help of any data. Also, at that time David Easton and many other political theorists

tried to rewrite the meaning of political theory and treat it as a part of empirical science while rejecting their views explicitly. Thus, the emerging tendencies to identify the terms with both metaphysical speculations along the history of political thought.

Thus, the decline of political theory can be understood on a theoretical basis, such as;

➤ **Eclipse of Liberalism-**

The study of political science was mainly based upon the history supported by a range of differing historical data that exposes the bare fact that from the 1920s Liberal Political Thought or Liberalism started to pass through a period of crises, which can be understood in a gradual manner like;

- Firstly, the establishment of Bolshevik Rule in Russia led to the fundamental development of collectivism and the curtailment of individual freedom and human rights.
- Secondly the First World War (1914-1918) led to the gathering of a belief of momentum that only state-sponsored projects and the gargantuan type of state activity can be considered as a prophylactic device for the removal of numerous miseries which were a cause of suffering for the common people. This also drastically led to the corrosion of a person's individual freedom.
- Thirdly, in the 1930s again American Capitalism faced an experience of an unprecedented crisis where the White House was compelled to adopt certain measures that went against the tenets of liberalism.

As per David Easton, the problem of contemporary liberalism was a general failure that had put theories to the test for a social reality. Thus, scientific methods also were used in this case to discover social facts about the source of political power.

Thus, summing up the entire stance on the eclipse of liberalism, it can be understood that liberalism as well as political theory was to be placed upon the observation of a rigorous phase of an empirical study. In case if this technique is strictly followed then the fragility of liberalism and the decline of political theory could be stopped, which has also been elaborated by David Easton in his conception of the idea of a decline in the Political Theory within the Political System.

➤ **Historicism and the decline of Political Theory-**

Historicism is defined as the history that has been governed by inexorable laws of change where human actions have been immensely guided and influenced by permanent ultimate purposes. According to David Easton, the ever-increasing role of historicism is a major cause behind the decline of Modern Political Theory. As per his observation, political theory has also remained devoted to forming historical research that has been robbed of its earlier constructive role.

For a long period of time, political theory was in one way or another dominated by history which made political theory quite insignificant. At the same time, David Easton also cited the example of William Dunning's work, where he believed political theory to have been nothing other than a historical account of the conditions and the consequences of the prevailing political ideas. Traditional political scientists have gradually worked towards building the principles of political science on the basis of the historical facts that were collected with reference to history.

With the help of this approach, political theory completely remained dependent upon history, but it lost its own identity, and not only William Dunning but there were other political scientists as well who were the exponents of this concept. George H. Sabine was one of the pioneers who in his famous work 'A History of Political Theory' had explained the deep and inseparable relationships between history and political theory. He proclaimed political theory to be the product of politics and history to contain the incidents of politics. David Easton was also in favor of the opinion that excessive dependence on political theory on the basis of historical facts and data would practically have no difference between history and political science.

➤ **Hyper-Factualism-**

It is another important factor that is responsible for the decline of political theory in its estimation. Thus, hyper-factualism generally means the excessive dependence upon facts and the failure to relate these facts with the theories. It is also said that from the beginning of the twentieth century, there has been a lot of research in the field of political science, whereby the research in terms of the cause of articulation of political theory is not so noteworthy.

Political science research according to David Easton has been generally characterized by 'Hyper-Factualism' and a failure to apply empiricism to theory. This hyper-factualism has led to the conceptualization of the fact that political theory has not yet taken its actual place.

At the same time, David Easton has also strongly criticized the approach of many political scientists and collected data with a lot of enthusiasm to generalize them singularly. However, this generalization will take place in a narrow way. This perspective has been interpreted by science. But as per the opinion of David Easton, this perspective cannot be called science as this might not constitute the basis of any viable political theory.

So, as per the opinion of David Easton, this factual research has been concerned with a singular generalization without any type of broader theory. David Easton also calls these purposes the facts that have not been properly explained. However, David Easton does not disapprove of the collection of facts from history, but he disapproves of the excessive dependence upon facts and apathy to explain them in a proper context.

➤ **Domination of Moral Theory-**

We will now understand another theoretical factor that led to the decline of Political Theory. For several centuries political science and political theory were dominated by the relevance of the moral premises of Western Civilization. The exponents of these moral premises have constantly and vigorously preached the message of no objection or levelling criticism. Presumably, all researchers were not so interested in launching the protracted research about the validity and the acceptability of mere moral concepts and values.

This notion has however led to the crippling of all sorts of research works, whereby students of political theory took no interest to verify the various aspects of political theory with the help of new facts and data, which posed difficulties for them to challenge the prevailing notions about political theory.

Thus, the consequence of political theory has always remained shrouded with vague notions and premises, where David Easton concluded his tendency towards moral conformity both as symptoms and also as a cause of contributing to the lack of a constructive approach which prevents the necessity of inquiry for thoroughly understanding the values of the underlying research.

As per the account of David Easton's account of influence of moral theory was so pervasive and powerful that political theory could not get any scope to establish its own identity, which is solely responsible because of its decline.

➤ **Ideological Reductionism-**

The decline of political theory can be traced to the instance of 'ideological reductionism.' Thus, before entering into the depth of the matter ideology and reductionism ought to be clarified. An ideology is a more or less coherent set of ideas that provide a basis for organizing a political action. Simply it can be understood that ideology is a set of a coherent ideas. Generally, ideology is mostly related to politics. In that case, reductionism is known as the practice of analyzing and describing complex phenomena in terms of their simple and fundamental constituents especially when they are said to have provided a sufficient explanation.

According to Dante Germino's 'Beyond Ideology: The Revival of Political Theory', one of the major causes behind the decline of political theory is the emergence of ideology or ideological reductionism. However, there are a number of pioneers in this field and the most important among them is Karl Marx. Karl Marx studied the history of seven hundred years, following which he arrived at certain conclusions that formed Marxism. Though Marxism is a part of Political Science, it does not actually constitute any important segment of political theory.

It is simply related to "Ideological Reductionism", which is partly a Propagandist Ideology as well. Karl Marx's Political concepts have been mostly preached and propagated with respect to a particular purpose, which is known as the emancipation of the working class through the abolition of capitalism, by means of class struggle leading to a violent revolution. However, Marxism dominated the intellectual world and the revolution, as a result of which political theory could not get the scope to develop its approach.

➤ **Contemporary Conditions-**

Contemporary conditions taking place across various parts of the globe have contributed to the decline of political theory.

Some of the contemporary conditions can be stated as;

- The emergence of Communism or Collectivism in several parts of Europe.

- Domination of the political and bureaucratic or ideological affairs by a oneparty system of governance, like that of the Communist States.
- Curtailment of freedom of expression and political rights of the people from the academic world.
- Inability of political scientists and researchers or any other academicians to pursue their academic goals without outside restrictions.

However, the Communist countries also imposed thoughts and feelings upon the intellectuals that finally destroyed the openness of the society, as the entire society lived in a situation of unbearable suffocation which was treated as a cause of decline in the field of political theory.

In liberal democratic countries as well, the people were fed with this idea of democracy being a tails man that could serve all sorts of purposes that ultimately led people to be complacent with the prevailing forms and also prevented them from the case of devising any alternatives.

The situation was not stable enough to lead toward a flourishing of free thinking with regard to political theory. But at the same time, most of the big powers were also equally engaged in enhancing their image and building their capability within the international society which led to the surcharging of the entire superstructure.

However, the situation was again not in a congenital position that could lead to the flourishing of free thinking about political theory, and at the same time most of the powerful nations were engaged in enhancing their image, identity, and capability in the international society where the entire superstructure was surcharged with it, with the free development of political economy being affected.

➤ **Absence of Man's Vision-**

Political Thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Hegel, and Karl Marx had been comfortably able to traverse the outer and the inner roads or lanes of political science, political theory, philosophy, and political philosophy with a clear vision in their minds from a far-flung outlook, whereby people do not agree with the terms propounded by them in comparison to anything they said in a worthwhile.

At the same time, the tradition and vision created by these Political Thinkers came to an end. At this point, political scientists lacked the vision and zeal that their predecessors possessed along with the lack of vision which was to some extent responsible for the decline in the condition of the political theory. Although political scientists, theorists, and political philosophers had a transparent vision about the present situation of society, at the same time they also had a vision to initiate a complete restructuring of the entire future of the society as well.

Political thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, and Karl Marx followed the general idea and principle, where Plato conceived of an ideal state, and Aristotle thought of creating a policy that would be free from the causes of schisms. Karl Marx imagined a Communist Society. All of these visions provided the raw materials for building up a structure of political theory, where political scientists subsequently got the vision to imbibe and cherish their passion.

This development resulted in the decline of the condition of political theory, where it can be observed that only rejuvenation could help in the revival of the political theory and the advent of behaviouralist or empiricism had directed to this path. At least the exponents of these doctrines claim so.

1.5.2 Resurgence of Modern Political Theory

The exponents which led to the resurgence of modern Political Theory can be gradually understood in a way;

➤ **Political Theory has not ended-**

The status of Political Theory in the last several decades has definitely declined. However, the conditions responsible for this decline have not indicated the fact that political theory is dead. Any forms of incredible attachment with respect to value conception, great apathy towards the application of scientific methods, and techniques, and the predominance of philosophy over political theory made it considerably irrelevant to be accepted to a greater extent in the realworld scenario.

So, a substitute distinction between the declining conditions of political theory and its total extinction can be drawn at this point. In general, Political Theory came to be treated as a very important branch of social science. Political Science and political theory are still a very popular subject that is widely studied and taught all around the world.

Until the Second World War, Political Science generally concerned the study of the state and the different political organizations and institutions like the Legislature, Executive, Judiciary, and **Political Parties** or **Pressure Groups**.

The domain of the subject was restricted within the activities of these organizations and the institutions, whereby Political Theory revolved around these traditional conceptions. This traditional outlook had considerably led to the dwarfing of the content and the scope of the political theory. Particularly, taking the field of policy-making where political theory had no spectacular role to play. However, the real scope of political theory is actually much broader than the ones envisaged by traditional thinkers.

➤ **Commencement of the Resurgence of Political Theory-**

In the post-World War Two period especially in the 1950s, there were witnesses of new directions that occurred in terms of leading the development of the political theory and it was observed that the War served as a line of division between the old and the new concepts of political theory. Also, a large number of scholars from Europe have migrated to the US and many of them also began serious research work in terms of political theory but their interest did not lie in terms of the study of political theory in a traditional way.

Finally, they had arrived at the conclusion of the traditional method of analyzing the political phenomena and the theory was not adequate for carrying out new reforms within the field of Political Theory. New methods of study were being devised, the tendency of which finally led to the foundation of a new approach to studying political theory.

Thus, looking at the resurgences that occurred all around the world, it can be found that one of the main resurgences took place within the United States of America, which was led by the American Political Science Association and the Rockefeller Foundation. A large number of researchers gathered at this point at various research institutes and universities all across the US, as a result of this effort led by them, the empirical approach finally led to the much-desired resurgence within the study of political theory.

➤ **Resurgence in terms of multifaceted pluralism-**

The Resurgence within the scope and field of Political Theory took place mainly after the Second World War which assumed various shapes, and manifestations of the present space that could not comprise all the facts together, despite some of the facts being briefly stated. Thus, one of the manifestations that occurred in this case was pluralism. The main goal of pluralism was to emphasize the fact that in any society a number of individuals cherished different tastes, interests, and values. Pluralism has a clear liberal lineage altogether.

The state or authority cannot impose any decisions upon the people, that goes against their wishes. In case of any liberal or pluralist society there can exist a number of institutions and organizations that cater to interests and values of the individuals. Thus, after 1950s the states of Europe and America also could not ignore the variety of the interests of individuals. As the political scientists wanted to propound the doctrine that there can be chances of conflicts amongst individuals so far as their tastes and their interests are concerned.

However, this instance does not create an atmosphere of animosity or long drawn struggles as it was assumed by Karl Marx and his followers. In a way, **Pluralism** proceeded to prove that pluralist societies are much better than regimented ones. Pluralism also further assumes the fact that there is no need for going into a class struggle or a revolution for the establishment of having an ordered society. Thus, a pluralist society is endowed with certain self-regulating mechanisms which have enough ability to place a society and its functioning into an order.

Thus, even at the heyday of the existence of traditional political theory, pluralism also existed at that time as well. After the Second World War it received a larger impetus from many sources, as varieties of ideas and concepts had rapidly developed due to the advance of pluralism, which had helped in the resurgence of the political theory.

➤ **Behaviouralism**

Behaviouralist actually constitutes a very important aspect of the resurgence of political theory that took place at the beginning of the fifties of the last century, where a brief definition of **Behaviouralism** runs as a belief that social theories can be constructed on the basis of observable facts and behaviour, quantifiable data and facts. Further behaviouralist

also maintains the fact that various segments of human behaviour are both observable and quantifiable.

After a thorough analysis of the behaviour, all facts and datas that are certain conclusions and models of the political theory can be constructed, where Behaviouralist in political science has stated that does not deal with all sorts of behaviour of the individuals, but along sides of those behaviours it also displays a strong political character.

The behaviourists while analysing and scrutinizing behaviour has adopted such methods or techniques that are generally adopted by natural and physical sciences. David Easton is considered to be a pioneer in this approach. Also, it is believed that Behaviouralism has opened the new vistas of Political Theory and at the same time, even made several changes in this approach that helped in the upgradation of Political Theory. But at the same time this theory also could not utter the last word regarding the status of political theory too.

► **Rawl's Normative Theory-**

In the 1960s Behaviouralist was faced with an increasing challenge and criticism from the end of several corners of the academic world. In the 1970s a major challenge came from the side of John Rawl's with regard to his theory of justice that was published in 1971.

However, John Rawls also noted that, 'Justice is the first virtue of a social institution as truth stands as the system of thought. Thus, Rawl's Theory of Justice threw light to David Easton's Behaviouralist. Thus, the Theory of John Rawls and its impact on the thought system, attracted the criticisms which thereafter completely reversed the position he took on the nature of political reality, where value notions like justice are not unreal emotional add-ons to the real world of unevaluative facts. Rather they are things that need to be set aside in order to penetrate within the political realities with being constitutive to the political world.

Thus, what John Rawls has emphasized is that the empirical theory cannot give the explanation of all aspects of political theory and utter the words about its nature and content, nor can it lead to producing a viable theory of politics. As the empirical theory has failed to give its due recognition to value theory, which makes any political theory as a normative theory altogether.

Thus, as per the opinions of John Rawls, any social theory, or organizations, where an institution must aim towards ensuring justice and if the authority fails to do such things, then the entire social structure will face an eventual crisis which will be also accompanied by a range of different problems.

Normative Theory cannot be explained by the methods of natural and physical science, which was finally challenged by John Rawls by saying that Normative Theory is quite compatible with science. John Rawls does not find any inconsistency between science and moral theory or normative theory. In such a way, John Rawls also attempted to show that how Moral Theory is more or less isomorphic with theories of natural along with the fact that moral knowledge stands solid on grounds with that of empirical knowledge.

It is also interesting to note that John Rawls has to some extent moved towards modifying the prevailing notion about morality and science. Thus, according to John Rawls both moral theory and natural science must be with the data, whereby the data for science is empirical in nature with its observation and its data for ethical theory standing as moral judgements.

However, in such a way, John Rawls had tried to prove that moral theory cannot be set aside or ignored on the grounds of not being based upon empiricism. Thus, John Rawls attempts has been quite revolutionary in nature and it poses a greater challenge to the approach of Behaviouralism proposed by David Easton.

However, Political Science is today a magnificent discipline of knowledge and analytical or theoretical understanding of various range of concepts, processes, systems, and arguments. Though its sources extend a greater command over the number of theories being taught, which are both normative as well as empirical in terms of their nature. So, it is in the making of the endeavours for accommodating the theories to be at a relevant, timeless, and meaningful wideranging scale relating to both equal dimensions of meaningful space and times.

1.6 Let's sum up

- Political Theory is a subfield of political science that mainly studies the philosophical and ethical aspects of politics, such as the nature, purpose and justification of political institutions, values, and actions.

- Political Theory relates to the real-world politics in ways like:
 - Providing a normative framework for evaluating and criticize the existing political conditions and the practices which propose the alternative or ideal vision for political order and justice.
 - Helping to understand and explain the historical and the contemporary political phenomena and trends, with analyzing the ideas, arguments or perspectives of the various political thinkers and the actors.
 - Engaging with all the empirical and the practical aspects of politics with drawing on or contributing to other disciplines of fields of study, which covers disciplines like economics, history, sociology, law, or internationals.
- Political theory stands to be an interdisciplinary concept that incorporates various fields and deals with new or emerging topics or challenges in the globalized world, which covers subjects like human rights, environmentalism, identity politics or terrorism.
- Political Theory is considered to be diverse concept that consists of the various schools or traditions, such as classical, modern, contemporary, normative, empirical, analytical, critical, that approaches or addresses different aspects or issues of political life.
- Political Theory and its real-world politics can be understood as like;
 - International Political Theory and the Real Word issues mainly covers and introduces factors on defenses the themes around which the importance of an engagement between International Political Theory with the real-world politics with need to establish links between the International Political Theory and the empirical findings of the scholars of International Relations Scholars.
 - Realism explains the definition, theories, explains the problems, and facts of realism with a set of related theories of international relations that empathizes the role of the state, national interests, and power in world politics.

- Also, with exploring the concept of political realism, it can be assumed that the interests are required to be maintained through the exercise of power, and characterizing the world by competing with the power bases.
- Political theory is a systematic and the point of critically studying the political phenomenon, such as the state, the form and mode of governance, justice, liberty, and authority from a philosophical and empirical point of view.
- Political thought is also a general expression of the opinions and the values of various people or the groups of people who speak and write about the emerging political issues and the policies of the state from their perspective, which does not its scope to a specific form of discipline and rather influences those rapidly by the changing conditions of the events and the particular situations time or place.
- Political theory is usually a different discipline that stands separate in terms of its ideas approaches in several ways which can be gradually understood in following ways as;
 - It is a systematic and a rigorous approach as it is based upon the hypothesis and evidence of logic, whereas it also provides the models and explanations of the terms which link different disciplines and the fields of study.
 - Political theory stands to be quite empirical and practical than the usual political philosophy, as it is mainly concerned with the actual and observable aspects of politics like the institutions, the processes that governs them or their institutional behaviours. Generally political theory also engaged with the newly emerging challenges or the opportunities in the globalized world like human rights, environmentalism, identity politics, and terrorism.
 - Political theory is generally more inclusive than political thought or political philosophy, as it actually consists mostly of the various schools, or the traditions which usually tries to address the different aspects or the issues of political life. Like the schools or traditions of classical, modern, contemporary, normative, or empirical, analytical, or critical.

- Modern Political Theory is mostly divided into three main approaches like normative, empirical, and historical, as each of these approaches have a different focus altogether and a method of studying the political phenomenon in a wide manner.
- Normative political theory is usually concerned with identifying and evaluating the ideal forms of the values of government and politics, which draws with it a moral philosophy, ethics, and religion to support their arguments in an effective manner.
- Empirical political theory is mainly concerned with describing and explaining the actual and the observable aspects of politics, which includes policies, opinions, behaviours, and outcomes. However, at the same time it also works towards gathering relevant data to test hypothesis using the scientific methods and tools.
- Historical political theory is usually concerned with understanding and tracing the development of political ideas and the arguments that have been taking place over the times. Also, it equally studies the kinds of works and the contexts of various political thinkers and the actors from the past to the present. Finally, it also uses the methods of history, philosophy, and sociology in their analysis.
- Modern political theory can be categorized under the basis of three main schools of thought, which include: traditional, modern, and Marxian, and each of these schools have a different perspective and their own respective critique of political phenomenon.
- Traditionally political theory traces its roots to the ancient and the medieval era political thought, which also equally includes the works of Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau, with equally emphasising their social contract theory and limited government on the basis of political authority, justice, and rights. Also, this theory focuses upon the questions of legitimacy, justice, and citizenship, along with equally ignoring the issues of social inequality, and economic disparities or being too individualistic.
- modern Political Theory mainly emerged in the 19th and the 20th Century as a response to the changes and the challenges it has brought about through the help of industrialization, urbanization, nationalism, imperialism, democracy, and etc. It also explores the concepts of power, ideology, representation, participation,

and etc. as the key aspects of politics. However, they also focus upon addressing the issues relating to modernity, progress, and development with criticising for being too rationalistic, universalistic, and relativistic.

- Marxian political theory is mainly based upon the works of Karl Marx and his followers who have analyzed the political phenomena from a materialistic and a dialectic perspective. It has been also equally emphasized as the concepts of class struggle, exploitation, alienation, revolution, etc as the driving forces towards the path of studying history and politics. It mainly focusses upon the issues of capitalism, socialism, communism, besides equally being criticised for being too deterministic, reductionist and utopian by its nature.
- However, the study of political theory has evolved in order to address the emerging issues, and challenges arising within the field of modern democracies like state, sovereignty, law, violence, and political economy.
- Political theory has faced a decline after a period of the Second World War, as it was being criticised for being too speculative, historical, and normative, with not being based upon empirical data and facts.
- Political theory was also mainly affected by the situation of an eclipse of liberalism, which was a dominant political ideology from the 19th to the early 20th century, which had faced severe challenges due to a range of global events like;
 - The rise of Bolshevism in Russia that prompted the instance of initiating to collectivism, and curtailed individual freedom of rights.
 - The First World War led to the expansion of the state of power and intervention in terms of the social and economic affairs of the state.
 - The situation of the Great Depression of the 1930s forced the US to adopt measures that went against the principles of the free market and limited government.
- However, David Easton was one of the political theorists who tried to revive the political theory by making it more scientific, and

empirical in its nature. At the same time, he also argued the fact of focussing political theory on the case of discovering facts and sources of political power rather than relying upon historical and moral arguments.

1.7 Key Words

Some of the important keywords can be referred to as:

- **Power-** Power is the ability to lead, influence, dominate, or otherwise have an impact on the lives and actions of others in society.
- **Governance-** It is known as the rules of the political system to solve conflicts between actors and adopt decisions.
- **Justice-** Justice is the notion of giving all citizens of the country equal access or opportunities to take part in the administrative or decision-making authority of the country.
- **Equality-** It is the idea that invokes all human beings to have equal rights and worth regardless of their race, colour, religion, gender, or nationality.
- **Liberty-** It is the state of being free from control or oppressive restrictions imposed by authority on one's way of life, behaviour, or political views.
- **Political Theory-** It is the study of the ideas and values related to state, individuals, groups, and power.
- **Political Philosophy-** Political Philosophy studies the nature of the government and addresses questions about its legitimacy, scope, and relationships between public institutions and the agents.
- **Marxism-** It is an economic and political theory propounded by the Western Philosopher Karl Marx that examines the causes and effects of capitalism and promotes Communism as an alternative.
- **Dialectical materialism-** It is a philosophical approach propounded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that explains the transition from Capitalism to Socialism.
- **Scientific Socialism-** It is a socio-political theory propounded by both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that uses scientific methods

to understand and predict social, economic, and materialistic phenomenon.

- **Pluralism-** It is a political philosophy that affirms political diversity within a political body.
- **Behaviouralism-** It is an approach that seeks to provide an objective, and quantified approach to explain and predict a political behaviour.

1.8 Self-Assessment Questions

Some of the questions based on this entire Unit to test the understanding and clarity of the students regarding the Topics can be understood like;

1. What are the main differences between Normative, Empirical, and Historical approaches to political theory? State relevant examples relating to each of these approaches and explain the advantages and their disadvantages.
2. How liberalism emerged as the dominant political ideology in the mid-19th and the early 20th centuries and what are the main principles and values of the Liberal Approach? How did they influence the political systems and the institutions to develop for the future role of governance?
3. What are the main causes and consequences of the decline of political theory after World War II and how did political theorists try to revive political theory by making it more scientific and empirical?
4. What are the main features and critiques of the traditional school of thought and how do they differ from the modern and Marxian School of thought in terms of their perspectives and critique of the political phenomenon?
5. How does political theory relate to real-world politics? How political theory can help us to understand and evaluate the issues and challenges of modern democracy, like state, sovereignty, law, violence, and political economy.
6. What is the difference between political theory and political science and how does political theory contribute to the study and practice of political science?
7. What are the main questions addressed by political theory and how

do these questions relate to the public life of human beings and their ethical dimensions to life?

8. What are the main disciplines that are incorporated with modern Political Theory? How do these fields or disciplines help political theory to understand and explain the political phenomenon?
9. What are the main schools of traditions of political theory? How do they differ from each other in terms of their assumptions, methods, values, and goals?
10. What are the reasons for the decline of Political Theory after the Second World War and how did the political theorists try to revive the political theory by making them more scientific and empirical by nature?
11. What are the main features and values of liberalism as a political ideology and how did liberalism face the crisis of the 20th century due to various historical events?
12. What are the main differences between the Metaphysical and the Empirical Approach to political theory and how does David Easton criticize the metaphysical approach and propose a new definition of Political Theory?
13. How did the decline of political theory affect the study of political science and how did it co-habit with other disciplines like history, economics, and sociology?
14. How did the decline of political theory influence the development of new schools or traditions of political thought, like realism, behaviouralism, and structuralism?
15. What are the main criticisms of the traditional approach to political theory and how does it fail to account for issues of social inequality and economic disparity by focusing too much on individuals at the expense of collective concerns?

Other sources-

- Political Theory by Directorate of Distance Education, Tripura University
- An Introduction to Political Theory, O.P Gauba
- Modern Political Theory a Critical Survey, by SP Verma
- An Introduction to Modern Political Theory, by Norman P. Barry

UNIT - II**Lesson 2.1 - Political System****Unit Structure****2.1.1 Objectives****2.1.2 Introduction****2.1.3 What is Political System****2.1.4 Characteristics of Political System****2.1.5 The Functions of Political System****2.1.1 Objectives**

- Meaning of what is political system
- Characteristics and function of political system

2.1.2 Introduction

The term 'Modern' is also used to describe the time frame starting between 1870 and 1910, continuing through the present and, more specifically, the years 1910 to 1960. Eminent political scientists have varied the definition of political science and its scope. The term "State" has been replaced with "political system" in modern usage. This suggests a fresh approach to political science. The study of States is no longer the sole focus of political science. It now covers a variety of topics and trends that it did not previously.

Political science is interested in "legitimate coercion". According to Robert Dahl, a political system is any on going pattern of interpersonal interactions that significantly involves power, rule or authority. Politics establishes integration and harmony among citizens with the aid of legitimate power. According to Merki, politics is the method by which a person organises the society in which he lives in accordance with his political ideals regarding what constitutes the ends of man. Michael Curtis asserts that, "the study of politics is concerned with the description and analysis of the means by which power is acquired, exercised and controlled the purpose for which it is used, the means by which decisions are made,

the factors which influence these decisions, and the context in which they are made”.

According to the definition and observations above political science has always centred on the state, the federal government, and legal system. However, over time, its reach has grown. Institutions and laws have become less significant in the study of politics while political behaviour has become more significant. Political science is now recognised as a significant social science. Its main goal is to build relationships between individuals and the society and the state on the other side. The balance between the authority of the state and the rights of the individual must be established. The laws and state functions in a perfect political system aid in enhancing an individual's freedom and fostering the development of his personality. International relations and interstate cooperation are currently of interest to political science. Political system can be divided into two main groups. One prioritises the individual, and the government exists to defend that person's unalienable rights. The other prioritises society and subordinates the needs and goals of the individual to those of the society as a whole.

2.1.3 What is Political System

A political system refers to the set of institutions, laws, procedures, and norms that govern the organization and functioning of a government and its interaction with society. It defines how power is distributed, exercised, and controlled within a society or a nation. Political systems can vary widely, and they play a crucial role in shaping a country's governance, policies, and the way decisions are made.

There are several types of political systems, including: Democracy: In a democracy, power is vested in the hands of the people, either directly or through elected representatives. Citizens have the right to participate in the decision-making process through voting in elections, referendums, and other forms of political engagement. Examples of democracies include the United States, Canada, and many European countries. Authoritarianism: In an authoritarian political system, power is concentrated in the hands of a single ruler or a small group of individuals. Citizens have limited political freedoms and may not have the ability to participate in free and fair elections. Examples of authoritarian regimes include North Korea and many countries in the Middle East. Totalitarianism: Totalitarian regimes exercise complete and centralized control over all aspects of public and private life. These systems often suppress dissent, limit civil liberties,

and use propaganda to maintain power. Historic examples include Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

Monarchy: In a monarchy, power is vested in a hereditary monarch, such as a king or queen. The extent of the monarch's power can vary from absolute monarchies (where the monarch has significant control) to constitutional monarchies (where the monarch's powers are limited by a constitution or parliament). Examples of constitutional monarchies include the United Kingdom and Japan. **Oligarchy:** Oligarchies are characterized by a small and privileged group of individuals or families who hold significant political influence and often control the government. These systems can be found in both democracies and authoritarian regimes, depending on the degree of influence exerted by the elite. **Theocracy:** In a theocracy, religious leaders or institutions hold significant political power, and government policies are often based on religious principles. Iran is an example of a theocratic state. **Federalism:** Federal systems divide political authority between a central government and regional or state governments. These systems are often used in larger countries to accommodate diverse populations and interests. Examples include the United States and India.

These are just a few examples, and real-world political systems can be more complex, combining elements from multiple categories. The specific characteristics and functioning of a political system can have a profound impact on the rights, freedoms, and well being of its citizens, as well as its stability and ability to address societal challenges.

2.1.4 Characteristics of Political System

Political systems vary widely around the world, and they can be categorized based on several characteristics. Here are some key characteristics often used to describe political systems in the different forms of government such as: **Democracy:** Citizens have a significant say in the decision-making process, either directly or through elected representatives. Examples include direct democracy and representative democracy. **Autocracy:** Power is concentrated in the hands of a single individual or a small group, and there is limited or no participation by the general population. Examples include monarchies and dictatorships. **Oligarchy:** A small, elite group holds power and makes decisions on behalf of the broader population. This can be based on wealth, social status, or other factors. **Theocracy:** Religious leaders or institutions hold political authority, and the legal system is often based on religious laws or principles. Here some forms of characteristics of

political system such as; **First one**, Use or intimidation of use of legal force is the the first characteristic of political system is that it allows the legal authority to use force. If David Easton speaks of “authoritative allocation of values”, Dahl of “Power, “rule” and authority”.

All these definitions imply that legal authority can use force to compel anybody to obey its orders. It possesses legitimate and heavy sanctions and rightful power to punish. Consequently, we have to agree with Max Weber that legitimate use of force is a distinct feature of political system, giving it a special quality and importance, and its unity as a system. When the state or governments extends certain facilities then at the same time it possesses power to impose taxes upon the people and punish those who violate those orders. **Second** is interactions, Almond in his book, “The Policies of Developing Areas”, writes: “Political system is that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaptation (both internally and *vis-a-vis* other societies) by means of the employment or threat of employment or more or less legitimate physical compulsion”.

Thus the political system not only includes governmental institutions such as legislatures, executives, courts, administrative agencies but all structures in their political aspect. Among these are included formal organisations like parties, interest groups, and media of communication; traditional structures such as kinship ties, caste groupings anomic phenomena such as associations, riots an demonstrations. Consequently, the political system includes interaction between all the formal and informal institutions. The process of interaction is divided into three phases – input, conversion and output. The Indian Constitution reflects the various interactions as many amendments were brought about to bring out *Zamindari* abolition and socialism and remove poverty.

Third, interdependence of parts, Interdependence means that when the properties of one component in a system change, all the other components and the system as a whole are affected. In political system the political parties having a wider base and mass media (Television, radio and newspapers) change the performance of all other structures of the system and affect the general working of the system. Not only that but the emergence of trade unions and pressure groups affect the working of the political parties, the electoral process, the legislature, the bureaucracy and the judicial system. For example, if the government is unable to check the

ever-rising prices or inflation, then the labourers are bound to demand more wages.

In case the employers do not meet the demand, then the labourers may resort to strike which may become violent in the long run. In that case the employers may call the police and the police may resort to firing in order to quell the disturbances. In such cases the mill-owners will close the mills. In order to solve this problem the government will have to intervene by appointing a tribunal consisting of the representatives of the labour, the management and the State.

If the dispute is not solved out by the tribunal, then the government will have to pass the legislation fixing the minimum wages and increase the dearness allowance according to the corresponding increase in the price index. The government will fix the bonus etc. All this amply demonstrates how a happening of a great magnitude affects the entire political system. **Fourth**, comprehensiveness political system is comprehensive because it includes all the interactions from the formal as well as informal institutions in the society. For example, it includes the interaction of regionalism, religious upheavals, inflation, party-politics, tactics of pressure groups and social changes brought about by modernisation.

And the last, change of boundary, yet another aspect of the concept of the system is the change of boundary. The political system consists of interacting roles of nationals, subjects, voters, the legislators, bureaucrats and judges. The same individuals who perform role in social and economic system also play their notable role in political systems. When the individuals form interest groups, vote or pay taxes, they change their role from non-political to political ones. For example, on the Election Day, the citizens leave their farms, plants and offices to go to the polling stations. In this way they are crossing the boundary from economy to politics. Similarly, during the wartime the large fluctuations in the boundaries of political system take place. Therefore the boundaries of political system frequently change.

These characteristics provide a framework for understanding and categorizing different political systems, but real-world political systems often exhibit a combination of these traits to varying degrees. Political systems can also evolve over time in response to changing circumstances and societal demands.

However Almond has given yet another set of characteristics of a political system. These are:

- (1) There is universality of political system. It means that political system exists everywhere.
- (2) Every political system performs the same functions, though there may be differences in the different political systems and their structures.
- (3) Every political system has some structures. It is possible that there may be some specialised structures, which may perform more functions than the less specialised structures.
- (4) Every political system is mixed in the sense of culture because the system can be more advanced or less advanced.
- (5) Every political system is multi-functional and performs a number of functions irrespective of the degree of specialisation.

2.1.5 The Functions of Political System

The political system of a country or region plays a crucial role in how a society is governed, how decisions are made, and how power is distributed and exercised. The political system consists of both politics and government.

In 1960, Almond and Coleman gathered three core functions of a political system which include:

- To always maintain a situation, in which society can always remain in harmony. They should eliminate the reasons for dispute as soon as possible.
- To safeguard every religion and culture in a country. It is necessary for people to respect other communities for making society a better place.
- There will always be some kind of danger from different countries. Its function is to protect its party as well as the country from any kind of threat by external factors.

Further, these functions get divided into two types of functions in which can be put conveniently. The first one is the Input function, which comprises four elements i.e. Political Socialization, Interest Articulation,

Interest Aggregation, and Political communication between the parties. The second one is the Output function that accounted for rulemaking, rule adjustments, and rule application. It focused more on results rather than the procedure, unlike Input Function.

Similarly, Eisenstadt (1966) has classified the functions of a political system as:

- **Legislative:** They are the decision-making organization.
- **Decision Making:** In a group of a legislative assembly, people who can put their ideas and come up with a decision.
- **Administrative:** They are the management of an organization.

Further Political system functions are broad and multifaceted, and they generally include the following key aspects: Governance: The political system is responsible for establishing and maintaining the government, which is tasked with creating and enforcing laws, regulations, and policies that govern the behavior of individuals and institutions within the society. It provides a framework for the organization and operation of government institutions. Representation: In democratic systems, the political system ensures that citizens are represented in government. This representation can take various forms, such as direct democracy, where citizens vote on specific issues, or representative democracy, where elected officials represent the interests and will of the people.

Protection of Rights and Liberties: A fundamental function of a political system is to protect the rights and liberties of its citizens. This includes safeguarding individual freedoms, such as freedom of speech, religion, and assembly, as well as ensuring equal protection under the law. Conflict Resolution: Political systems provide mechanisms for resolving conflicts and disputes within society. This may involve legal processes, courts, and alternative dispute resolution methods to ensure that disputes are settled fairly and peacefully. Resource Allocation: The political system determines how resources, including public funds and services, are allocated and distributed within society. This involves decisions about taxation, government spending, and the provision of essential services such as healthcare, education, and infrastructure.

Foreign Relations: Political systems are responsible for managing a country's relationships with other nations. This includes diplomacy, international treaties, trade agreements, and decisions related to foreign policy and national security.

Economic Regulation: Political systems often play a role in regulating economic activities within a country. This may involve setting economic policies, overseeing markets, and implementing regulations to ensure fair competition and protect consumers.

Social Welfare: Many political systems have a role in providing social welfare programs and safety nets to support vulnerable or disadvantaged members of society. This can include programs like unemployment benefits, healthcare, and assistance for low-income individuals and families. **Law and Order:** Political systems establish and enforce laws to maintain order and ensure public safety. This includes law enforcement agencies and the criminal justice system. **Policy Development:** The political system is responsible for formulating and implementing policies that address various societal issues, such as healthcare, education, the environment, and more. Policymaking involves assessing problems, identifying solutions, and making decisions to address them. **Cultural and Social Integration:** In some cases, political systems promote cultural and social integration by fostering a sense of national identity and unity among citizens. **Legitimacy and Accountability:** Political systems must maintain the trust and legitimacy of the governed. This often involves mechanisms for holding government officials accountable for their actions, such as elections, checks and balances, and transparency measures.

The specific functions and structures of political systems can vary widely from one country to another, depending on the system's type (e.g., democracy, autocracy, monarchy) and the unique historical, cultural, and societal factors at play. These functions collectively shape the way a society is governed and how its citizens experience political life.

Lesson 2.2 -Capabilities and Performance of Political System

Unit Structure

- 2.2.1 Objectives
- 2.2.2 Introduction
- 2.2.3 Evolution of Political System Theory
- 2.2.4. Meaning of Political System
 - 2.2.4.1 Pre-requisites
- 2.2.5 Easton's views on Political System
- 2.2.6 Almond's views
- 2.2.7 What is Political Development?
- 2.2.8 System and Sub-system
- 2.2.9 Characteristics of Political System
- 2.2.10 To Sum up
- 2.2.11 References

2.2.1 Objectives

After going through this unit, you will be able to

- Analyse the concept of political system
- Discuss the concept of modernization and political development
- Discuss the various approaches to political development

2.2.2 Introduction

The concept of political system has acquired wide currency because it directs our attention to the entire scope of political activities within a society. System approach to political institutions and processes by the behavioural school has given birth to this new concept. Ever since the Greek philosophers spoke on Political Science, different institutions and processes, which have in them some similarities, explain the political institutions and processes which have in them some similarities and difference. In the contemporary world, however, a number of American

political scientists have set forth the systems approach as the most useful framework in this context. The credit for applying this approach in Political Science goes to David Easton, G. A. Almond and Morton A. Kaplan. This approach has served as a convenient tool for macro analysis of political phenomena. But the exponents of this approach differ in their visualization of the political phenomena.

But, the exponents of this approach differ in their visualization of the political system. Gabriel Almond and James Coleman pioneered the use of structural foundations theory of political science. The technique is inextricably linked to system analysis. It is concerned with the structure, process, mechanism and function of social reality. The approach of evolution all the way back to Aristotle's time, when he classified types of governance according to their structure. Montesquieu, on the other hand, gave it adequate structure in the 18th century with his doctrine of separation of powers. His analysis of functionalism. Madison's the Federalist also made reference to this theory and recommended an upgrade by introducing the doctrine of checks and balances. However, the traditional theory of functional analysis of the government structure, which was founded on the doctrine of separation of powers, identified only three organs.

2.2.3 Evolution of Political System Theory

The concept of Systems Theory dates back to 1920s. Ludwig Von Bertalanffy is regarded as the earliest exponent of the general systems theory. He employed this theory for the study of Biology. It is only after the Second World War, the social scientists demanded for the unification of sciences for which they took the help of the systems theory. However, when the general systems theory in its abstract form traced back to natural sciences like Biology, in its operational form they are found in Anthropology. Then it was adopted in Sociology and Psychology. It was in the mid sixties that the systems theory became an important tool in analysis and mode of inquiry in Political Science. Among political scientists, David Easton has been the first to apply this theory to political analysis.

It may be noted that these theoretical developments in Social Anthropology have had a profound impact on Political Science. The names of two sociologists, Robert K. Merton and Talcott Parsons are noteworthy in this respect. They had made significant contribution to systems framework. In Political Science, while David Easton and G. A. Almond

have applied systems analysis to national politics Morton A. Kaplan has applied it to international politics.

2.2.4. Meaning of Political System

In order to understand the concept of political system, we must know what a system is. According to Ludwig Von, "it is a set of objects together with relations between the objects and between their attitudes." Morton A. Kaplan says, ".....it is a set of interrelated variables, as distinguished from the environment....." An analysis of these definitions shows that system embodies the idea of group of objects or elements stating some characteristics process. Briefly speaking, a system implies the interdependence of parts and a boundary of one component in a system change, all other components and there systems as a whole are affected. Thus, systems mean a group of individuals or things which interact with one another and the environment around. There are different types of systems, like solar system, social system, economic system, cultural system, organic system, mechanical systems etc. However, there is a difference in the elements of other social systems from those of social system. Save the social system, in all other system, the elements are totally involved. But in social systems, the individuals are not totally involved. Only a particular of the individual is involved.

2.2.4.1 Pre-requisites

There are three basic pre-requisites of the general system theory, namely, (i) concepts of a descriptive nature, (ii) concepts intended to highlight the factors which regulate and maintain the system and (iii) concepts concerning the dynamics of the system. Concepts of a descriptive nature include those concepts which differentiate between open systems and closed systems or between organic and non-organic systems. Understanding of the working of the internal organization of the system, the concept of the boundary, inputs and outputs also fall under this category.

Concepts intended to highlight the factors that regulate and maintain systems particularly deal with conditions responsible for regulating and sustaining the functioning of the systems. These also involve many process variables like feedbacks, repair and reproduction entropy. On the other hand, concepts concerning dynamics of the system refer to the changes, which involve fine distinction between nations of disruption, desolation

and breakdown along with the study of such concepts as systemic crisis, stress, strains and the decay.

Many scholars have tried to give a precise meaning to the concept of political system. Common to most of their views is the association of political system with use of legitimate physical coercion in societies. According to Max Weber, "Political system is a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory". Weber also says that the legitimate force is the thread that runs through the action of the political system, giving it its special quality and importance and its coherence as a system. Laswell and Kaplan consider political system as shaping and sharing of power with the help of threat or actual use of 'severe deprivations' for non-compliance.

Robert Dahl defines political system as "Any persistent pattern of human relations that involves power, rule or authority". The aforesaid definitions of the political system have been severely criticized by Almond. According to him: Max Weber only provides a definition of a state that a political system. Lasswell and Kaplan fail to explain the concept, "severe deprivation" as such he has failed to distinguish between the political systems and other systems. To Almond Robert Dahl also has failed in distinguishing political systems and other systems which also has failed in distinguishing political systems and other systems which also has 23 failed in undistinguishing political systems and other systems which also has failed in distinguishing political systems and other systems which also enjoy power.

2.2.5 Easton's views on Political System

David Easton defines political system as "Authoritative allocation of values with threat or actual use of deprivations to make them binding on all". An examination of Easton's definition shows that it implies three things: (i) allocation of values (ii) allocation as authoritative and (iii) authoritative allocation is binding on society, which are the chief concern of the political system. As such, to David Easton, political system means systems of interaction in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made.

2.2.6 Almond's views

Almond defines political system as, "The system of interaction to be found in independent societies which perform the functions of integration

and adaptation both internally and externally by means of employment of more or less, legitimate physical compulsion". This definition indicates three important aspects of the political system, namely;

- A political system is a concrete whole, which influences and is influenced by the environment. It uses legitimate force as a measure of last resort,
- There is no interaction between roles and play, and
- Existence of boundaries. Comprehensiveness means that the political system includes all systems.

Out of these above aspects, we find that the definition of Almond ascribes three characteristics to the political system: (i) comprehensiveness, (ii) interdependence and (iii) existence of boundaries. Comprehensiveness means that the political system includes all types of interactions that take place among the roles and structures of the systems. Further, political system includes both formal and informal institutions as well as processes. Interdependence means close connections between the components or elements of the political system. A change in one element produces changes in all other elements. Boundary implies a line of demarcation between the political systems and other systems. According to Eugene Mehan, Almond's definition of political systems combines Weber's definition of the state, Easton's conception of authoritative allocation and Talcott Parson's view of the functions of political system in the society.

2.2.7 What is Political Development?

Political development as the process whereby a political system increases its capacity and capability to successfully respond to the challenges it is facing by improving its structures, processes, and culture. Political structures refer to the institutions created, and the legal-regulatory framework formulated for their internal functioning and also to interact with other institutions for the smooth running of the political system. Examples of these political structures are the constitution and the various enactments passed under it, the office of the president, two houses of the parliament and its standing committees, the election commission, election tribunals etc.

Political processes refer to the activities carried out by political structures for carrying out their constitutionally mandated functions i.e.,

voter registration, constituency delimitations, holding of fair and free elections, policy formulation, implementation, etc. Lucian Pye defines political culture as the set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments, which give order and meaning to a political process and provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. How political actors think and behave-simple.

According to Almond and Powell, political development affects a political system's five capabilities meaning its ability and the extent to which the system can cope with its challenges successfully. Both, specify five types of capabilities of the Political System and these are: first is **Extractive Capability**, How far the political system is now capable of drawing material and human resources from the domestic and international environment? Can it levy and collect taxes more efficiently? Can it get loans from abroad easily and cheaply? Second, **Regulative Capability**, how far the political system is now capable to enforce its laws, making people obey them, and controlling public behaviour with or without using its legitimate coercive powers? Can it catch big fish? Third, **Distributive Capability**, how far the political system is capable to allocate goods, services, honours, statuses and opportunities to individuals and groups equitably, without any fear or favour? Can it prevent the power to capture the policy formulation? **Fourth, Symbolic Capability**, How far is the political system now capable to use its value system (soft power) effectively during crises and emergency situations. Remember how in 1965, Ayub Khan mobilized the nation and armed forces through speeches and statements. And **Fifth, Responsive Capability**, how far is the political system now capable of successfully responding to internal or external pressures and demands. Disaster management? External aggression? Internal sub-version? Agitations?

2.2.8 System and Sub-system

Before analysing the features of the political system we must make a distinction between systems and sub-systems. According to Robert Dahi, one system can be an element, or subsystem of another system. For example, earth is a subsystem of the universe. Accordingly, the legislature is a subsystem of the political system and the political system is a sub-system of the social system. It should be noted that the systems theory has been applied to political analysis in three different ways; (i) political system is viewed as a "guided missile" seeking political goals, (ii) political system is viewed as "converter" of inputs into outputs and (iii) political

system is considered as “kind of structures” performing particular types of functions.

According to the first concept, political system acts like a guided missile, which automatically hits the target. Its components operate in a way that automatically adjusts the course of the system in the light of pressures, both internal and external, towards its goal. In regard to the second concept, political system essentially functions as a converter. It converts the inputs into outputs. The third concept refers to the structural function analysis of Almond. Originally Talcott Parsons and Marion Levy developed this. However, Almond has adopted it in political science. This concept indicates that the political system is composed of particular for the maintenance of the system.

2.2.9 Characteristics of Political System

The political system has the following characteristics: 1. It has its own boundary. 2. It lives in environment. 3. The political system is an open and adaptive system. 4. It is self-regulatory in character. 5. It is comprehensive in nature. 6. It is composed of certain structures having specific functions. 7. There is interdependence of the parts of the political system. 8. Political system is an on-going system and dynamic in character. Political system, according to Easton, is the most inclusive system of behaviour in a society for the authoritative allocation of values. It functions within certain boundary.

It is this boundary that separates the political system from other social systems. Easton lays down four criteria on the basis of which the political system can be differentiated from other social systems. These are: (i) the extent of distinctions of political roles and activities from other roles and activities, or conversely, the extent to which they are all embedded in limited in limited structures, such as, the family or kinship groups, (ii) The extent to which occupants of political roles form a separate group in the society and possess a sense of internal solidarity and cohesion. (iii) The extent to which other hierarchies, based upon wealth, prestige or other non-political criteria and (iv) The extent to which the recruitment processes and criteria of selection differ for the occupants of political as contrasted with other roles.

Political system lives in environments. In other words, political life as a system of behaviour is situated in the environment. The environment

of the political system comprises of social land physical surroundings. Environment of the political system can be categorized into two types: intrasocietal and extra societal. Further, intrasocietal environment may be subdivided into ecological, biological personality and social environments. Extra societal environment is also equally subdivided. Intrasocietal environment refers to the environment that lays out side the national system. It means environment at the international level. It includes political system of all other countries and international political organizations like the UN, International Court of Justice, etc and the international economic, social, cultural and demographic systems. All political systems are both open and adaptive in character.

Since political systems live in environment, it is open to influence from the environment. Political system is always exposed to influence from the intra and extra societal environments. It is constantly receiving from other systems, to which it is exposed to a stream of events and influences that shape the conditions under which its members act. Such influences put pressure on the functioning of the political systems, which are stresses of the system. However political systems continue to persist even in the fact of such stresses.

Stress refers to the challenges that disturb the normal functioning of the political system, sometimes to the extent of its total failure. Sometimes stress may arise within the political system does not mean that there will be no change in the system. On the other hand, every political system undergoes changes. The degree of change determines the persistence or failure of the system. As long as the political system regulates the stresses, the political system continues to persist. It does so even through bringing changes within the system itself.

Hence, a changed political system is said to persist. Political system is a self – regulating system. It can change, correct and readjust its processes and structures in face of activity which threatens to disrupt its own functioning. A political system even copes with the disturbances by seeking to change its environment. Consequently, the exchanges between its environment and itself are no longer stressful. It may be noted that a political system has the capacity for creative and constructive regulation of disturbance.

It has, therefore dynamism of its own. It has a purpose of its own. It continues to move according to its fundamental purpose, as it is self-

regulating. There are a large number of mechanisms in the political system on the basis of which the political system tries to cope with the environments. It has regulatory mechanisms of its own through which it can either push back the stresses or allow creeping into the system which may retard its velocity as well as volumes. There are four broad types of regulatory mechanism and reduction mechanism.

Political system is comprehensive in character it includes all kinds of institutions, roles and functions as well as processes which are political in nature. In other words, both formal and informal structures, processes and functions concerning political life of a man come under the preview of the political system. As such, it comprises the executive, legislature, judiciary, political parties, pressure groups, interest groups, the press, radio, and television elites etc who perform roles relating to the political sphere of mankind. According to G. A. Almond, all political systems are composed of certain structures and these structures perform same kind of functions. And these functions are essential for the survival of the system these structures are well differentiated and some of such structures combine, a sub-system or a system emerges. It may be noted that political structures are 'multifunctional' in nature.

Political system performs a number of functions which are required to keep the system in working order. These are functional requirements of the system. According to Almond, political systems can be compared in terms of their structures and functions and accordingly can be classified as traditional, transitional and developed. Generally, a political system performs, two types of functions input and output functions. When David Easton divides input functions into demands and supports. Almond talks of interest articulation and interest aggregation, though initially he included in it both political socialization and recruitment and political communication. On the other hand, Easton refers to policy decisions as output functions, whereas, Almond points out to rule application and rule-adjudication as the output functions of the political system.

It is already pointed out that the political system is composed of certain structures. These are essential elements of the political system. There is interdependence among these elements or parts. It means whine one part is affected; disruption in the working of any one part affects the normal functioning of the entire system. There is close inter-connectedness among these elements, which make it a system. Ass such, Almond says "political system is that system of interaction which is found; in all independent

societies, which performs the functions of integration and adoption. Political system is an on going system. It continues to exist as long as it regulates the stresses successfully. In order to do so, it performs the capability functions, as Almond redress to. It is the ability of the political system to sustain in front of the challenges.

The capability functions of the political system are categorized into four types, namely, extractive capability, regulative capability, distributive capability, symbolic capability and responsive capability. Through such capabilities the political system maintains itself, if necessary brings changes in its structures and functions. Hence, the political system is dynamic.

2.2.10 To Sum up

Today the term 'political system' has been preferred to the term state or government because it includes both formal informal political instructions and processes those continue to exist in a society. Systems approach to political institutions by the behavioural school has given birth to this new concept. The credit for applying this approach in Political Science goes to David Easton, G. A. Almond and Morton A. Kaplan. However, the concept of systems theory dates back to 1920s when Ludwig Von applied this theory for the study of Biology. Then the theory was adopted in Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology and Political Science. Easton happens to be the first political scientist to employ this theory in explaining political phenomena. Morton A. Kaplan made this theory more popular in explaining international issues. According to this theory, political behaviour is conceived as a system and the political system is defined as "Authoritative allocation of values with threat or actual use of deprivations to make them binding on all".

It is the system of interactions to be found in independent societies, which performs the functions of integration and adaptation both internally and eternally by means of employment of, more or less, legitimate physical compulsion. A political system has three important characteristics, namely, comprehensiveness, interdependence and existence of boundaries. However the features of a political system are openness, adaptiveness, comprehensiveness, self-regulating, on-going etc. It is composed of a number of structures that have specific functions. These functions are categorized as input and output functions. A political system performs these in order to maintain itself.

2.2.11 References

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Lesson 2.3 - Democratic and Totalitarian Political Systems-

Unit Structure

2.3.1 Objectives

2.3.2 Introduction

2.3.3 Democratic Political System

2.3.3.1 Meaning of Democratic Political Systems

2.3.3.2 Characteristics of Democratic Political System

2.3.3.3 Meaning of Totalitarian Political System

2.3.4 Characteristics of Totalitarian Political System

2.3.5 Features of Totalitarianism

2.3.1 Objectives

After studying this unit, you will be able to

- Explain democratic Political system;
- Describe the origin and meaning of the democracy
- Discuss the component of democratic Political system:

2.3.2 Introduction

In this unit, we will discuss democratic political system, origin and meaning of the concept of democracy. A democratic political system incorporates a few elements. While explain these elements of a democratic political system the unit highlights the ideology, the structure and function, the political processes and the basis of legitimacy of a political system.

2.3.3 Democratic Political System

Democracy is the most popular form of government or political system in the modern world. It is often said to be the best and most civilized form of the political system in which everyone has a share. The word 'democracy' is derived from two Greek words, 'demos' which means 'the people, and 'kratia' which means 'power'. Thus when the supreme power is in the hands of people it is called democracy. **Abraham Lincoln** defined democracy as 'government of the people by the people for the people.'

Therefore democracy is regarded as that government where the power is vested in the people. There are different forms of democratic government in the modern World some of the well known democracies are limited monarchy, republic, unitary, federal, parliamentary, and presidential.

A democratic political system is a form of government in which the power to make decisions and govern is vested in the hands of the people or their elected representatives. Democracy is often seen as a contrast to authoritarian or autocratic systems, where power is concentrated in the hands of a single individual or a small group of elites. Here are some key characteristics and meanings of a democratic political system: Popular Sovereignty: In a democracy, the ultimate authority and power reside with the people. The government is elected or chosen by the people through free and fair elections. Citizens have the right to participate in the decisionmaking process and to hold their leaders accountable.

2.3.3.1 Meaning of Democratic Political Systems

Democratic political systems are a type of government in which power is vested in the hands of the people or their elected representatives. These systems are characterized by certain key principles and practices that promote participation, representation, and accountability. Here are some fundamental elements of democratic political systems: Popular Sovereignty: In a democracy, the ultimate authority rests with the people. Citizens have the right to participate in the decision-making process, typically through voting in elections and referendums. Elections: Free and fair elections are a cornerstone of democracy. Citizens have the right to choose their leaders and representatives through periodic elections. These elections are usually held at regular intervals and allow for the peaceful transfer of power.

Political Pluralism: Democratic systems typically feature multiple political parties and organizations that compete for power. This diversity of choices ensures that citizens have options and can express their political preferences. Rule of Law: In democracies, there is a legal framework that applies equally to all citizens, including those in power. The rule of law ensures that no one is above the law, and it protects individual rights and freedoms. Protection of Minority Rights: Democracies aim to protect the rights and interests of minority groups. This is often achieved through mechanisms such as a constitution, a bill of rights, and judicial review. Separation of Powers: Many democratic systems have a separation of powers

between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. This separation helps prevent the concentration of power and provides a system of checks and balances.

Freedom of Speech and Media: A free press and freedom of expression are crucial in democracies. These freedoms allow citizens to access information, express their opinions, and hold the government accountable.

Civil Liberties: Democracies protect individual civil liberties, such as freedom of religion, assembly, and privacy, within the bounds of public safety and security.

Civil Society: A vibrant civil society, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and advocacy groups, plays a vital role in a democracy by representing various interests and holding the government accountable. **Accountability:** Elected officials and government institutions are accountable to the people. This accountability is often ensured through transparency, oversight, and mechanisms for removing officials through legal means.

Peaceful Transfer of Power: In democracies, power changes hands peacefully through elections or other established constitutional processes. This stability contributes to social and political order. **Inclusive Citizenship:** Democracies aim to ensure that all eligible citizens have the right to participate in the political process, regardless of race, gender, religion, or other characteristics.

2.3.3.2 Characteristics of Democratic Political System

Rule of Law: Democracies are characterized by a strong rule of law, where laws are enacted and enforced fairly and consistently. No one, including government officials, is above the law. **Free and Fair Elections:** Elections are a fundamental aspect of democracy. They must be conducted fairly and transparently, allowing citizens to choose their leaders without coercion or fraud. Multiple political parties and candidates are typically allowed to compete. **Civil Liberties:** Democratic societies protect individual rights and civil liberties, including freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and freedom of religion. These rights ensure that citizens can express themselves and their ideas without fear of repression. **Political Pluralism:** Democracies often feature a diversity of political parties and interest groups that compete for support and influence. This plurality allows for a wide range of political views and policies.

Checks and Balances: Democratic systems often include mechanisms to prevent the concentration of power. This may involve a system of checks and balances, where different branches of government (e.g., executive, legislative, and judicial) have separate and distinct powers that can limit one another's authority. **Transparency and Accountability:** Government actions and decisions are generally transparent and subject to scrutiny by the public and independent institutions. Elected officials are accountable to the electorate and can be voted out of office if they fail to perform effectively. **Respect for Minority Rights:** Democracies protect the rights of minority groups and ensure that the majority does not infringe upon these rights. This includes safeguards against discrimination and protection of minority interests. **Peaceful Transfer of Power:** In a democratic system, power transitions occur through peaceful means, typically through elections. This helps maintain stability and reduces the risk of violent conflicts.

Public Participation: Democracy encourages civic engagement and participation. Citizens have the right to express their opinions, petition the government, and engage in peaceful protests and demonstrations. **Independent Judiciary:** An independent and impartial judiciary is essential to ensure that the law is applied fairly and that government actions are consistent with the constitution. **Protection of Human Rights:** Democracies are expected to uphold and protect the fundamental human rights of all citizens, including those outlined in international human rights conventions. It's important to note that there are various forms of democracy, including direct democracy, representative democracy, and hybrid systems. Each may emphasize different aspects of the characteristics mentioned above, but all share the core principle of government by the people and for the people.

It's important to note that there are various forms of democratic political systems, including direct democracy (where citizens vote on specific laws or policies directly), representative democracy (where citizens elect representatives to make decisions on their behalf), and various hybrid systems that combine elements of both. Additionally, the specific practices and institutions can vary from one country to another, reflecting cultural, historical, and political differences.

2.3.3.3 Meaning of Totalitarian Political System

The system of government in which the state excessively controls and regulates all aspects of the public and private lives of its citizens and where people are denied rights to select their representatives is called totalitarianism. In this political system, government controls everything (politics, economy, personal lives), the government makes all political decisions, the government owns and runs all businesses, control personal aspects of people's lives (where they live, what they do, and what they see and hear), and even try to control their thoughts and beliefs.

In totalitarianism, people have to act (adhere) to the will of the government without any opposition. In other words, totalitarianism is the most extreme form of authoritarianism. E.g. political system that emerged during the 20th century in Mussolini's Italy, Hitler's Nazi Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union, modern North Korea, etc.

2.3.4 Characteristics of Totalitarian Political System

Totalitarian political systems are characterized by a high level of government control over almost every aspect of public and private life. These systems are often associated with authoritarian regimes that seek to maintain absolute power and suppress dissent. Here are some key features and characteristics of totalitarian political systems: Single- Party Rule: Totalitarian states are typically dominated by a single political party or a small group of elites who control the government. Opposition parties are often banned or severely restricted, making it impossible for political rivals to challenge the ruling party. Centralized Authority: The government in a totalitarian system exercises centralized authority, with all decisions and policies emanating from a central leadership. This centralization of power allows for swift and decisive actions by the regime.

Censorship and Propaganda: Totalitarian governments tightly control the flow of information and use censorship to suppress dissenting voices. State-controlled media and propaganda are used to shape public opinion and maintain the regime's narrative. Suppression of Opposition: Opposition to the regime is often met with repression, including the arrest and imprisonment of political dissidents, activists, and journalists. Torture and extrajudicial killings may also be employed to eliminate threats to the regime. Surveillance: Totalitarian states often employ extensive surveillance systems to monitor the activities of their citizens. This can

include electronic surveillance, spying on citizens, and informants within society. **Personality Cult:** Many totalitarian leaders cultivate a personality cult, where they are glorified and portrayed as infallible leaders. This helps to maintain their grip on power and loyalty from their followers. **Control of Economy:** The state typically exercises significant control over the economy, with the government often owning or controlling key industries and resources. This allows the regime to maintain economic power and influence.

Restrictions on Individual Rights: Individual rights and freedoms are often severely restricted in totalitarian states. This can include limitations on freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press. Citizens may also have limited mobility, and their activities may be heavily regulated. **Total Control over Education:** Totalitarian governments often exert control over the education system to indoctrinate citizens with the regime's ideology and values. **Hostility to Dissent:** Totalitarian states are often hostile to any form of dissent or opposition, viewing it as a threat to the regime's stability. This can lead to a climate of fear and self-censorship among the population. Notable historical examples of totalitarian regimes include Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union, Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany, and Kim Jong-un's North Korea. It's important to note that totalitarianism represents an extreme form of authoritarianism and is widely criticized for its disregard for human rights and civil liberties.

A totalitarian political system is a form of government characterized by extreme centralized control and authority, where the ruling party or leader exercises almost unlimited power over all aspects of society, often at the expense of individual freedoms and civil liberties. This type of system typically suppresses dissent and opposition, seeking to maintain absolute control over the populace. Here are some key characteristics of totalitarian political systems:

Centralized Authority: Totalitarian regimes concentrate power in the hands of a single party or leader. Decision-making is highly centralized, with little to no checks and balances. **Authoritarian Leadership:** A single individual or a small group of elites often hold significant power, and they are not held accountable by democratic processes or institutions.

Ideological Control: Totalitarian governments often promote a specific ideology or belief system that serves as the basis for their rule. This ideology is typically all-encompassing and seeks to shape all aspects of society,

including culture, education, and religion. Censorship and Propaganda: Information is tightly controlled, and censorship is widespread. Propaganda is used to manipulate public opinion and reinforce the regime's ideology.

Limited Civil Liberties: Citizens have minimal political freedoms and civil liberties. Freedom of speech, assembly, and the press are often severely curtailed. Opposition parties are typically banned or marginalized. State Surveillance: Totalitarian governments use extensive surveillance systems to monitor and control their citizens. This can include monitoring communications, tracking movements, and maintaining dossiers on individuals. Suppression of Dissent: Opposition to the regime is not tolerated, and dissenters are often subjected to harsh punishment, including imprisonment, torture, or execution. Fear and intimidation are used to maintain control.

Control of the Economy: The state often exerts significant control over the economy, with state ownership of major industries and businesses. Economic policies are designed to support the regime's goals and maintain its power. Militarization: Totalitarian regimes may prioritize military strength and often use the military and security forces to maintain control and suppress dissent. Personality Cult: In some cases, the leader of the regime is elevated to a near deity-like status, and a personality cult is built around them.

2.3.5 Features of Totalitarianism

The term 'totalitarianism' is synonymous used with the words such as dictatorship, tyranny, 'fascism', 'authoritarian regimes, etc. However, some of the features of totalitarianism include;

- An official ideology relying upon propaganda and terror.
- Aggressive nationalism, militarism and expansionism.
- Rule by a single party, usually led by a dictator.
- Total control of the military.
- A terroristic police force to eradicate dissent.
- Total control over means of communication such as newspapers, radio, etc.

- State control of economy.

Their image is pervasive in public life, and their word is treated as law. Isolationism: Totalitarian governments may adopt isolationist foreign policies, limiting interactions with other countries and international organizations. This can make it difficult for outside influences to challenge the regime's control. Notable historical examples of totalitarian regimes include Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler, the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin, and North Korea under the Kim dynasty. Totalitarianism is often associated with oppression, human rights abuses, and a lack of political freedoms, making it a highly controversial and repressive form of government.

UNIT - III

Lesson 3.1 - Behaviouralism and Post Behaviourism

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Objective
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 Meaning, Nature, and Characteristics of Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralism
- 3.4 Concept of Power- Definition, Characteristics, Kinds and Manifestations
- 3.5 Political Modernization- Meaning, Characteristics and Agents
- 3.6 Let's Sum Up
- 3.7 Key Words
- 3.8 Self-Assessment Questions
- 3.9 References

3.1 Objective

The main objective with which the unit has been prepared is to equip the learners with a basic understanding of Behaviouralism and Post Behaviouralism, the Concept of Power, and Political Modernization. Thus, the main aim would be to instill an understanding of the theoretical aspects in this contextual level lying in the study of political science. So, in a way the main approach toward the process of learning after the study of this Unit all learners must be familiar with and be able to comprehend the points like;

- The meaning of Behaviouralism and Post-behaviouralism, along with its characteristic features, its nature, and meaning.
- The concept of power and its basic features in features, kinds, manifestations, and characteristics that make up the entire concept.
- The concept of Political Modernization and its agents, meaning, and characteristics.

- Relating these theories with the instances of examples occurring within the concept of the present state system and governance.

3.2 Introduction-

The process of development of new sciences and the understanding of different theories within the field of politics began with the coming of the Behavioural Revolution. Thus, the concept of Behaviouralism also involves the understanding of the concept of power taken with political modernization, and how these concepts have kept on taking a change within the scope and study of political science altogether. Thus, the satisfaction with the nature of the scope, methods, and conclusions of traditional political science led to the development and emergence of behavioural revolution in politics.

The development had been able to prove itself effective enough for more than a decade, but there was a weakness that persisted only because of the other new developments taking place within and around the entire area of post-Behaviouralism that got introduced with the introduction of new developments. Thus, the development of the post-behaviouralist approach as a branch of study finally led to the introduction of the study of modern Political Analysis, which was finally shaped by the study of Behaviouralist and Post-Behaviouralist approaches. Also, equally important has been the concept of power and political modernization that kept on occurring and dynamizing with the development of the approaches of study in political sciences which will also be looked into with the scope of study of this Unit.

3.3 Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralist- Meaning, Nature and Characteristics

All about the behaviouralist approaches and their origin of development in the study of political science-

The concept of behaviouralism grew following a deeper rate of dissatisfaction with the nature and results of investigations of the methods of the traditional political science, that turned into a revolution in the post-second world war period. This came to be characterized as the Behavioural Revolution, which involved a broad range of approaches, protests, and reactions that were developed by many political scientists as alternative methods for investigations that are necessary to make political science a

real science of studying political behaviours in place of their traditional nature as a philosophy of state and government is concerned.

Thus, the legal and institutional approaches were rejected as formal configurative, static, and inadequate study for politics. Political scientists came forward to advocate the need to build a behavioural science of politics that is capable in terms of explaining all the processes and aspects of human political behaviour. Thus, the challenges of the Behaviouralist approaches since 1949 have always posed a major threat and a serious challenge to the study of the Behaviouralist Approach since 1949.

However, political Behaviouralism has been widely affected and posed the most serious challenges to the traditional approach, whereby it represented some of the most challenging developments that were taking place through the roots of political behaviouralism in contemporary times. Though the roots of political realism stretch back to about a century before, the works of scholars like Max Weber, and Graham Wallas and their post-1945 development played a vital role in the reconstruction of the political institution of America.

It was even observed that the challenge to the traditional political science of behavioural approach deserves to be ranked as the most single development taking place within political science. There are similar views as well expressed by other scholars like Somit and Tanenhaus, where it has been stated that among the changes which affected the study of political science in this quarter of a century was also the most prominent impact behind the behavioural movement.

Differences between Behaviouralist and Post-Behaviouralism-

These differences have remained since the early years, but after the 1950s these have taken centre stage in the debate of this political discipline.

Although the initial works in this field of behaviouralism have passed away in favour of postbehaviouralism its impact on political science has always remained big and deep. Contemporary political theory owes a large debt to the Behavioural revolution.

The main reasons that have combined with the coming of the behavioural revolution have been mostly aimed at the subsequent development and the decline of the study of Behaviouralism in American Universities. Thus, the antecedents of the University of Chicago have pointed out towards their

phenomenal growth and vitality in the early fifties following the end of the Second World War, which also involves several responsible factors that combined together to this development.

- The development of political science as an autonomous discipline in American Universities combined with the factor of dissatisfaction associated with the nature of traditional political theory and the existence of several factors that forced together to ensure the possible development of political science as an autonomous discipline, combined with the nature of traditional political theory, their existence, and the emergence of the Behavioural Revolution.
- However, in this regard a number of factors were coined by SL Wasby, such as;
 - The arrival of sociologically oriented European scholars in the 1930s, where a large number of American political scientists were involved in funding the development of large-scale research projects.
 - Support from the Social Sciences Research Council that led to the growth of the survey method in permitting the study of public behavioural patterns.
 - The rapid flowering of the behavioural approach depended upon the existence of some key attitudes and pre-dispositions that generated the beliefs of pragmatism, fact-mindedness, and confidence upon studying science.

Analysis of the nature of influencing factors related to Post-Behaviouralism and Behaviouralism-

While analyzing the factors of Robert Dahl it favoured the rapid development of Behaviouralist in the US which held five important factors responsible for understanding a powerful of stimuli, which can be considered as the following like;

- Firstly, the works of the social scientists over the ideas and the efforts of the actors on the pioneering center of the behavioural approach who are subsequently regarded as some of the best proponents in introducing the importance of the Behavioural and Post- Behavioural approaches within Political Science.

- Migration of European Sociologists and Psychologists in the US can be considered as another major factor. According to Robert Dahl, this migration saw the introduction of the sociological approach to the US in the 1930s with a considerable specific influence of Max Weber and on the other hand there was the general influence of European sociology as well. He is also of the opinion that American political science was greatly influenced by the developments taking place in Europe.
- The Third impact can be considered as the impact of the Second World War, which stimulated the development of the behavioural approach in the United States where a great number of American Scientists temporarily vacated their original experiences and inherited the experiences from elsewhere. Thus, this form of confrontation relating to the study of theory and reality had widely provoked the development of a strong sense of the inadequacy of conventional approaches of political sciences for describing reality as much lesser than predicting any of the situations that are likely to have happened.
- As per the works done by the Social Science Research Council, which showed an enormous impact on American Social Science, by reflecting a major concern towards the study of realism in breaking the grounds of research entirely to the library and for the individual group influences on politics and administration.

Meaning of Post Behaviouralism-

Post Behaviouralism was developed as a reform movement that tried to remove the drawbacks of the behaviouralist approach that had come to the forefront as a result of their actual conduct of research. This was in a way different from those objectives referring to which it started.

According to SP Verma, Post Behaviouralism is a different theory, which does not stand in an equal position with traditionalism, as both these approaches are highly crucial in comparison to that of behaviouralism. However, the main difference that lies in this case mostly pertains to the fact that concerns the validity of this approach with reiterating faith in the classical traditions of political science. Thus, it has been accepted by the post-behaviouralists to push political science further to reach at new horizons.

According to David Easton, Post-behaviouralism is a future-oriented approach that seeks to propel political science in new directions, that will add rather than deny its past heritage, a genuine revolution, rather than a reaction from not becoming preservation or a reform not becoming a counter-reform.

Meaning of Behaviouralism

Behaviouralism as a theory of Political Science emerged in the 1950s and 1960s in the United States, which is a result of the behavioural revolution and behavioural science. According to this theory, political science has to be concerned with the study of behaviours rather than focusing on any concepts or institutions.

Mainly, the Theory of Behaviouralist focuses on observable and measurable behaviours other than any subjective and any political theory-based concepts like justice, rights, and democracy.

The concept of Behaviouralism is one of the most significant modern approaches to the study of political science and it seeks to provide an objective, quantified approach to explain and predict political behaviour. Its emergence in politics coincides with the rise of the behavioural social sciences that were given shape as a result of the natural sciences. Behaviouralism is concerned with examining the behaviours, actions, and acts of individuals rather than understanding the characteristics of institutions like legislature, executive, and judiciary. Behaviouralist also seeks a systematic inquiry into political behaviour.

Behaviouralism is a movement in political science that insists on analyzing the observable behaviour of political actors and the main contention of behaviourists is that the techniques, tools, and methods of science that can be used to understand, interpret, explain, and predict political phenomena or occurrences. At the same time, it is also a value-free exercise that studies the discipline of politics by arguing the proponents of the behavioural approach where political science studies in a manner similar to that of the natural sciences. In this context, the supporters of the behavioural approach insist upon understanding the main role of the political scientist to collect and analyze factual data in an objective manner.

The Origin and Development of the Behavioural Theories-

Though it is generally held that behaviouralism or political behaviour is the product of the Second World War tracing its true origin further back to the First World War with the publication in 1908 of the works of major political scientists like Graham Wallas and Arthur Bentley. Thus, Behaviouralist as an approach in political science emerged in the 1930s in the United States as a result of the dissatisfaction of the existing approaches which represents a sharp break from the previous approaches of political science. This is responsible mainly because of the emphasized objective, the quantified approach to explain and predict political behaviour, following the Second World War through the 1960s, when the theory of Behaviouralism remained a source of controversy.

It was the site of discussion between the traditionalist and the newly emerging approaches to political science, the origins of behaviouralism have been often attributed to the work of the University of Chicago's professor Charles Merriam who had emphasized the importance of examining political behaviour of the individual and groups rather than only considering on how they abide by the reforms in laws and rules. Thus, prior to the 'Behaviouralist Revolution' Political Science was primarily quantitative and normative by its nature and it lacked a scientific method that deemed its status as a science. In such a way, the Behaviouralist thinkers used strict methodology and empirical research to validate their study as a social science.

So, in return, the Behaviouralists used strict methodologies and empirical research to validate their study as a social science. The Behaviouralist approach was innovative because it changed the attitude toward the purpose of inquiry and moved toward research that was research which was supported by verifiable facts. David Easton, who was one of the most important proponents of the theory of behaviouralism stated that research of behaviouralists mainly seeks to evaluate the actual human beings to the center of attention or analysis. The premise, in this case, is that traditionalists have been focusing on the institutions and virtually looking at individuals as entities apart from the components, whereas the behavioural approach seeks an attempt to improve the understanding of political science using systematic methods with an emphasis on empirical data so that political processes could be used interpreted scientifically. Thus, Behaviouralists help to adopt a scientifically-oriented approach to studying political science to favour an interdisciplinary approach in analyzing and predicting political phenomena.

Thus, in the end, some of the most important reasons linked to the growth of post behaviouralism have been quite important in addressing the social issues and their solutions along sides of over-emphasizing the methods of research and the tools, along with consuming time over conceptualizing or theory-building.

Features of Post-Behaviouralism-

Some of the characteristic features of post-behaviouralism can be understood as;

- **It is considered a movement of protest-** It is a movement to go into protests against the wrong direction, which the behaviouralists have given with regards to political science. The behaviouralists have stressed more about relevance and action, where they held that political science might be directed to solve actual problems, that are more relevant in society. Thus, political scientists need to try to view the political situation as a whole right manner of initiating any action, with deliberating upon basic issues of the society like justice, liberty, equality, democracy, etc.
- **Opposition to the value-free concept-** In his theory of modification, David Easton has called for extinguishing the values as a part of a study of politics. In this case, the study of science cannot be or has never been quite well evaluated in a neutral manner despite the protestation to the contrary. Thus, to understand the limits of our knowledge, we also need to be aware of the values of the premises in which they stand with using this knowledge.
- **Ensuring a strong level of future orientation and predictability-** Post-behavioural studies usually want the behaviouralists to link their empirical methods of research and approach to make theories that could solve present and future problems, which can be very well oriented. According to David Easton, post-behavioural revolution might have appearances of another reaction to behaviouralist, but it is notably different. Behaviouralism as an approach was viewed as a threat to the status quo, whereas classicism and traditionalism in the post-behavioural revolution are mostly futureoriented. It does not seek to return to some of the golden ages of political research or to conserve to destroy a particular methodological approach, rather than just seeking proper political science in a new direction.

- **It is an intellectual tendency-** The post-behavioural approach also stands as a movement of intellectual tendency, whereas a protest movement follows a section of scientists. As the youth engage in a genuine revolution, rather than a reaction other than an act of preservation, reform rather than not a counter-reformation. So, it would also be wrong to identify the case of post-behaviouralists with any particular political ideology. The whole improbable diversity, political, methodological, and generation was bound together by one sentiment alone in case of a deep discontent with the direction of contemporary political reach.

David Easton's Assumptions of the Post-Behaviouralist Approach-

Some of the important points with regard to the Post-Behaviouralist Approach can be gradually considered;

- **Importance of substance over techniques-** Post-behaviouralists call for the use of sophisticated tools of investigation, but the most important point at this stage lies regarding the purpose relating to which these tools are used. Unless scientific research is being carried out in a relevant and meaningful manner for contemporary purposes it is not quite worth being undertaken with prior importance.
- **Ensuring a greater rate of focus with a focus on reality-** Political Science must be able to address the needs of mankind by identifying future social problems with suggesting relevant solutions to face and solve those problems effectively.
- **Recognizing the importance of the existing values-** According to the postbehaviouralist approach, one thing that can be considered with prime importance is the factor, that the propelling force behind any form of knowledge includes the right goals and values that have to be restored as the central position, as humans will need prior protection for those.
- **Defining the Post-Behavioural Approach as an important factor from the point of being action-oriented-** Knowledge is an important tool that is required to be put to work and accordingly David Easton puts it out to bear the responsibility for acting and engages in resorting to its use in society.

- **It is an action-oriented approach-** Knowledge needs to be put to work, which has been pointed out by David Easton as an act to bear the responsibility to act and engage in restoring society, where the post behaviouralists ask for an action-science in place of contemplative-sciences.

Thus, referring to the viewpoint of the post-behaviouralists it can be seen that once a point has been recognized, the intellectuals will have an important role to play in the society, which is to determine the proper goals for the society to make it move in the right direction. However, if these goals become inevitable to politicize the professional associations and the universities will become not only inseparable but highly desirable.

Assumptions on Behaviouralism as pointed out by David Easton-

- **Regularities-** It mostly means that even if the individuals behave in a different manner under different circumstances, there can be certain observable uniformities in terms of the behaviour of the individuals. In other words, in a particular situation where the political behaviour of an individual stands to be similar, these regularities can be well observed with general conclusions to be framed that can be further expressed in terms of generalizations or theories in order to explain and predict a political phenomenon. Behaviouralists have asserted that any kind of regularities in terms of behaviours can help researchers to analyze a political situation as well as predict the future of a political phenomenon. Thus, the study of such regularities can make the study of political science more scientific with a predictive value.
- **Verification-** The Second assumption is that the generalizations have been drawn by observing regularities that need to be verified and tested where the behaviouralists have not accepted anything as it is granted by them. Therefore, they also look after emphasizing or testing to get everything verified. So, anything that cannot be verified by them is not scientific by nature.
- **Techniques-** Behaviouralists have exerted more emphasis on the use of scientific tools, methods, and techniques that are being used for studying political phenomena. However, they also look into exerting an emphasis on the use of research methods that generate valid, reliable, and comparative data altogether.

- **Values-** This mostly refers to the studying of the different standards of behaviour and was mostly associated with normative judgment, where everything is judged from the perspective of norms. In this case, behaviouralists exert the utmost emphasis on the separation of facts from values. They also believe that to do any objective research one has to be value-free, which means that empirical judgment and value judgments are not mixed together in other words, the researcher must not have preconceived notions or views.
- **Systemisation-** According to behaviouralists, any type of research in the field of political science needs to be systematic. Collection of data and facts, research, analysis, building up of conclusions, and everything else are in most cases closely related. Further, any forms of theory and research need to go together where the researchers need to see their work to be theory-oriented and directed. The researchers of political behavior need to proceed in terms of their analysis in a systematic manner, where the sole purpose of the research would be to arrive at a conclusion of truth to build up general principles, all of which in turn work to supply materials for building up a structure of history.
- **Pure Science-** Behaviouralists have to claim this approach and their conclusions to be based upon principles of pure science, even if their research conforms to the basic principles of pure science. Therefore, behaviouralist believes that the study of political science needs to be verified by exact evidence. They have to adopt methods and techniques of pure science, where they will naturally attach great importance to research and build conclusions based upon those. Thus, behaviouralists claim their dependence on pure science to have enhanced the acceptability and prestige of their conclusions.
- **Integration-** It is another important tent of behaviouralist. According to the Behaviouralists, political science needs to be studied in consonance with the other social science disciplines like History, Sociology, and Economics. However, this approach believes that political events are being shaped by various factors that influence society, it would be wrong to see a probable division in the study of political theory. Thus, in other words, political

science needs to be studied in consonance with other social science subjects as well in order to get an absolute and holistic understanding of the discipline.

3.4 Concept of Power- Definition, Characteristics, Kinds and Manifestations

Meaning and Definition of Power-

Power which stands in compliance with terms like influence, authority, and capability are related terms that are often used interchangeably, which does create conceptual confusion. Thus, an attempt has been made in this case to bring out the differences in the meaning and the viability of the terms by defining each of these separately into how every scholar defined the term as per their perseverance.

As per **Kautilya** or **Chanakya**, the term of **Power** stands in compliance to define the possession of strength or attitude which is derived from three major elements like- **Knowledge, Military Might, and Valour**. About which he wrote in the 4th Century BC. However, in the Contemporary age, **Hans Morgenthau** followed the lines of Kautilya's postulations on Power and created a **Realistic vision** of defining **Power** as, 'the relationship between the two political actors, where one actor would possess the ability to control the thoughts and actions of the other actor'.

According to the words of Hans Morgenthau, 'Power comprises of anything to establish and maintain control of man over man which covers all social relationships that serve the end from physical violence to most subtle psychological ties by which one mind helps to control the other mind.'

Power is viewed as a set of attributes of a given actor and the relationships between the actors, as the Concept of Power is simply seen as the relationship between different independent entities. The best way to Operationalize and measure the state's capacity to exercise power is also to look at the specific attributes and the elements that can be measured.

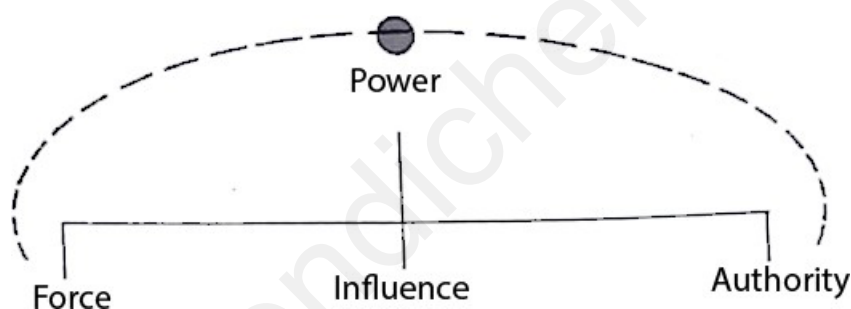
As per Schwarzenberger, Power is defined as the Capacity to impose one's will over others by reliance upon effective sanctions in case of non-compliance issues, which has been distinguished from the end of influences

and force by considering them as a factor to contain a threat not at the present influence or preventing the actual use of force.

As per Schleicher, power can be considered as an alternate distinct term equal to influence. Power is the ability to make others do things that they would not do by rewarding or promising to be rewarded by depriving or threatening to deprive them of something they might value.

On the other hand, influencing means changing the behaviour of others through persuasion rather than through the exercise of coercion. In his words, Power relations are clearly marked by the occurrence of threats where the influence relationship gets manifested without the threat of sanctions.

According to the concept of Max Weber, Power is any chance within the areas of social relationships that makes it relevant to carry out one's own will against any forms of resistance. Max Weber's broad definition also encompasses the types of power, starting from the areas of persuasion to coercion, including the exercise of power being grounded under the claims of legitimacy and exercises based upon no normative claims.



A diagrammatic understanding of the concept of Power as stated above. Source <https://www.politicalscienceview.com/concept-of-power-in-political-science/>

The Three major distinguishing Components of the Concept of Power- The three components that make up the Concept of Power can be understood in the following as;

- **Authority**- It is the ability to exercise power through the goals and objectives of decision-making and the ability to comply with the demands of others.
- **Sovereignty**- It refers to the highest levels of power that cannot be overruled, such a situation where the citizens of a state recognize the authority of the state. Take an example of the 195 Sovereign

nation-states of the world that possess political and diplomatic power to influence the world order with their opinions and decisions.

- **Legitimacy-** When the citizens of a nation recognize the leader's rights to exercise their power over them, that is where the citizens recognize that authority.

The relevance of the concept of Power in Politics and Governance-

The concept and dimensions of power are actually two separate terms having different meanings. But they are closely related mechanisms that operate along sides of each other in the international system. Thus, together these mechanisms affect the balance of power system existing in the domain of politics and governance.

The Three Concepts of Power-

- **Power in terms of capabilities and attributes-** Anything that a state possesses and uses on the international stage, such as the population and geographical size of a nation, its hard and soft power capabilities, its natural resources, economic wealth, efficiency of government and nature of leadership, etc. It includes anything and everything a nation can use to exert and expand its influence. However, these capabilities also determine the potential power a state can constitute rather than the actual power, as different capabilities matter to different extents in different contexts.
- **Power in terms of relations-** The capabilities possessed by a state can only be used and measured in relation to those possessed by the other states. Taking the example of the United States of America, which does have a regional dominance because of their greater capabilities across the entire world. In comparison, the US in comparison with China can be called upon with less influence in their relationships where power can be observed as an effective action of one state over another.
- **Power in terms of structure-** Structural power can be best understood as the ability to decide upon how international relations are being conducted based upon the frameworks on the basis of which they are conducted such as finance, security, and economics.

However, all these three concepts of power, simultaneously operate in lieu of all things that determine the different outcomes of power which is used in terms of politics based upon contexts. However, in such contexts, military strength can be more important in determining success even if in others, it can also include the knowledge of the state, as well.

Kinds of power structures which can be understood in the following ways as;

The different types of power structures can be understood below such as;

➤ **Physical Power-**

A nation's military strength or hard power can also be understood as physical power. Both nations like the US and China have strong military might, which can give a government of state to enjoy the political power of the state, because of the military's subordination to the political authority. Thus, whenever this subordination stands to be disturbed the military leadership can then only think of unwillingly taking over power. It is also the case how Military Coups have been taking place in different parts of the world, followed by a change of the political power through the hands of authority.

The rapid pace of technological developments that are taking place through the state's physical power are mostly divided among the different wings of authorities like the armed forces, or the nuclear forces.

➤ **Psychological Power-**

It stands at a point of understanding the use of power over public opinion which consists of symbolic devices that are utilized as a result of an appeal to the emotions of men, which is quite identical to the part of the propaganda. However, it is also an endeavor to regulate the thoughts and actions of others through the help of propaganda. In a way, propaganda as an effort is generally motivated by the help of power opinion to boost the morale of the people at home to carry out the psychological warfare and acquire the right of moral leadership, elsewhere.

Psychological power is mainly used as a tactful effort, such as taking the example of India's Republic Day Parade where its military and cultural or technical might is showcased, Also at the same time, the governments of various nations use propaganda as a technique to expand their psychological power among their rival nations, through the help of their

broadcasting institutions or channels. For example, India's All India Radio or Doordarshan Television has channels in different languages to cater to the informational reach of different based on their lingual reach.

However, psychological power is also referred to as plot which is employed to weaken the opponent's moral strength and by spreading a sense of disloyalty among the people by instigating them to take an opposing stand against the government or the political leadership ruling their country.

➤ **Economic Power-**

Economic power is also the ability of a nation to control the behaviour of other nations by having greater control over the economic goods and services capability of a state. A highly industrialized and economically sound country can always go ahead in this effort to influence needy nations by giving them economic aid and rewards or offering them capital and technical assistance. Thus, offering economic development is held to enhance a nation's capacity to influence others through persuasion and enable them to resist persuasion and punishment by others, both of which are important methods to power.

An economically prosperous nation possesses the ability to buy and sell and both are used in a way to increase the nation's power through the help of international trade. A state's foreign trade also stands as the symbol of power whereby the nation also attempts to project the ability to ensure the economic dependency of other nations upon it.

Take the examples of Nepal and Bhutan and their dependence upon India for their foreign trade as their immediate neighbour.

The developed nations have always followed whatever, has been propagated as an economic policy towards the developing countries following which this aid policy has created a large stockpile of credit amongst the developed nations of the world for the developing countries to prove a dubious political advantage.

Methods of exercising national power:

The question arises in this when a particular Nation tries to persuade another nation to exercise power. However, there are four ways and methods following which one nation actually tries to influence or control another nation as per its own desire. These can be understood as follows;

- **Persuasion-** The most common and widely used in exercising power. In this method what a nation does is to influence another them arguments or superior logic to redefine the whole situation so that the other nation changes its mind about what it ought to do. Most of the delegates of the international organizations employ this method to persuade whereas all the small nations largely rely upon these less expansive methods as they lack the power and the means to coerce.
- **Rewards-** One particular nation can regulate the conduct of another nation by offering it various rewards. Rewards for compliance might include psychological manipulation, material, and economic support, military and social aid, or political support. In this case, any diplomat who alters their stand wins the application of their fellow diplomats from other nations, where these rewards can be material in the shape of the territory. However, as a result, the rewards can be quite economical in the form of aid, loans, grants, capital supply, technical assistance, etc., whereas the political rewards can consist of the support from the end of the viewpoint expressed in international conferences and forums.
- **Punishment-** rewards and punishment have a close relation with each other and the most effective form of punishment lies in close cooperation with reward. Punishment includes instances of hostile activities like unfriendly propaganda, and diplomatic opposition, along with aiding the enemies of the states. At the same time, it also needs to be a concern that can be meted out because of the threat that succeeds in preventing the action where it can be given in such a way that it can be withdrawn at once when the offending party changes and subscribes to the way these instances are shown by the party involved.
- **Force-** Punishment is usually threatened as a preventive measure where the use of force is carried out, where punishment and the use of force are not strictly separated from each other through a distinction from the viewpoint of prevention. The intensity of hostility leads to creating hostility between these two analyses, where the most extreme form of this use of force is war, where force is always used as the last resort when the above three methods prove futile.

Thus, for the sake of clarification, the methods of persuasion and reward can constitute to the influence during the last two decades, where punishment and force can form a combination of power. The analysis of these four means usually reveals that what can distinguish power from influence is led by coercion or force.

The different dimensions of power-

Karl Deutsch gives about three dimensions of power that can be easily measured and allow to explore the analysis to quantify and rank a nation as a part of the projected capability, which in brief can be considered as the following;

- **The domain of power-** A Domain answers the questions regarding those by whom power is exercised, as power as a tool is exercised over people, territory, and wealth. In this case, the case the domain can be divided into internal and external domains. In the context of international relations, the external domain stands to be quite relevant from all angles, where it means the nation-state's ability to exercise its power outside the limits of its territory. Taking the example of the external power of the US that comprises of bilateral or multilateral defense pacts like NATO or the ANZUS Treaty.

In this respect, James Rosenau has propounded the concept of penetration where he has defined the process in which the members of the polity actually serve in cooperation with the participation of the political processes. However, some of the pointers in this case also present penetration of a number of basic facilities that the country can maintain in other states, along with the quantity of foreign aid that is given. Thus, penetration can help to manifest itself in colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, and dependency.

- **Range of Power-** Karl Deutsch has defined a range of differences between the highest reward and the worst forms of punishment which a power holder can bestow upon some person in their domain. The range has also internal and external components, where a state can control the people by resorting to benign and tyrannical measures. Thus, the government can also exercise power over their subjects both through reward as well as punishment, where the reward can include welfare measures, and democratic rights. Punishments can be given to those who will disobey the

government under the external range, colonialism, and neo-colonialism could be regarded as the external analogue of tyranny.

On the other hand, all the mutually beneficial alliances or equitable economic cooperation structures of the nation-states, where a powerful nation can punish a weak nation directly or indirectly if the latter does not follow any line. In this case, such forms of punishment can stretch the hostile propaganda to military intervention, where the reward comes as a form of economic, military, or diplomatic help.

- **Scope of power-** Tracing to the words of Karl Deutsche, the scope of power comes as a set or collection of all the particular kinds of classes of behaviour, relations, and affairs that are effectively subjected to governmental power whereby this collection can lead to embracing the types of activities a government can seek to control the domestic and foreign influences. Thus, the technological revolution can also substantially increase the internal and external scope of power, where in the present context the external control can lead to take up various forms as subtle and complex forms of development. Thus, such a powerful state can also exercise the information that is possessed by the other states without even firing a single shot.

Taking the example of the Latin American countries, they can be economically and politically controlled by the US albeit of the fact that they are not its former colonies, and the multinational companies can play a major role in the machination of dependency and interdependence.

However, these countries depend upon others for such important things as technologies, energy materials such as oil, uranium, natural gas, investment capital, managerial personnel, and information processing systems.

Manifestations on the role and the use of power:

A nation can use power in international relations for various purposes where the chief constituents can be referred to as;

- **Capability-**

Scholars like Lerche and Edward Said have used the term capability instead of power, as the latter has laid down an over-emphasis on coercion. According to these scholars, capability is always known as the ability to

do anything for purposefully acting in an actual situation, whereas power implies this and it popularly becomes a status where the states agree to achieve things at large.

Thus, the scholars also think of a powerful state without considering doing things with respect to an immediate situation, as their right to capability preserves the necessary nexus where policy and action with careless use of power can lead to a situation of overlooks. Based on these reasons, they use the former terms to refer to the overall action based upon the competence of the states.

However, on the other hand, other scholars like Theodore Coloumbis and Wolfe prefer to interpret the term capability as a tangible and an intangible attribute of the nation-states to permit the use of various degrees of power in their contracts with the others. Thus, technically the term of power stands to be quite distinct from Capacity, which has been preferred by most scholars by adhering to the effectiveness of the term.

➤ **National Power-**

National Power is known as that power which is possessed by a nation-state. As per Padelford and Lincoln, National Power is considered as the total strength and the capabilities of a state, that is harnessed and applied for the advancement of the national interests to attain their national objectives. Thus, in a formal sense, agrarian national power has been defined as a nation's capacity to achieve its national interests. This power enables the state's right to defend its interests in the long run with producing desired results, whereby it is an indicator of the ability to influence opinions, human behaviour, and the course of events taking place outside their own frontiers.

Thus, according to Anam Jaitly, national power could also be considered an effort to influence people and other nations domestically and externally to ascertain desired national preferences including a favourable response from these sectors to accomplish the preferences.

National Power has in that sense taken up an effort to be constituted by several elements or factors, where Ebenstein has also defined national power in terms of their attributes and elements, where national power stands to be more effective than its total population, the raw materials, and the quantitative factors which are responsible.

Thus, any discussion on the nature and the importance of power can be summed up in the words of Organski, which is known as the 'ability to influence the behaviour of others at one's own end unless a nation can do this, then they might be at large, wealthy, even greater and powerful as well.

➤ **National Security-**

Every nation has its own department and ministry that is responsible for the defense of the country, which shows how all nations feel the need to possess military or physical power in the interest of a nation's national security.

Generally defensive wars can also take the turn of becoming preemptive wars as well. A preemptive war is initiated by the defensive power in order to forestall an attack that is believed to be imminent, where military might and preparedness come up as the essential elements to deter the interference tendency of the opponents or even if they occur, the goal would be ensured towards preventing them. During the Cold War, the US justified its ownership of a large stockpile of nuclear weapons as a deterrent power. At this point in time, the US also sought to counter the Soviet Union by making it informed and alert about the nuclear capability that it possessed by keeping an equally destructive and retaliatory step. Thus, during the period of the Gulf War in 1991, the US also moved ahead to protect its vital interests whereby it compelled Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

- **Prevention of Status quo-** the status quo policy mainly aims at preserving the distribution of power prevalent at any time in history, where this moment of history could be taken as a reference to pursue the status quo policy by terminating a war. Following the end of the war, a peace treaty is signed that is a result of a shift in terms of the present regulations. Thus, the nations that follow a status quo policy look towards utilizing power to preserve the new shifts in the approach towards balance of power.

Taking the example of the developments in Europe from 1815-1848, there were certain countries of Europe that followed a status quo policy, where they used their powers to defend the peace settlement initiatives of 1815, of which the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 and the Truman Doctrine of 1946 could be taken as the desired results.

➤ **Changes in terms of the Status Quo-**

The nations using their power to change the status quo in favour of pursuing a policy of imperialism, where any effort to change the existing distributions of power can lead to the distribution of power in favour of its means for following the crudest forms of imperialist tendencies.

It is mainly replaced with the help of more covert imperialist policies like economic and cultural imperialism. Napoleon, Hitler, Alexander, and in the recent past Saddam Hussein of Iraq used their military power or attempted to use it for the expansion of their political powers. Thus, the nations attempting to fight these defensive wars might also be attempting to go for treaties that might not merely restore the pre-war balance. But they will somehow place a balance in their favour.

However, it can lead to a less obtrusive situation where economic expansion can lead towards a controlling foreign market by exporting capital, providing economic aid loans, and operating multinational corporations. However, another way by which the status quo can be changed is through the help of cultural imperialism, whereby it does not indulge in the conquest of territory and forces its retention, nor the economic penetration, instead of their endeavours to change the existing balance of power by conquering the minds of the people.

This development can be achieved with the help of propaganda, as the nations just mind it necessary to be armed and ready to meet the issues arising out of any cases of military aggression, where they will use their powers to counter the economic and cultural expansion.

➤ **Use of power through Diplomacy-**

The diplomats of a nation utilize their power, as the diplomats belonging to a powerful country always act confidently to conduct their diplomatic activities in comparison to the diplomats of the less powerful states. In this case, power helps the nations at the negotiation table, enabling a nation to advance its claims or to resist the claims of the other nations.

It can also be called that the strength of diplomatic authority comes out of the political power exercised by a country and in that case, if a country is found to be in a powerful position, then the diplomats can also effectively employ the means of persuasion and diplomatic maneuvers to deal with any forms of threats.

➤ **Power as a tool to enhance prestige-**

Various nations use powers to enhance their prestige in the entire global context, in this case, enhancement refers to the show and their demonstration of power, where the nations occasionally look towards displaying power and strength before the other nations of the world in various ways.

Taking the example of the occasion of the Independence Day of India, all the diplomats and dignitaries who visit to see the demonstration of India's Military and Technological or cultural might come as an effort to show the technological, economic, and infrastructural prowess of the country to the entire world.

The other frequent example that can also be considered in this case is the method of frequently demonstrating power by ensuring solidarity and friendship with other nations through the exchange of diplomatic visits.

However, any nation that exhibits its power can also ensure to use it by calling upon a partial or total mobilization of its resources, or when it feels threatened by an enemy, then it can seek to convince the enemy and the rest of the world by means of defending itself. Thus, through this instance, the prestige or reputation of the military might and preparedness can be used by countries to their fullest advantage.

➤ **Power as an element to serve the national interests of a nation-**

Power is also used as a tool to fulfill vital national interests such as national security and independence, to preserve the status quo, and prestige to accomplish other national interests. These interests can be on the basis of geographical, political, economic, social, educational, scientific, technical, strategic, cultural, etc., where each country has its own national interests. Thus, the equation stands in a manner where the more powerful a country is, then the easier will it be to achieve its goals than those which the other nations aim to.

However, power alone is the most important tool that is used by nations to fulfill their various national interests at large.

Theoretical viewpoints on the Concept of Power Max Weber's Concept of Power-

In the Mid-20th Century, there was a debate that emerged in the field of the social sciences on the different contrasting types of power theory called the Elitist and the Pluralist Theories. Although both these approaches are based upon the fact of Max Weber's conception of power as the capacity to create a desired outcome within a social relationship differ on the question of the distribution of power, which is whether power is concentrated in the hands of few or more widely be shared among competing groups.

The **Elitist Theory of Power** has been viewed as the fact related to the capital of an elite possession of the society's critical levers with an instrument of social control. Such kinds of levers could include political appointments, like mass media, multinational corporations, the military, and others examples which have been called by C. Wright Mills as the 'strategic command posts of the social structure.' Other scholars like Robert A. Dahl had rejected the elitist conception of power as contrary to the reality characteristic of modern democracies where instead a pluralistic or democratic conception of power has been more widely shared. Although Robert A. Dahl had shared and recognized the need for power distributing power unequally in those democracies where he claimed that it was not monopolized and contested by a multitude of groups and political actors.

However, the Weberian concept of power as the agency or the capacity to impose one will does not even address the dimensions of power. This can be understood on the basis of two reasons which can be considered as;

Firstly, it treats the resistance as a counterforce that is somehow or not in itself in a form of power. However, this resistance can have a significant social impact even when it is unable to prevail.

Secondly, the Weberian Concept of Power also does not explain how power reproduces itself over time to be institutionalized. In this case, the oppressed populations often accept their oppression as a natural or inevitable state of affairs that can itself be seen as a form of power which is sometimes called mystification along with the obscuration of the actual social dynamics wherever it does not express itself through the act of deliberately lead an action or influence any actor. This condition in which the dominance of a social actor or group is seen as the natural order of things is also called the term hegemony scholars have been influenced by Marxism in particular with reference to the works of Antonio Gramsci.

Thirdly the concept focuses on the agency without addressing how one's will be opposing it might be influencing the power relationships.

The Elitist Theory of Power-

The theme of the Elitist Theory of Power lies in the small section known as elites. In this case, the Marxists challenged the class-divided societies where power does not even lie with the masses. However, they believe that power lies with the propriety class, who have been called the bourgeoisie by the Marxists, and they call these Bourgeoise Democracies a dictatorship of the minority over the majority. At the same time, the Elitist Theorists also claimed the Socialist states to be democratic because of their power relations with the people, as the dictatorship of the proletariat or as people's democracy.

The Elitist scholars, primarily Western Scholars have approached and concluded the fact that power never lies with the people. Thus, power always lies with the elite. The nature of money and power is always the same and it always lies with the elite. Thus, the nature of money and power is the same, which always gets concentrated when there is no trickling effect. So, power with the masses is a mythical concept, rather power with the masses is neither possible nor desirable. Hence democracies are oligarchies, where Robert Michels in his book 'Political Parties' had given the concept of the Iron Law of Oligarchy.

The Pluralist Theory of Power-

The Pluralist Theory of Power is given by Robert Dahl, where he examined the view of C Wright Mills about democracy in the US. Mills suggested that the US is an oligarchic system of governance where decision-making authority remains concentrated under the hands of the elites.

Robert Dahl conducted a field survey in a place named 'New Heaven' in the US, where he found that it is wrong to believe the fact that the entire power in the US remains concentrated under the hands of the elites. Also, there are quite powerful interest groups and associations as well who do not exercise power, but as members of a group, they are fairly successful in protecting the interests of the people. Thus, the pressure groups hold a considerable amount of power in the US.

At the same time, Robert Dahl also does not even reject the idea proposed by C Wright Mills to view that, power elites do not exist. However, the power elites also do not make decisions affecting the day-to-day lives of the people.

Democracy is the rule of masses, where it is based upon the assumption that the people as individuals are participating in the decision-making process. However, in this case, the practice of democracy persists. In this case, the instance of the oligarchy of power is mostly concentrated in the hands of the few, where both forms of government, oligarchy, and democracy are the two major extremes. The Western Democracies are mostly polyarchy, where it can be widely described as the best practice form of democracy. It is also an approximate democracy where ideal democracy never exists in practice. Thus, as per the point of view of Robert Dahl, it is wrong to call the Democracy of the US an oligarchy, whereas it is most correct to use the term polyarchy.

For the pluralists, Democracy exists as a rule of law for all, not as the correct word, rather it is not the rule of the rule of many. Democracy denotes where the masses are not empowered as an individual. Polyarchy suggests the masses have power as a member of the group. Also, they can make decisions in their interest if they can form associations that can effectively prepare grounds to secure their interests. Thus, for the pluralists, power gets fairly distributed amongst the different associations.

Michael Foucault's Theory of Power-

The Theory of Power propounded by Michael Foucault is unconventional in nature. Through these Conventional Strategies, he suggested that power lies with the state or a king has a monopoly over power. For Michael Foucault, the king has a monopoly over power in a discourse. Power is not just a one-dimensional condition, the King also has power. The King lies under the power of the society. The Society's power lies in the forms of discourses. Discourses mainly flow throughout society following a network of capillaries.

Power is everywhere and it comes from anywhere. Individuals not only exercise power but also, embody power, as they are themselves products of the discourses. According to Michael Foucault, power is a technique or a strategy. Power is not stored, rather it is exercised and is not coercive. But power gives an identity.

In places where there is power, there remains a scope for resistance, such as power there is a scope for resistance. Thus, Micael Foucault's Theory of power is sociological rather than Juridica-Discursive. Instead of the macro-theory of power, Michael Foucault gives the microtheory of

power. He also looks into the institutions, but at the micro level each and every individual exercises power over the other.

Michael Foucault's Theory of Power helps us to understand a specific form of power that is being exercised by society in the form of a 'disciplinary power.' Discipline is a power that is exercised in such a way that the person on whom this power is being exercised may feel that it goes in his interest. However, it is in the interest of the society or state, which has been published and discussed in his text titled, 'The Discipline and Punish', where he discussed the evolution of the 'Disciplinary Society'. Thus, initially, it was witnessed in this case that there was a system of punishment that followed in an extremely harsh manner.

Thus, taking an example of this instance it can be followed in a way where Michael Foucault gave the reference of panopticon. Panopticon is a semi-circular design of a prison that was given by Jeremy Bentham as a part of his suggestion on prison reforms. In the panopticon, there remains a central tower where the prison authorities keep a watch on the activities of the prisoners. However, with the passage of time, the system of punishment changed, where the prisoners are not kept within the prisons, but in return, they are allowed to move within the boundary of the four walls of the prison.

So, Micheal Foucault has analyzed the evolution of discourses in such a way that he called his method a genealogy that he took from Friedrich Nietzsche, which was later preferred by him using the terms, archaeology instead of genealogy.

3.5 Political Modernization- Meaning, Characteristics and Agents

Political Modernization is a term that does not have an easy meaning that can be very simply comprehended. This term is generally used as a means to refer to the changes in political attitudes that can lead to the transformation of political institutions. It is known as the process of transmission of a traditional political system into a modern system. In Western Nations, these changes in political systems and cultures or in terms of the institutions occurred over a long period of time, resulting in the development of the standards of performance standards through the rational utilization of resources.

Modern Society emerged in the West as a characterization of science and technology, social interdependence, urbanization, literacy, social

mobility, etc. In the field of politics, modernization has been referred to as the case of transition from traditional political systems to the modern democratic system. Thus, to this extent, political modernization emerged as an important approach in terms of comparative politics in the period of late 1950s.

At this stage, the developments have mainly been influenced by the constant changes in the characteristics of the political systems with lieu to the extent of developments that have been taking place within the gamut of social life across the diverse legal spheres. These resulting changes occurring in the political structure and the cultural characteristics have been mainly influenced by the modern ideas of liberalism, secularism, transparency, and industrialization. However, these changes are also mostly concerned with the instances of ending the dominance of the religion/church-led form of authority, followed by the establishment of secular and central political authority. Thus, in such a way, the process of political modernization lost its steam and relevance by the end of the 1960s as a result of the emerging challenges emerging from within the scholars in the non-Western world. Thus, with the onset of the Third Wave of Democratization in the 1980s and the growing interdependence of the nation-states since the 1990s, there was a scene of revival that was witnessed with the revival of political modernization. Some of the features of the modernization process like differentiation, secularisation, rationalization, economic development, and its linkages with the help of sustainable democracies are gaining significant ground in terms of comparative political analysis.

So, in this unit's part dealing with Political Modernization will be looking towards analyzing and examining the features and assumptions of the modernization approach by examining the limitations with a contemporary significance.

The meaning of the concept of Political Modernization-

Political Modernization mainly refers to the process of change in the political culture and political institutions as a result of the process of modernization. It is mostly referred to as the change in terms of the political culture and the political institutions that combine with itself and together lead to an acceleration of a process through which the benefits of performance in the standards and achievements can be obtained by the lesser developed societies.

Like Political Development, it is also very difficult to give a precise definition of political modernization as well. Generally, it is a process that is based upon the fact of rational utilization of the resources aimed toward the establishment of a modern society.

However, the term Modern Society stands for defining a society that has been characterized by the application of technology, with an extensive understanding of social interdependence, urbanization, literacy, social mobility, and other factors. Thus, in context of the Western Societies, Political Modernization has always involved a breakdown of the traditional society which has been followed by the rise of a completely different society from the scrap. As society is mainly based upon the advancements in the spirit of technology and science, a secular approach to the instances of social relations combined with a feeling for justice in public interest also widely matters.

According to the concept of a modern Society, a modern Man is also being looked at in this respect where he works in terms of attributing to compassion, humanness, and a universal world with equally possessing harmony and the values of unity, mutuality, and humanness. This can be called the humanistic concept of modernization which believes in the fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Mankind. This concept of humanistic conception of modernization believes in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of mankind which differs from the other similar concepts of modernization. Thus, Political Modernization is not the only issue that is attributed to changes in the political attributes of the individuals or the political system of modern society having a larger scope.

Generally, this also covers a larger scope of the social life in different spheres which has been simultaneously concerned with many things at a time. It is also concerned with a change in the outlook of an individual, where a change in the philosophy of the political system, political culture covering the realm of economics, sociology, and psychology and industrialization together with the urbanization of rural life.

There are many dimensions of political modernization, which have been viewed from the psychological, intellectual, social, and economic spheres, where modern man believes in initiating greater changes in nature and society. Thus, at the individual level Political Modernization involves a greater deal of expansion in terms of man's knowledge about his environment followed by the distribution of their knowledge in society

through the instances of increased literacy, mass communication, and education.

Modernization is regarded as a comprehensive phenomenon. The Western Concept of Modernization stands for the replacement of society by a complete rejection based upon the use of advanced technology and a secular approach towards social relations.

In India, they stand for ensuring a sense of continuity and change with the creation of a new identity by destroying the glorious rich heritage. Modernization is essentially a restricting of the tradition along democratic lines, which means creating a new system upon the old one without the substitution of a new one and withdrawing the old systems.

Theory of Modernization: Evolutionary to Functional-

In the 1950s the Modernization Theory began to affect the research agenda of several disciplines of social sciences, that includes political science. This development occurred at a time as a result of the intellectual ferment in the disciplines and insights based upon the advances of understanding group behaviour focussing on areas of psychology, sociology, and economics that were incorporated within the theoretical domain of politics. At the same time, it occurred in the historical domains in the post-World War 2 years, where the US emerged as a superpower, and the UK, France, and Germany approached studying Comparative Politics which had become quite weak.

At that point in time, the US introduced the Marshall Plan to reconstruct the war-ravaged Western Europe. Thus, since the 1950s the US started dominating the affairs of the world, at the same time the Soviet Union was also emerging as a strong contender to the US by expanding its spread of Communism throughout Eastern Europe and Asia. The US was looking forward to containing this approach of the Soviet Union. thus, the disintegration of the European Colonial Empires in Asia, and Africa gave birth to many new nations in the post-Second World War Period. Thus, in this case, the newly emerged independent nation-states were faced with two different models of development such as the Socialist and the Capitalist Models, which looked forward to promoting their economy to consolidate their independence.

Thus, much of the research that was done in this case, was mainly focussed on the development of non-Western societies that were influenced by the two theories of modernization, such as the evolutionary and the functionalist theories.

The Evolutionary Theory explains modernization in terms of the transition from traditional to modern society. This theory was also an outcome of the Industrial and the French Revolution that was responsible for destroying the old social order and laying the foundation of the new social order. Thus, the revolution resulted in the rise of productivity with advancement in science and technology. However, the new order also stood as an outcome of the Industrial Revolution by increasing the rates of differentiation and scale. Thus, the society's most successfully developed an intensive division of labour which gradually became highly productive because of their nature.

The Classical Revolutionary Theory led to the assumption that human society is invariable from a primitive to an advanced stage, where the fate of human evolution stands to be quite predetermined. The cycle of evolution goes from a simple, primitive society to a complex and modern society under a constant process that is time-consuming. It also imposed a value judgment on the evolutionary process. Thus, the movement towards the final phase has been perceived to be a better one because of the progress, humanity, and the civilizational trend represented by it. Thus, the evolutionary theory underlines the assumption of social change which is quite slow, gradual, and piecemeal being evolutionary or non-revolutionary by nature. Thus, another part that includes a theoretical heritage of the school of modernization is the Functional Theory.

The Functional Theory was proposed by Talcott Parsons, whose concepts included system, functional imperatives, homeostatic equilibrium, and pattern of variables, Talcott Parsons initially studied the different parts or functions that make up the different functions of society.

The Political Modernization Approach-

The origins of the Political Modernization Approach is Comparative Politics were traced to the evolutionary explanations of the social change in 19th Century Europe. The Philosophers and founders of modern Sociology, like Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim, Herbert Spencer, Max Weber,

and Karl Marx gave different explanations of the transformation from preindustrial to industrial societies.

The modernization theory has always remained divided into two different streams for a long time, which can be understood as;

- Firstly, the Marxist description argues that the factors of economy, politics, and culture as intimately associated with efforts of development to determine the society's political and cultural characteristics.
- The second is the version of the theory propounded by Max Weber to maintain the fact that culture helps to shape the economy and political lives despite continuing a debate between the two streams, which hold the same opinion on a central point with respect to the socio-economic changes resulting out of consistent and relatively expected patterns.

These two factors also imply crucial social, political, and socio-economic characteristics that are not randomly related and they tend to be closely connected. The two important elements that were found common in terms of their explanations of social change were mostly based on the belief in continuity and progress. These changes were also not continuous explanations, but rather they were progressive.

So, these thinkers believed upon the change that implied in terms of the advancements and their improvement from agriculture to industry, feudalism to capitalism, and from traditional to modern development. This kind of change involved two major sets of processes which have increased the instances of complexities of greater specialization of human organization and activity.

The different approaches leading to the Path of Political Modernization, can be gradually understood as;

➤ **Differentiation-**

The French Philosopher and Sociologist, Emile Durkheim, propounded the Social Differentiation Strategy where he strongly propounded the idea of differentiation and also advocated the idea of division of labour in society. All social activities have been divided on the basis of the institutions, where the division of labour was extended due to communication, urbanization, and population. Differentiation has

been defined in terms of more significant heterogeneity and institutional specialization of the society. In this case family plays an independent role, in contrast to modern societies which have specialized institutions of education, and socialization. The role played by the family has been mainly restricted and the new institutions have played numerous roles in modern societies, where the specialization of the political roles has reflected the modern polity as per the analysis of the neo-evolutionists. In this case, S.N Eisenstadt argued that structural differentiation led to stratification, whereby the process of modernization resulted in a huge fragmentation. Military leaders, intellectuals, bureaucrats, political elites, and entrepreneurs have played a very important role in the process of modernization.

➤ **Securitisation-**

Societies have become more rationalized due to the process of securitization. In this case, securitization enables individuals to differentiate between the sacred and the non-sacred. Finally, it has been sought to lead the path of rational scrutiny, whereby Max Weber, who is a German sociologist was the pioneer of developing the theory of modernization based upon generating social action. In this case, social action has been distinguished between the actions that are determined by reasons and the actions that are determined by a habit or emotion.

Max Weber's System of Bureaucracy was based on the formation of a rational government, where rational legal authority combined with the idea of the means the ends based upon rules and regulations. Greater rationality has been widely supported by technological and scientific knowledge, where political modernization has been associated with institutions, that will contribute to the development of human knowledge. Dankwart Rustow has defined Modernization as a rapidly widening control over nature, and on the other hand, Barrington Moore has also equated modernization with the process of rationalization of social behavior and social organizations. Generally, modernizations have kept on resulting from the increasing control over nature in order to understand the significance of the political modernization approach, it also becomes essential to know the salient features of the traditional societies whose institutions and values are considered obstacles towards the path of political modernization.

➤ **Cultural Modernization-**

Both Rationalization and Secularisation have resulted in leading to changes in the dynamics of cultural modernization, which have been recognized and described by Talcott Parsons as the pattern variables. At the same time, the association with values, and public opinions about society influences social changes in order to understand the dynamics of the territorial communities, social organizations, the family, and occupations. Further, it was argued Talcott Parsons about the modern societies representing universalism, as the modern society also makes judgments at the universal criteria irrespective of any social relationships.

Further Talcott Parsons contrasted ascribed status with achieved status, where he as a means of implying the inherent qualities of the individuals, the achieved status meant of acquiring the qualities of the individual like qualifications. Individuals mostly attain status by means of acquiring the qualities of individuals like educational qualifications and once the individuals are able to attain status in modern society due to their educational qualifications, in the same way, the individuals also acquire their status through inheritance. Thus, a person occupying the ascriptive society is based on the hereditary principle, whereas the bureaucrats are appointed based on merit and educational qualifications. In the same way Talcott Parsons has even analysed the cultural patterns of affectivity with neutrality. Affectivity leads to the development of emotional feelings and sentiments amongst people, whereas on the other hand neutrality leads to the development of personal relationships. So finally, he had contrasted the diffuseness with specificity, where diffuseness implies to a complex web of interconnectedness. On the other hand, specificity leads to the enabling of social systems to diffuse relations between the employer and the employee.

However, at this point, individuals play multiple roles in modern societies, whereby specificity has also indicated the division of social relations and relative independence to diffuse relations for enabling the individuals to play multiple roles together in a society. However, these variables have also indicated the level of transition and progress within modern society at high levels, which have finally resulted in such developments playing a vital role in the development of the political modernization approach.

➤ **A transition from Tradition to Modernity-**

In the 18th and 19th centuries, political modernization came to be associated with the emergence of nation-states and the degree of

industrialization that they went through. However, in the latter half of the 20th Century, the stance of Political Modernization was transformed with the traditional or feudal and semi-feudal political systems leading to changes in terms of social, economic, and cultural aspects.

Scholars who have worked on dealing with the early modernization techniques also argued the stance of how economic development led to cultural and social changes, which in turn led to changes within the political behaviour of the citizens as well. However, there lies a correlation between the political and the economic factors. But as the countries progress and modernize economically, this transition also takes place from agriculture to industrialization. Industrialization leads to urbanization which results in ensuring better access to media, information, and education. Therefore, it also leads to the emergence of the middle class which takes an active role in the political decision-making process. The American Political Sociologist, Karl Deutsch developed the concept of social mobilization, whereby he regarded social mobilization as a vital component of political modernization. In this case, social mobilization also implied changes in the society, that was followed by the transition towards the progress of industrialization, and urbanization creating a conducive atmosphere for the citizens to participate in politics.

Education, social networks, and urbanization were considered crucial aspects of social mobilization in terms of organizing the political awareness that created political awareness among the citizens. In turn, citizen awareness has also raised demands for introduction of various welfare schemes for the holistic development of the citizens.

However, Seymour Martin Lipset argued that modernization will lead to the emergence of democracy and its consolidation in the developing world, as countries developing economically will witness the rise of the middle class, and will actively lead towards participating in civil society and politics. Martin Lipset also argued that education will contribute to the empowerment of the citizens, which has been evident in cases where educated citizens also actively participated in politics and decision-making processes in the government will help to implement various welfare schemes by providing sops to the educated middle class. This process will also lead to the emergence of a robust democracy in the contemporary global world.

The important characteristics that lead to Political Modernization-

Some of the important characteristics leading to Political Modernization can be understood on the basis of some of the important points like;

➤ **Application of technology and mechanization-**

This development in other words means that people generally give up their old ways of living like old methods of agriculture or communication. In the past years, a lot of people in India were dependent upon agriculture, because of their area of habitation, such as living in villages. As a result, these people lived in traditional village houses and used to cultivate their own agriculture cultivation on their own through using the traditional and older means of agriculture.

➤ **Industrialization-**

The people used to spin clothes with the help of spindles and lead their lives in a very traditional method by using their old patterns of occupation at their places of residence. But at a time when industrialization takes place in a particular country, the people give up their traditional rural and agricultural method of economic practice and replaces those through industrialization. Through the process of industrialization, new factories, mills, and production hubs continue to grow daily and introduce the latest technology and new techniques or advanced tools.

➤ **Urbanization-**

In the case of industrialization taking place in a country, there are new industrial centers that gradually develop around or within those particular cities. The people of the villages particularly the labourers usually migrate in large numbers into these new centers with the hope of earning a lot of wages, but their livelihood in the villages and agriculture cannot help them to bear much of the burden.

At the same time, it becomes very inconvenient to travel to the city on a daily basis, as traveling becomes a tough affair for some of them. So, the growing industrialization at large numbers continues to lead the instances of migration from the villages to the cities to settling there permanently, which causes a lot of issues in these cities, starting from problems of housing, sanitation, improving the methods of communication to acquiring more lands for manifold purposes.

➤ **Rise of national and per capita income-**

The agricultural economy alone does not lead to the increase of the national wealth and per capita income, as it supports the idle members of the society, in order to raise the national and per capita income, whereas the old economy needs to be supplemented by industrial growth and its income by exporting the industrial goods the country can make huge profits through.

➤ **Increase of Literacy-**

Another important feature of modernization is made out of the efforts that are made by the government the society to wipe out illiteracy and strenuous efforts for ensuring compulsory education for all children. However, this education also does not remain limited to studying different subjects or disciplines, rather spreading the values, and making people understand the need for compulsory education. In such a way the avenues of higher education are being made available to every citizen at large across all the fields. Thus, realizing these factors, people seek opportunities to attain higher education in the present times, especially after understanding its value.

➤ **Political Participation-**

The best possible opportunities are offered to every person for attaining higher education, where all the people become enlightened, with economic development and equal distribution of wealth enabling everybody to share sometimes from pressing the necessity of the daily wants and devote them to the political participation.

Thus, every voter begins to read their newspapers to learn things about developments in the field of politics, in such cases the voters ultimately become enlightened and cast their voters in favour of the party which is likely to solve economic issues to take the country further at heights that are unattained so far. However, political participation is made possible in a democracy through the help of the involvement of political parties, interest groups, and other political organizations promoting activism to influence the government for the welfare of citizens by providing them equal opportunities to be made available in services to everybody irrespective of their social backgrounds or other considerations.

➤ **Development of mass media or tools for communication-**

The modern age brings in the development of mass media and modes of communication or information exchanging techniques, which include

newspapers, broadcasting, postal facilities, or information technology-based tools, with the help of which the citizens can become enlightened and well-informed in order to help in enabling them to serve the nation in a better manner.

➤ **Social Mobility-**

When a country begins to go through the age of modernization, then the people also embark on a large-scale movement from the villages to cities in search of employment opportunities. Here the role of the head of the villages increases and becomes significant enough to be replaced with the leaders of various political organizations and parties or the political interest groups. However, as the people keep on becoming conscious, they look forward to rallying around the leader, who goes ahead to deliver goods to them.

➤ **Cultivating a sense of national identity-**

When any country goes through the path of modernization, then the people begin to give their narrow loyalties and their parochial considerations of social distinctions or their interests to become identified with the interests of a nation.

➤ **Modernization as a means to discard traditional values and cultural political heritage-**

It is not necessary that modernization will mean the people discarding their traditional values or cultural and political heritage. Take the example of the British, who were traditionally conservative but still retained their old institutions like kingship and the customs of a 'House of Lords.' Though the powers of the colonial regimes have sufficiently declined over the years, still they have been made into useful institutions that could serve the growing needs of the society. Therefore, it becomes quite necessary for Great Britain to be considered one of the most modern nations.

The important agents of Political Modernization-

Political Modernization is valued and influenced by a lot of factors, some of those important abiding factors or more specifically to be called as, the Agents can be understood as;

➤ **Colonialism-**

The first and foremost agency which has led to modernization is colonialism. Anything the motives may be, they have consistently led to the building of an advanced network of connectivity or hardcore infrastructure, like manufacturing plants or modern institutions of economic planning like banks or electronic communication networks. So, in a gradual manner, these things have been done as a part of strengthening the hold upon the countries that they had conquered by means of brute force or establishing processing plants in order to utilize the raw materials of the dependent countries for being used at their home countries. Thus, as a result of these swift means of communication, the colonialists were successful enough to establish their contorts among themselves and forge their individual unity by helping each of the dependent countries embark on the path of modernization at their initial stages. Thus, when the countries become free, then these tasks of modernization can be taken up by the national leaders.

➤ **Elites-**

The second most important agent of modernization is the elites of the country. The colonialists have repeatedly kept on working to establish schools, and colleges in order to impact education in their languages so that the people of colonized countries could give up their own cultural heritage and thereby ignore their own history and literature. In such ways they come into contact where the democratic institutions and the men of modern outlook, after returning home are pained to see the condition of their own countrymen, whereby they press for the need for reforms by beginning national agitations, when the demands are not conceded.

➤ **Revolutionary or Authoritative Leadership-**

It has also been very well observed that in certain backward countries, the military generals have quite frequently been engaged in taking away power through coups or means of force, whereby then they may adopt the path of modernization in order to stabilize their regimes. Thus, in such countries where military coups have repeatedly occurred, the process of modernization has been quite faster in comparison to democratic regimes which requires a consensus or free opinion in every step.

However, taking the example of Bangladesh, when the country was going through the rule of Military-President, General HM Ershad, there was a strong opposition going on against his regime, at the shade of which

he kept on moving forward with modernizing the country at the path of industrial development.

➤ **Political Parties-**

The role of the political parties in a democratic form of government plays an important role in the modernization of the country, following which they develop the spirit of patriotism and a secular outlook amongst the masses. Take the example of India after its independence when the Indian National Congress acquired its power in 1947, following which it took important programs to take the country on the path of progress.

A huge number of important industrial and infrastructural projects were undertaken like establishing educational institutions, industrial projects, telephone exchanges, steel plants, dams, or other public sector industries.

➤ **Military Power**

In any country where the civilian government fails to control the public unrest or when the country goes in the wake of steeping into a civil war, then at that point the military needs to intervene and assume the reigns of the government. The military authorities need to curb the disintegrating tendencies with strong measures and need to make efforts to restore peace, security, and stability to take the country on the path of progress.

➤ **Bureaucracy-**

Bureaucracy is the core ideal and form of governance. A party in power governing a democratic nation always goes through the anxious stage to modernize the country and prolong its rule. The ruling party needs to implement its development programs through the help of bureaucracy, for which they play a significant role in modernizing the country.

3.6 Let's Sum up

- - Behaviouralism emerged as a response to the dissatisfaction with traditional political science methods, which marked a revolution in the Post-World War II era advocating for new approaches to the study of political behaviour.
- Traditional legal and institutional approaches were rejected as the static and inadequate understanding of politics. In this case,

political scientists emphasized the need for behavioural science of politics to explain human political behaviour comprehensively.

- Behaviouralist has posed a significant challenge to traditional political science becoming a prominent development within the field, which influenced contemporary political theory to reshape the study of political science in American Universities.
- Factors like the arrival of European Scholars have led to the support of the Social Sciences Research Council along with the impact of World War II contributed to the growth of behaviouralism.
- Behaviouralist also seeks to provide an objective along with a quantified approach to study and predict political behaviour, focusing on analyzing the observable behaviours of political actors, similar to natural sciences, and emphasizing upon collection and analyzing factual data effectively.
- Post-behaviouralism emerged as a protest movement against the direction set by behaviourists, which opposed the value-free concept and called for awareness of values in political science.
- Post-behaviourists also seek to link empirical research methods with theories to address present and future problems. It is an intellectual tendency representing a diverse group that is discontented with contemporary political research direction, which is not aligned with any specific political ideology.
- Post-behaviourists usually emphasize the need to use sophisticated investigative tools for relevant and meaningful research purposes, where it aims to address contemporary social issues and offer practical solutions to future problems.
- The post-behaviourists also seek to stress the importance of incorporating values into research, emphasizing the role of ethics and principles in decision-making, which calls for political scientists to actively engage in shaping society to solve real-world problems.
- As per David Easton, Behaviourists believe that the observable regularities in political behaviour can be used to explain and predict political phenomena by making political science more scientific. They also insist upon verifying and testing generalizations in

political behaviour that can be used to explain and predict political phenomenon, making political science more scientific in terms of its study.

- Behaviouralists claim their approaches to be based upon principles of pure science, by relying upon the exact evidence and methods that will be akin to those of pure science. In such a way Political science is studied in conjunction with other social sciences like history, sociology, and economics.
- The Domain of Power refers to the nation's ability to exercise power outside its territory which is often seen in alliances and international cooperation.
- The range of power encompasses the differences between the highest rewards along with some of the harsh punishments that a nation can offer to influence others both internally and externally.
- The scope of power includes a range of behaviours, relations, and affairs that can be effectively subjected to governmental power, besides technological advancement that can significantly lead to the increase of a nation's scope of power including control over information.
- Power has been devised on the basis of three structures which can be understood in the form of; Physical Power, Psychological Power, and Economic Power.
- Power is exercised in the forms of persuasion, rewards, punishment, and force.
- Political Modernization has been rooted as a concept of the 19th Century in the European Social Change explanations, in both Marxist and Weberian perspectives. The Marxists have emphasized the interplay of economics, politics, and culture in development. As Max Weber has argued that culture influences economic and political life, where both these perspectives have shared the idea of continuous, progressive change.

3.7 Self-Assessment Questions-

1. How did the post-World War II period lead to the emergence of the Behavioural Revolution in Political Science and also what were the key challenges it posed in terms of dealing with traditional approaches in the study of political science?

2. Explain the important factors that contributed to the growth of the vitality of Political Science as an autonomous discipline in the Universities of America during the early 1950s. How did this instance relate to the development of Behaviouralism?
3. Describe the main characteristics of Behaviouralism in Political Science and its value-free approach to understanding the political phenomenon. How did these differ from the traditional approaches?
4. Discuss the key features of post-behaviouralism in Political Science and how it represented a protest movement against Behaviouralism. What were the goals and orientations of the postbehavioural political scientists and how did they differ from their behavioural counterparts?
5. Explain the three different dimensions of power as it has been described by Karl Deutsch. How do these dimensions help in understanding a nation's ability to exercise power both internally and externally?
6. Discuss the four methods of exercising national power. Also, at the same time provide examples of how these methods have been used in the context of international relations to influence other nations.
7. How does the concept of psychological power relate to propaganda and its role in shaping public opinion in International Politics? Also, provide examples of how psychological power has been under by nations to achieve their political objectives.
8. Describe the different power structures, including physical, psychological, and economic power. How do these power structures impact the balance of power in the international system and what are the implications that can leave in the domain of global politics and governance?
9. Compare the Elitist Theory of Power with the Pluralist Theory of Power. How do these two theories differ in terms of their perspectives on the distribution of power in society?
10. Explain Max Weber's Concept of Power and the Dimensions of Power. How does his Concept of Power relate to the idea of resistance and hegemony? Provide examples to illustrate the points.
11. Discuss the main arguments and the critical points on the Elitist Theory of Power. Do you agree with the assertion that power is primarily concentrated in the hands of a few elites in the society, why or why not?

12. How did the process of modernization in the mid-20th Century influence the development of the Modernization Theory and what are the key historical factors that led it to shape its emergence?
13. Compare and Contrast the Evolutionary Theory of the Functional Theory as explanations for modernization. What are the key differences between the two major approaches?
14. Discuss the role of education, social mobility, and cultural changes in the process of political modernization. How do these factors contribute to the transformation of traditional societies into modern societies?
15. Explore the concept of social mobilization and its importance in terms of political modernization. How does social mobilization enable citizens to participate more actively in politics and contribute to the development of democracy in the society.

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UNIT - IV**Lesson 4.1 - Political Socialization****Unit Structure**

- 4.1.0 Objectives
- 4.1.1 Introduction
- 4.1.2 Definition of Political Socialization
- 4.1.3 Agents of Political Socialization
- 4.1.4 Functions of Political Socialization
- 4.1.5 Characteristics of Political Socialization
- 4.1.6 To Sum up
- 4.1.7 References

4.1.0 Objectives

In this unit we will acquire knowledge to understand:

- Definition of political socialization by scholars.
- Agents of Political Socialization
- Distinguishing between the primary and the secondary ones.
- Functions of Political Socialization
- Characteristics of Political Socialization

4.1.1 Introduction

Political socialization, in political theory, refers to the process through which individuals develop their political beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviours. It is the lifelong process by which people acquire their understanding of politics and their role as citizens within a political system. Political socialization plays a crucial role in shaping an individual's political identity and their engagement with political institutions and processes. Political Socialization may be defined as the process of transferring knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and general dispositions about politics, from one generation to the other, and that accumulates almost unconsciously through citizens and people's interactions with social institutions such as the family, the religious houses, the schools, the tertiary institutions, the media, political parties and so on. These institutions through which

political socialization accumulates and transfers are, in social sciences called agencies of political socialization.

Political socialization is the "process by which individuals learn and frequently internalize a political lens framing their perceptions of how power is arranged and how the world around them is (and should be) organized; those perceptions, in turn, shape and define individuals' definitions of who they are and how they should behave in the political and economic institutions in which they live".

Political socialization also encompasses the way in which people acquire values and opinions that shape their political stance and ideology: it is a "study of the developmental processes by which people of all ages and adolescents acquire political cognition, attitudes, and behaviours". It refers to a learning process by which norms and behaviours 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. Schools, media, and the state have a major influence in this process.

Understanding political socialization is essential for policymakers and political scientists as it helps explain patterns of political behaviour and the formation of public opinion. It also sheds light on how political systems maintain stability or undergo change as new generations of citizens enter the political arena with their own socialized beliefs and values.

4.1.2 Definition of Political Socialization

Foremost, we shall examine political socialization as it is defined by many scholarly perspectives and period and shall equally provide some factors that determine it. Beginning from the earlier time, Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba define political socialization as a: Learning process by which the norms associated with the performance of political roles as well as fundamental political values and guiding standards of political behaviour are learned'. This is contained in their article entitled, 'The Comparative Study of Political Socialization. Apart from this, Robert Levine asserts, the process of political socialization as involving the acquisition by an individual, of behavioural dispositions relevant to political groups, political systems and political processes.

Let us put other definitions in more direct forms from the purview of other scholars. Eric Rowe: define political socialization as the process by which the values, beliefs and emotions of a political culture are passed on to succeeding generations. Harry Eckstein: asserts that Political socialization is the process through which operative social norms regarding politics are implanted, political roles institutionalized and political consensus created, either effectively or ineffectively. Roberta Sigel: Also say that Political socialization is the learning process by which the political norms and behaviours acceptable to an on going political system are transmitted from generation to generation. Gerald Bender: Furthermore, states that Political socialization is the process through which the individual internalizes politically relevant attitudes, beliefs, cognitions and values.

More recent definitions of political socialization include those of Eric Siraev and Richard Sobel that says, Political socialization is a lifelong process by which individuals learn political attitudes and behaviours. It is part of the broader socialization process whereby an individual becomes a member of a particular society and takes on its values and behaviours. Social and cultural conditions mediate political socialization. Powell & Cowart defined Political socialization as the study of the developmental processes by which children of all ages (12 to 30), and adolescents acquire political cognition, attitudes, and behaviours. It is believed that through the performance of the function of political socialization that individuals are inducted into the political culture and their orientations towards political objects are formed.

4.1.3 Agents of Political Socialization

The primary goals of this content are to discuss the agents of political socialization. These agents refer to institutions and structures that socialize people into politics, the agents that people are introduced to as they grow up, and that affect their political views throughout the rest of their lives. There are many agents of political socialization which are not limited to Family, Media, Peers, Education, Religion, Race, Gender, Age and Geography, but in fact, at every point where man interacts with man, there are bond be or exist political socialization.

In a sense we can divide the agents of political socialization into two broad categories:

- Primary Agents of Political Socialization

- Secondary or Subordinate Agents of Political Socialization

4.1.3.1 Primary Agents of Political Socialization

The primary agents of political socialization are those that people first come across when they are children and they unavoidably interact with as they grow. Almost all human beings pass through these agents, though not necessarily on their will. The primary agents of political socialization in today's world include the family, the school, the peer group and the religious gatherings. In the contemporary world these socialization agencies can hardly be avoided, and they affect people's beliefs and attitudes towards politics. In what follows we shall discuss these agents one after the other.

4.1.3.1.1 The Family

The family is a principal agent of political socialization, or any other form of socialization at all. In fact, M. Kent Jennings in his 2007 work titled Political Socialization asserts "from the early scholarly inquiries on through to the present time, the role of the family as a prime agent of socialization has occupied an important place in the literature". This is because the family is a relatively small and enduring institution that makes the processes of learning and imitation easier.

Apart from this, the family is the first point of call of the individual, and, to that extent, it determines a lot about individual's behaviour; including the political. Above all, every human being, by no choice of theirs, is presumably born into a family, so, except in few cases, every human being passes through the socialization of the family.

4.1.3.1.2 The School

Formal educational system organized in forms of schools and colleges is a common phenomenon in the modern world. In fact, most advanced countries of the world are beginning to lay claim to zero percent illiteracy level in their society while third world countries are following suit. The implication of this is that everyone in the society will now have to pass through one form of school or the other.

Thus, the school, like the family, is an agent of socialization that is almost impossible to escape. Some societies deliberately teach subjects such as civil education, political history and government to educate their citizens on politics. National anthems and other extra curriculum

exercises are basically performed in schools to expose students to certain values about politics. What most people know and believe about politics is therefore, especially in today's world, a function of school attendance. The school then qualifies as a primary agency of political socialization.

4.1.3.1.3 The Peer Group

Man, by nature, Aristotle has long insisted, is a political animal. What you get from this is that man is a gregarious being that love to live with, and around other men. In the process of this social interaction peer groups are formed. These groups consist of people of it or close age brackets, and members of the groups learn many things socially from one another through emulation and reciprocal determinism.

If a person belongs to a peer group that is politically conscious for instance, the tendency of the person to become very active and interested in the politics of his nation is very high due to the kind of socialization received in the course of interacting with his or her peers. Peer group is also a primary agent of political socialization because it is difficult to escape in the process of existing in the society. An even school where the child is socialized is full of peer group influence, though many peer groups also exist outside the school.

4.1.3.1.4 Religious Gatherings

Apart from the family and the school, organized religious gathering is another very strong agency of political socialization in the modern world. It is almost inescapable today. When people gather in the name of religion, they often inevitably discuss socio political issues that concern them directly or indirectly, politics being, according to David Easton, authoritative allocation of values in the society. Values that may be authoritatively allocated to, or omitted from people's homes, families, streets, work places, states of residence, international relation and so on, often make people relate with politics even in religious gatherings where they are supposed to be worshiping. Today, religious associations sponsor candidates into elective positions in order to gain influence. Citizens of some countries consider the religious affiliation of a political candidate as determinant of his or her capacity to rule, and such beliefs colour behaviour even in elections.

The discussions and decision on these political issues are often taken in religious gatherings; hence, religion becomes a strong agent of political socialization. In summary, take a look at your life today, the foregoing four structures family, school, peer groups that is friends and colleagues- as well as your religious gathering are four structures that you constantly interact with almost on weekly basis, and in all of them, it is almost certain that politics is discussed either directly or indirectly. This makes the four of them primary agents of political socialization.

4.1.3.2 Secondary or Subordinate Agents of Political Socialization

Structures and institutions such as the media and political parties are not common to all men; they are optional, so they belong to the secondary political socialization agents. Other ones in this category are gender and age which are though common to all men, yet, do not command strong organizational political influence that, say, the church and the school may have. Let us examine these four agents of political socialization in details.

4.1.3.2.1 The Media

The media is a strong agent of political socialization. The print media produces newspapers and magazines while the electronic media comes in forms of radio and television. In all of these media politics and political issues are discussed in daily basis. In fact, it has been argued by Allan Smith that the 21st century press media is a political media as majority of the news items are either completely political or are connected to politics. The most recent one is the social media: the Facebook and the Twitters that are fast penetrating the whole world. Issues discussed in all these media create values, attitudes and believes in people, and as such, stand as means of socializing them into politics as well as influencing their political behaviour.

4.1.3.2.2 Political Party

A political party is an organized body of people who participate in political activities with the sole aim of getting political power. Membership of a political party automatically translates to discussion and practice of political activities, with all the pranks, and the intrigues. People who belong to political parties learn a great deal of their political tricks, values, orientations, opinions and believes from them, so, the political party is a very strong agent of political socialization. In specific terms, political

parties have orientations and ideological divides. There are left wing parties, right wing parties, mass parties and so on, and the orientation that is dominant in each of these parties are systematically handed down to their members from one generation to another. In Britain you have the conservative (right wing) and the labour (left wing) political parties. In the United States it is between the Republican (right wing) and the Democrat (left wing) parties. Although Nigerian political parties have been unstable and episodic since independence, the current ideological divide still stands between the PDP and the APC.

4.1.3.2.3 Gender

Until recently when universal adult suffrage has permeated the whole world, gender was a very key issue in political socialization. In the earlier Athenian society in Greece, women were not allowed to participate in politics, and so it was in some other parts of the world. The implication is that men would be differently socialized to form different beliefs opinions and orientation of politics, compared to women. Now that the dichotomy is changing rapidly, and universal adult suffrage is gaining popularity around the world; women's socialization in politics is fast taking different dimension. Conversely, in the old Oyo kingdom where women were known to occupy important political positions such as Iyalode, Iyaloja and Iyalaje, and where they exerted great influence in the politics of their people, there was a difference in gender relationship with politics, and this created egalitarian and democratic values among the people. You may wish to read Eesuola's. Using Indigenous Political Structures to Facilitate Democratic Ideals in Nigeria: Lessons from Pre-Colonial Yoruba Kingdom, published in the University of Lagos, Nigeria, Sociological Review, Volume 9, 2011.

4.1.3.2.4 Age

Also unlike gender, age was and is still a strong factor in the politics of courtiers. Today, as a result of universal adult suffrage, most constitutions allow citizens of eighteen years to vote and be voted for. In some countries where gerontology is common in political activities, only old people take certain electoral positions in politics. These different practices in different societies often shape opinions and orientations of people towards politics, so, age is equally an agent of political socialization. Let us also quickly add that socialization may involve an individual's formative years, or his mature years, or both.

Political socialization through the primary agency is not only latent, but also tends to occur during the formative years of an individual. Political socialization through secondary agencies, on the other hand, tends to be manifest and to occur during an individual's relatively mature years. Political socialization can produce either systemic or non-systemic change. Systemic change refers to a fundamental or far-reaching change in the distribution or exercise of authority in the political system. Non-systemic change, on the other hand, refers to relatively insignificant or incremental changes in the patterns of political participation and association that do not alter or upset the existing distribution of power and authority in the polity. Indeed, generally speaking, political socialization is essentially a stabilizing process and hardly produces systemic change. The political socialization process becomes destabilizing, or produces systemic change, only under conditions of rapid modernization or general societal crisis.

4.1.4 Functions of Political Socialization

4.1.4.1 Inter-generational Transmission of Political Values

Political socialization assists every society in preserving political culture across time. It also helps to inculcate political values and orientation in people. This is the function we call inter-generational transmission of political norms, and, by extension, values, symbols and ideas. For instance, a person who attends the university, majors in engineering and later gets employment in an engineering firm may not at all understand the workings of law making and recall except he or she witnessed it at the level of students union which the school as an agent of political socialization offers. In an increasingly complicated world where politics is fast becoming everyone's business even though we do not all major in politics, agents of socialization serves the purpose of transmitting political values and norms from one generation to the other, and this helps in ensuring stability in the society.

4.1.4.2 Stability of Polity

By virtue of performing the foregoing function of inter-generational transmission of values and inculcation of political culture, political socialization helps to maintain continuity and stability in the society. Such stability is needed to advance the course of the society from all walks of life. To the extent that political socialization is a means of role-training

therefore, it, at any time equips the members of a society with the basic skills necessary for political participation or the performance of important political roles.

4.1.4.3 Creation of Hegemonic

Order Political socialization helps the society to create hegemonic order. Every political environment needs hegemony to stabilize and develop, hegemony being a subtle, non-coerced assimilation of how things are done in a society. Political socialization helps a society to foster this, and every member of the society needs only little push or coercion to obey the law and promote good values.

4.1.4.4 National Discipline

National discipline is very important in political socialization. The reason is that it makes it easy to ensure some degree of discipline among members of a political community. In other words, political socialization curbs or controls disruptive political behaviour by ensuring that members of a society behave in a manner that is socially acceptable to the majority of the people, and especially the hegemonic class. Furthermore, political socialization assists in promotion of patriotism and nationalism. People, who learn the political values, beliefs and orientations of their people and hand the same down from one generation to the other tend to become obsessed with it. They see themselves as being embedded in such values and ideas and are often willing to defend and promote it at any time necessary.

This is called patriotism, and it is useful for the domestic and international aura of a state. Political socialization performs some functions in the polity. These functions are basically for continuity and stability among politicians and other actors that are involved in politics. Moreover, they affect not only the political, but also the economic and social strata of a political community.

4.1.5 Characteristics of Political Socialization

There some features of political socialization. These are:

- Political socialization is the pinnacle of a society's political values or culture. Any education, therefore, is not political socialization.

- The purpose of political socialization is to educate and enhance the members of the society politically, to see them become effective members of the political society, and to preserve the continuity of the political values of the society.
- Early childhood is an important time for political socialization. But this is not limited to a few years of childhood. Political socialization continues throughout the life of the individual.
- Political socialization occurs mainly in three ways – imitation, instruction, and motivation. Imitation tendency is more prevalent in children, whereas adolescents and adults have a combination of imitation, instruction, and motivation.
- Through the process of political socialization, the increase in support, support for the prevailing political system, the values in favor of conventional institutions, the legitimacy of the government are increased.
- All persons belonging to a political society are subject to political socialization and are effective throughout their lives.

4.1.6 To Sum up

Political socialization is a very powerful tool to mould political cultures. The various agents of political socialization can even help create an entirely new set of values and attitudes. Its importance is growing in today's world where the traditional structures of a village or tribal community are breaking down. As the world shrinks, political systems are borrowing more from each other. The citizens learn as they move ahead in life. Any event, be it in the social, religious, and economic sphere can influence the political system of a state. Thus, political socialization has to be healthy and positive. It can be moulded in the totalitarian regimes as well as in the developing countries. In the former it is controlled while in the latter it is general and diffused. Both situations are dangerous and need to be handled carefully by the few eternal, vigilant citizens within the political system.

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Lesson 4.2 - Political Culture

Unit Structure

- 4.2.0 Objectives
- 4.2.1 Introduction
- 4.2.2 Definition of Political Culture
- 4.2.3 Components of Political Culture
- 4.2.4 Dimension of Political Culture
- 4.2.5 To Sum up
- 4.2.6 References

4.2.0 Objectives

Political culture approach has been very popular for conducting comparative studies and making empirical analyses of transitional societies. Scholars of comparative politics have developed this approach using concepts from Sociology and Anthropology. After going through the unit, you should be able to:

- Explain the basic assumptions of political culture approach in comparative politics.
- Explain the meaning and concept of political culture
- Identify different types of political culture with their distinct features, and
- Estimate the value of political culture approach in understanding the dynamics of comparative politics.

4.2.1 Introduction

Political culture refers to the set of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviours that shape the way individuals and groups in a society perceive and interact with the political system. It encompasses the shared norms and expectations about how politics should function within a particular society or political community. Political culture plays a significant role in shaping the political behaviour of citizens and the overall functioning of a political system. Here some key components of political culture include:

Beliefs: These are the fundamental ideas and principles that people hold about government, society, and politics. For example, some individuals may believe in limited government intervention in the economy, while others may support a more active role for government in addressing social issues. **Values:** Values are the moral and ethical principles that guide political behaviour. They often underlie beliefs and help individuals make judgments about political decisions and actions. Values can include concepts like liberty, equality, justice, and democracy.

Attitudes: Attitudes refer to the general disposition or feelings that individuals have toward politics and government. These attitudes can be positive or negative and can influence how people engage in political activities, such as voting or participating in protests. **Behaviours:** Political culture also influences the actions people take within the political system. This can include voting, engaging in political activism, or participating in community organizations.

Political culture is not uniform across all societies; it varies from one country or region to another. Different historical, social, economic, and cultural factors contribute to the formation of distinct political cultures. Political culture can also be defined as the values and political conduct of individuals or collective agents. Almond, "political culture is sets of attitudes, beliefs, notion, faith and understanding of the political system, political issues, political ideology and political characters" Political culture can also mean the distinctive and patterned form that consists of how governmental, political and economic life should be carried out. It consists of the attitudes, beliefs and values that support the functioning of a political system.

4.2.2 Definition of Political Culture

There are several definitions of political culture by different scholars dealing with different perspectives. The International Encyclopaedia of the Social Science defines political culture as "the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and what provides the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system." According to Daniel Elazar, political culture refers to what people believe and feel about government and how they think people should act towards it or the particular pattern of orientation to political action in which each political system is embedded.

Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba in the book “The Civic Culture” 1963, define political culture as the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the member of a political system. Two components of this definition are 'orientations' and 'objects'. The objects of the system include those parties of the political system, which are related to structural functional approach. Orientations, refers to psychological dimensions, particularly citizens attitude and values and how these affect politics.

For Almond and Verba there are three sets of different kinds of psychological orientations

- a) Cognitive orientations, which refers the knowledge and belief about political system (How much people are aware about political system).
- b) Affection orientations, which refers feelings about political system, its roles, personnel and performance. (What are their feelings and attachments towards politics or political system)
- c) Evolutional orientations, which refer the judgements and opinions about political objects that typically, involve combining value judgment. (How they evaluate or assess the outcomes (policies/ decisions) of political system).

4.2.3 Components of Political Culture

Political culture is an analytical approach to comparative politics that is elusive in nature. It has already been mentioned that political culture's intellectual antecedent can be traced back to antiquity. Its immediate antecedents can be found in the works of Montesquieu (1689-1755), Johann Gottfried Herber (1744- 1803) and Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-59). Its genesis in modern comparative politics can be traced to Almond's seminal article, 'Comparative Political System' in The Journal of Politics (1956). It was, however, with the publication of The Civic Culture by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963) that political culture research emerged as a subfield of political science.

This cross-national study connected individual attitudes with the overall political system. Based on interviews conducted with about a thousand individuals in each of the five countries, the study offered a theory of political stability and democracy that implicitly celebrated Anglo-

American representative government. Although there was scepticism over the accuracy of characterising a culture based upon individual interviews, the study gave a momentum to political culture approach in comparative politics. During the 1950s and 1960s, the rise of the concept was part of the more general ascension of culture 'to explanatory prominence in the social sciences and history'. Initially, political scientists were excited by the possibility of measuring variations among the political cultures of different nations, but they eventually turned to the study of such entities as 'elite political culture', 'ethnic political culture' etc. In 1966, Elazar proposed that each American state includes one of the three kinds of political culture -individualist, traditionalist or moralist whereby state political culture studies examined variations among states in government activities, administrative goals, innovative capability, popular participation in the election and party competition (Formisano, 2001). There are some components of political culture. These are:

4.2.3.1 Evaluative orientation

This entails making decisions and evaluating the political system. It involves making decisions about political objects and comparing them to those in other systems. For example, while evaluating their political system, people try to know if the political system has achieved the objective that it had sought to achieve. People, for example, seek to determine whether their political system has achieved the objectives it set out to achieve while evaluating it.

4.2.3.2 Cognitive orientation

This refers to people's level of understanding and awareness of political issues and objects. It relates to how much and what kind of information people have about political issues and events. It is the understanding and belief in the political system, as well as its objects, inputs, and outputs. Cognitive orientation refers to the number of information people have regarding political objects such as pressure groups, state assemblies, executive bodies, and the judiciary

4.2.3.3 Affective orientation

This refers to people's level of commitment and interest in the political system. It is the feeling of attachment, involvement and rejection that people have towards the political system. It can also mean the feelings

and emotions that people have about political objects. For example, the support or opposition to the government constitutes effective orientation.

4.2.4 Dimension of Political Culture

The 1970s saw that political culture literature contained the normative bias that cultural symbols are shaped deeply by all or most actors in a society, thus promoting stability and a conservative ideology. The perception that the political culture studies tended to privilege the status quo grew stronger amid the rise of Marxist and rational choice perspectives. Whereas with a strong argument for the causal efficacy of political culture, Eckstein and Inglehard defended the Almond and Verba line and argued that different societies embody durable cultural attitudes that have significant economic and political consequences.

In a subsequent book, Eckstein added that cultural change in a post-modernist society was much more important than it had been during early industrialization (*A Culturalist Theory of Political Change*, 1988). In this way, there are different opinions regarding the very effectiveness of this approach of political culture. On the other hand, alongside political culture as a whole, there is the elite political culture that consists of the beliefs, attitudes and ideas about politics held by those who are closest to the centres of political power. The values of the elites are more coherent and consequential than are those of the population at large.

Although most of the studies of political culture focus on its dynamics within the state, the importance of global political culture is worth mentioning here. Global political culture looks at the ambit of the whole world from a macro perspective to understand the all-encompassing aspects of political culture. For example, Samuel P Huntington in his classic work, *The Clash of Civilization*, takes the analysis of political culture into the international realm. But global political culture may primarily be a Western product.

4.2.5 To Sum up

The study of political culture is critical for every political system because it influences the beliefs, views, values and attitudes of the people towards the political system, political issues and political ideology. In the above, the different dynamics of political culture as an important approach to the study of comparative politics has been discussed from where it

may be derived that political culture has made Political Science a more complete branch of social science through its insistence on a combined micro-macro approach. It has focused our attention on the study of the political community or society, as a dynamic collective entity as distinct from the individual and on the total political system.

Moreover, it encourages political scientists to take up the study of social and cultural factors, which are responsible for giving the political culture of a country its broad shape. As an approach, its pros and cons have also been discussed where it was found that there are arguments both in favour and against its utility in understanding the dynamics of comparative politics. Whatever may be the arguments but it may safely be summed up that through the application of this approach, the political processes of the different systems can best be known and compared.

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Lesson 4.3 - Political Development

Unit Structure

4.3.0 Objectives

4.3.1 Introduction

4.3.2 Meaning and Concept of Political Development

4.3.3 Pye's Concept of Political Development

4.3.4 Determinants factors that Influence Political Development

4.3.5 To Sum up

4.3.6 References

4.3.0 Objectives

This unit aims to explain the origin and the evolution of the political development approach in Comparative Politics. It will be analysing political development as an approach to studying comparative politics. After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Trace the evolution of political development
- Meaning and concept of political development
- The features of political development
- Assess the significance of the political development approaches.

4.3.1 Introduction

Political development is more about defining its goals and justifying its existence than it is about laying out the conditions that lead to and sustain it. The concept of political development, having a very important place in the field of comparative politics, is the post-Second World War phenomena. The emergence of a large number of independent nation-states in the Afro-Asian and Latin American regions drew the attention of western, particularly American political scientists, towards the political problems facing by them. This generation of political scientists thought that this nonwestern political process, even though they were different from the western political processes, could be successfully studied to the total context of the cultural and historical settings of the developing countries. The result was that the new approach in the study of comparative political was expanded so as to include the analysis of wide range of political institution and structures.

Political development gained recognition as a subfield of comparative politics in the 1960s. It has its roots in modernization theory that had begun to influence several disciplines of social sciences in the post-War years. Prior to the 1960s, comparative politics had tended to focus on the forms of government that prevailed in the advanced industrial world, that is, Europe and the former Soviet Union. However, with the emergence of a number of states in Asia and Africa as a result of the breakup of Europe's empires and the cold war conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, which provided alternative paths to development, comparative politics began to focus on what became known as the 'new', the 'emerging', the 'underdeveloped' or 'developing' nations.

4.3.2 Meaning and Concept of Political Development

Economists like Paul A. Baran, Nariman S. Buchanam, Benjamin Higgins, Albert O. and Barbara Ward have laid stress on the point that political development should be taken as a result of the economic development. They are of the view that politics and social conditions can play a quite decisive role in impeding or facilitating the economic growth. Pye criticises this concept of political development on four grounds. Firstly, it has a negative character in the sense that it is easier to be precise about the ways in which performance of a political system may impede or prevent economic development than about how it can facilitate economic growth.

Secondly, such a concept of political development does not focus on a common set of theoretical consideration. Thirdly it should also be taken into account that the prospects for rapid economic development have become exceeding dim in most of the poor countries. Finally in most of the under-developed countries, people are concerned with far more than just material advancement. They are anxious about political development quite independent of its effects on the rate of economic growth.

Therefore, to link political development solely to economic events would be to ignore much that is of dramatic importance in the developing countries. Political development refers to the process through which a society or nation evolves and matures politically, often with the aim of becoming more stable, democratic, and responsive to the needs and aspirations of its citizens. This concept encompasses various aspects of political change and progress, and it can be understood through several key dimensions:

Democratic Governance: Political development often involves the transition from authoritarian or autocratic systems to more democratic ones. This may include the establishment of free and fair elections, the protection of civil liberties and human rights, the rule of law, and the separation of powers among different branches of government. **Institutional Capacity:** Developing the capacity and effectiveness of political institutions, such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries, is crucial. Strengthening these institutions helps ensure that they can fulfil their roles in a democratic system and provide stability and governance. **Political Participation:** Encouraging active political participation among citizens is a key element of political development. This can include initiatives to increase voter turnout, enhance civic education, and promote political awareness and engagement. **Political Stability:** Achieving a stable political environment is another important goal. This entails reducing political violence, conflicts, and instability, which can hinder a nation's development and progress.

Economic Development: There is a strong relationship between political and economic development. Stable political systems can create a conducive environment for economic growth and development, while economic prosperity can, in turn, support political stability. **Social Inclusion:** Ensuring that all segments of society, regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, or socioeconomic status, have a voice in the political process is crucial. Efforts to promote social inclusion and reduce inequalities are often part of political development initiatives.

Transparency and Accountability: Political development often involves enhancing transparency in government operations and holding political leaders and institutions accountable for their actions. This can help combat corruption and promote good governance. **Civil Society:** Supporting the growth of civil society organizations, including NGOs, advocacy groups, and grassroots movements, can play a significant role in political development. These groups often serve as a check on government power and promote civic engagement. **Conflict Resolution:** Addressing and resolving conflicts, whether they are ethnic, political, or social in nature, is essential for political development. Effective conflict resolution mechanisms can help prevent violence and promote stability.

Political development is an on-going and dynamic process that varies from one country to another. It is often influenced by historical, cultural, economic, and social factors. Governments, civil society organizations, and international actors frequently collaborate to promote political development in countries facing political challenges or seeking to strengthen their political systems.

4.3.3 Pye's Concept of Political Development

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

4.3.3.1 Equality

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

4.3.3.2 Capacity

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

4.3.3.3 Differentiation

It implies diffusion and specialisation of structure. The offices and agencies tend to have their distinct and limited functions and there is an equivalent of a division of labour within the realm of government. It also involves the integration of complex structures and process. Thus, differentiation is not fragmentation and the isolation of the different parts of the political system but specialisation based on an ultimate sense of integration. According to Pye, in recognising these three dimensions of equality, capacity and differentiation as the heart of development process, we do not mean to suggest that they necessarily fit easily together. On the contrary, historically the tendency has usually been that these are acute tensions between the demands for equality, the requirements for capacity and the process of greater differentiation. Moreover, development is clearly not unilinear nor is it governed by sharp and distinct stages, but rather by a range of problems that may arise separately or concurrently.

In the wider perspective of comparative politics, a study of political development shows that while the characteristic of equality is concerned with political culture, the problems of capacity are related to the performance of the authoritative structures of government, and the questions of differentiation touch mainly on the performance of the non-authoritative structures and the general political processes in the society at large. This suggests that in the last analysis the problems of political development revolve around the relationships between the political culture, the authoritative structures, and the general political processes

4.3.4 Determinants factors that Influence Political Development

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

4.3.4.1 Nature of the Problems Confronting the Political System

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

and reinforcing. It is generally recognized that a major problem in the new nations today is the cumulative revolutions they must face.

4.3.4.2 Resources of the System

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

4.3.4.3 Effect of Foreign Social Systems

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

4.3.4.4 Functioning Pattern of the System

The problem of political development or decay also depends upon the pattern of the political system. It means that a political system may or may not cope with the burden of ‘inputs’. It may be resilient enough to bear the stress of ‘loads’ and thus keep itself going, it may also be weak enough to break down under the pressure of ‘demands’. It is not necessary that all political systems may be geared for change and adoption in an equal measure.

4.3.4.5 Response of the Political Elites

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

4.3.5 To Sum up

In this unit you have learnt the evolution of democracy as a political institution and most widely practiced political systems in the world. You have also seen the historical perspective of political development in the last seven decades. The various attributes of political development covering political freedom, political stability, decentralization and political decentralization, political values, rule of law, political harmony, compromise, liberty and autonomy, secularism, equality and justice, politics without religion, and political leadership and economic development. You have also read about the relationship of political development with the economic and social development, which is reflected very well in the context of South Asian countries, where the impact of political development is clearly visible in the economic and social development spheres.

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UNIT - V**Lesson 5.1 - Political Participation****Unit Structure**

5.1.0 Objectives

5.1.1 Introduction

5.1.2 Meaning and Concept of Political Participation

5.1.3 Nature and Objectives of Political Participation

5.1.4 To Sum up

5.1.5 References

5.1.0 Objectives

- Define political participation.
- Discuss how political participation is related to self-government.
- Explain why voting is an important type of political participation.

5.1.1 Introduction

Political participation is a basic concept in political science and scholars define the concept in different ways. It may be defined as the actions of private citizens seeking to influence or support Government and politics. Milbrath and Goel uphold that this is a relatively broad definition since it also includes ceremonial and support activities. (Milbrath, L W, Goel, M L 1977: 2) However there are two ways to understand broadness when defining the concept political participation: (a) in terms of the kinds of tools or actions that are included, (b) in terms of the target of the actions. Seen from the first perspective this definition is broad but since the government is the sole target it can also be viewed as a narrow definition.

There are other definitions of the concept political participation that I will discuss below. In the discussion on political participation scholars often try to explain human behaviour as it relates to the political system but they also recognize that the political system and the political culture have a significant impact on individual political behaviour. Still many scholars believe that at a basic level people follow the same behavioural laws irrespective of the culture they live in. (Cheng, J 1999: 1)

5.1.2 Meaning and Concept of Political Participation

Political participation in its simple sense means taking part in politics (Easton, 1965). Political participation referred to “those legal activities by citizens which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take” (Nie and Verba 1978). It includes the activities like campaigning, demonstrating, voting, rioting and other similar activities. The type of political participation differs widely between different cultures, political systems and different time frames. Political participation refers to the active involvement of individuals or groups in the political process and the activities that influence or shape the decisions and policies of a government or political system.

It is a fundamental component of democratic societies and can take various forms, including:

- Voting:** One of the most common and fundamental forms of political participation is voting in elections, where citizens choose their representatives at various levels of government, such as local, regional, and national elections.
- Campaigning:** People may participate in political campaigns by volunteering their time, making financial contributions, or advocating for specific candidates or issues. This can involve canvassing, phone banking, or participating in rallies and protests.
- Contacting Elected Officials:** Citizens can engage with their elected representatives by contacting them through letters, emails, phone calls, or inperson meetings to express their concerns, opinions, or demands.

- Community Engagement:** Engaging in local community activities and organizations, such as neighbourhood associations or school boards, can have a significant impact on local governance and decision-making.
- Media and Social Media:** Sharing political opinions and information through traditional media outlets, blogs, social media platforms, and online forums can influence public discourse and shape political opinions.
- Civil Disobedience:** In some cases, individuals engage in acts of civil disobedience, such as sit-ins or acts of nonviolent protest, to draw attention to injustices or bring about social and political change.

Political participation is essential for the functioning of a democracy, as it allows citizens to have a say in how their government operates and holds elected officials accountable for their actions. The extent and nature of political participation can vary widely from one country or region to

another and can be influenced by cultural, social, economic, and legal factors.

5.1.3 Nature and Objectives of Political Participation

Political participation is defined as action that expresses an individual's political will, and self-government is when the people of a given country are the ones who grant the power to govern that country, through either direct or indirect representation. Voting is considered one of the most important forms of political participation because it is the primary mechanism by which the people ensure that their government represents them. Compared to other countries, the United States does not have high voter turnout.

However, it is first important to discuss the idea of self-government. Selfgovernment is when the people of a given country are the ones who grant the power to govern that country, through either direct or indirect representation. Without selfgovernment, there can be no political participation on the part of the individual. James Madison writes that it is necessary that the country's government "derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behaviour. It is essential to such a government that it be derived from the great body of the society, not from an inconsiderable proportion, or a favoured class of it."

5.1.3.1 Voting form for Political Participation

Self-government also means that the people are considered sovereign, meaning there is no power above the people. In self-governing states, the people elect public officials to government positions so those officials can represent the people's beliefs and craft policies to express their will. In this way, voting is an important manifestation of both self-government and political participation the most important, some argue, because it is the primary mechanism by which the people ensure that their government represents them. Another way to put it is to say that voting is what makes government fair, despite the many forces that prevent it from being fully representative.

As Supreme Court justice Earl Warren wrote in his decision regarding *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964), the right to direct representation is bedrock of

our democracy. In this case, the Supreme Court ruled in an 8–1 majority decision that electoral districts have to be of equal population to ensure equal representation, reinforcing the idea of *one man, one vote* (or rather, one person, one vote). The ideas that each person has a vote in American democracy, that their vote is equal in power to another person's vote, and that each person should exercise their vote are considered not only normal but normative (desirable.)

5.1.3.2 Individual participation

There are several ways to participate in politics other than voting. On an individual level, people can write to their elected officials; volunteer for causes they believe in; donate money to candidates, causes, or campaigns; keep informed about politics and discuss topics of personal importance; and follow elected officials or political causes online. People can also participate as part of a group by joining political parties or campaigns and by taking part in protests. All of these activities contribute to social capital, which is the idea that individuals form connections that benefit their own interests and that these social networks in turn produce communities that create norms of reciprocity and promote more civil engagement overall.

5.1.3.3 Public Opinion

Public opinion is the aggregations of individual views that represent the feelings people hold on an issue at one point in time that they are willing to express. Many things can affect how people form their opinions and why they have them, including social and economic factors such as race, education level, income, or ideology. There are different types of opinion, including majority opinion (the opinion of the numerical majority), elite opinion (the opinion of those members of society with highly specialized knowledge or influence), and opinions of issue publics, or those people who hold strong opinions on a few specific issues but not on every issue.

5.1.4 To Sum up

Political participation in a democracy offers citizens an opportunity to communicate, share messages or information to government officials about their concern issues, problems, preferences and are able to pressurised on them to respond (Verba, 1995). Political participation is an indispensable feature of democracy and is relevant for any political system. Political participation along with voting behaviour is the most

critical ingredients in democracy. When the nation is able to represent the entire citizen equally then it can reinforce a democratic system more efficiently. In democratic political system elections and voting is like two sides of a same coin, which is inseparable, since it is the process by which people are elected into various offices for different assignments. Political participation simply means that a person is participating in the political process by making his or her opinions and beliefs known. In the social sciences, the term 'political participation' is often used to describe an action taken by a citizen to influence the outcome of a political issue. Participation means 'sharing in' or 'wrap oneself with' every dimension of life, of culture or of economy, our educational system, our political system, our decision-making process.

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Lesson 5.2 - Political Parties

Unit Structure

5.2.0 Objectives

5.2.1 Introduction

5.2.2 Definition of Political Parties

5.2.3 Classification of Political Parties

5.2.4 To Sum up

5.2.0 Objectives

In this unit we will discuss;

- What are political parties?
- Meaning and concept of political parties
- Classification of political parties

5.2.1 Introduction

For nearly a century, political scientists have developed typologies and models of political parties in an effort to capture the essential features of the partisan organizations that were the objects of their analysis. The end result is that the literature today is rich with various categories of party types, some of which have acquired the status of 'classics' and have been used by scholars for decades (e.g. Duverger, 1954; Kirchheimer, 1966; Neumann, 1956). The above discussion cannot provide an immediate basis of a comparative understanding of the nature and extent of political participation in India or the role of political parties in that regard. For that we must note the specificity of Indian politics and party politics in India.

Indian politics are distinctive among contemporary developing societies in having had democratic durability for about fifty years excepting the brief emergency period-with many paradoxical features like high voter turnout amid high rate of illiteracy and agrarian population, multilevel electoral process with many electoral areas not yet fully dominated and controlled by organised political parties, coexistence of various organised interest associations with intermediaries between people and bureaucracy, non-party movements. Specifically Indian types of interest associations,

including religious and caste groups. The Indian party system is also distinctive, showing major differences with its European and American counterparts.

5.2.2 Definition of Political Parties

Political parties are the most important agencies that participate in political processes in a modern state. A party may be defined as an organised group of people, having a clear ideology and based on certain well-defined policies and having clear objectives. A party has a definite leadership, and its ultimate goal is to gain political power and regulate political process by using the power acquired, normally through democratic elections. The above two sentences should enable you to understand the meaning and purposes of political parties. Edmund Burke had defined the political parties in 1770 thus: "Party is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principles in which they are all agreed." Professor Laski's definition mentioned in last section explains the meaning of parties. These are big or small groups of people which are organised to establish their legitimate control over the government of the country, through the process of elections. Representative government cannot function without them.

Explaining the meaning of political parties, in the context of Great Britain, Herman Finer had said that, "The political parties are the two-way communications that bind 50 million people to the 630, who in Commons, exercise omnipotent power." When Finer wrote this several decades back, the British population was around 50 million, and membership of House of Commons then was 630. There are now 659 members in the house. Politics is the struggle for power, and in this struggle organised groups can surely be more effective than unorganised mobs. Some of the parties adopt revolutionary route, while most of them take to evolutionary process and constitutional means.

The British responsible government had grown along with the evolution of political parties. It is in this context that Bagehot had said that, "Party government is the vital principle of representative government." By way of contrast, Laski had opined that, "... nothing appears to us so definite a proof of dictatorship as when the dictator destroys, as he is logically driven to destroy, all political parties save his own," The primary goal of the parties is to install its leaders in the government, and to ensure their continuation as long as possible. For this purpose, they adopt various methods of securing

popular support, including public rallies, distribution of literature, use of media and even organising musical evenings.

Lord Bryce had stated that, “no free large country has been without them. No one has shown how representative government could be worked without them. They bring order out of chaos of a multitude of voters. If parties cause some evils, they avert and mitigate others.” Political parties may not be provided for in a country’s constitution, yet they shine on the political horizon of the state. Parties alone link the profile with the legislature and the executive. Actually the nature of any political system largely depends on the features of its party system. According to R. Bassett, “... the working of any system of representative government is in large measure determined by the nature of the political parties which separate it.”

There are other eminent scholars who have said more or less the same thing in their own words. For example, R.M. MacIver defined a party as “an association organised in support of some principle or policy which by constitutional means endeavours to make the determinant of government.” And, R.N. Gilchrist had written that, “A political party may ... be defined as an organised group of citizens who profess to share the same political views and who, by acting as a political unit, try to control the government.” Here it must be emphasised that to be a successful party, its members must generally share the same political views, so that they may act as a single political unit.

5.2.3 Classification of Political Parties

The classification of political parties that was presented by Maurice Duverger in 1951 became popular, and is now generally accepted. He had classified parties as (i) mass parties and, (ii) the elitist or traditional parties. Later a third category known as the intermediate type of parties was added. This classification is generally organisationbased categorisations.

5.2.3.1 Mass Parties

The system of parties based on common man’s support began emerging in the early twentieth century. British Labour Party had its origin in the working people’s movement. Later, the communists adopted the system of mass support. Several parties in the newly independent third world countries are generally mass parties. Some of the parties of European

countries, like the Christian Democratic Parties and the Popular Republican Movement (P.R.M.) of France may also be placed in the category of mass parties.

5.2.3.1.1 Socialist Parties

Initially, masses were contacted to donate funds for the labour candidates. These candidates were considered revolutionaries, and industrialists and big business houses declined to give them any financial contribution. In fact these elements were quite opposed to these candidates. In Britain trade unions provided support to these candidates. Later they organised themselves as the Labour Party. The mass parties tried to enlarge their membership, and took contributions from their members. The mass parties preferred contributions from common men and women, rather than the rich business houses. These parties, therefore, did not develop into elitist parties.

The British Labour Party was described as the pioneer of the socialist parties the world over. Democratic socialist parties in several countries followed the British Labour Party. These parties believe in socialism to be brought about by the peaceful democratic means of parliamentary process. They believe in rule of law, rather than violence or revolutionary methods. They sought to abolish capitalism through legislative measures. But, with the commencement of rapid liberalisation in the decade of 1990s, the talk of destruction of capitalism suddenly gave way to adoption of a capitalist path even by democratic parties including the British Labour Party. Under the leadership of Tony Blair, Britain adopted the 'New Labour' as their socialist party.

From the Sociologists' point of view, the socialist parties often face a struggle. They have strange type of conflict between two groups. One, members of the party who elect party leaders and establish party committees; and two, ordinary citizens who elect members of the parliament. Party members try to have their demands conceded as they are organised, and the ordinary voters are not. Socialist parties accept the superiority of the parliament. Therefore, they respect their members of parliament. On the other hand, legislature is ineffective in communist and fascist countries, as the real power is vested in the party concerned. Therefore, party leadership dominates over the members. Many countries in the world had or have socialist parties as important actors in the liberal democratic processes.

5.2.3.1.2 The Communist parties

The communist parties based on the ideology of Marx and Lenin seek close contacts with the masses. Initially, European communist parties were organised on the pattern of socialist parties, but after 1924, they were reorganised on the directions of Communist International headquartered in Moscow. They followed the pattern of Soviet Communist Party. The communist parties everywhere are much better organised and disciplined as compared to other parties. These parties attract workers and peasants. But, unlike other parties, their local units are generally not regional in nature; they are organised at places of work. The primary units, or cells, maintain close contacts with the members in their workplaces. This makes it easier for them to convey the party directions and to have them implemented. Besides, the problems of members of a workplace are common. They enthuse greater unity.

Communist parties follow the principle of 'democratic Centralism', which implies democratic participation of members in party structure, but centralised decision- making and supervision. However, critics say that there is hardly any democracy in these parties, as all decisions are made by a handful of top leaders, who ensure strict obedience and discipline. At different levels in the party, discussion does take place, but directions of the leadership can never be violated or defied. All information about views expressed in these discussions is conveyed to the party leadership. Parties in the former Soviet Union and in East European countries followed this pattern, which is also observed in China, Vietnam and other communist countries.

No other party anywhere in the world, except perhaps the Fascist parties, is so rigidly based on ideology as the communist parties are. They try to strictly follow the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The Chinese Communist Party had its own Maoist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. But, in the post-Mao period the party has certainly deviated from the rigidity of Mao. Liberalisation and opening up of economy in China has altered the pattern, though it still swears by Marxist ideology. Communist parties in liberal democracies, as in India, still keep on insisting on the relevance of Marxism-Leninism.

5.2.3.1.3 The Fascist Parties

Fascism is totally opposed to communism. Unlike the communist parties, fascists advocate an all-powerful state. However, there is one similarity. Both believe in oneparty rule, and in destroying the entire opposition. They both use force to implement their policies. The fascist parties support open competition and capitalism, but they, like the communists, blindly follow one leader. The disobedience to the leader may mean elimination of members.

The Italian Fascist dictator, Mussolini had himself said that his party wanted to follow the communist techniques. Fascists talk of mass base, but they use armed forces to inculcate military discipline and impart military training to the masses. The fascist youth are not only given military training, but they even wear military uniform, carry out daily disciplined exercises, and are often punished for defiance. The fascist leader takes the route of force to assume power, even as pretension of democratic process may be propagated. Fascism comes to power with the support of capitalists and big business houses. It is vehemently opposed to communism, and destructive of democracy. Violence and wars have been important part of fascist programme.

5.2.3.2 The Elitist Parties

The parties, which are not cadre-based, and do not have their support among the masses may be described as elitist or traditional parties. These parties do not throw their doors open to one and all. They are selective in admitting members. The elitist parties are normally divided into (a) the European Type and (b) the American Type.

5.2.3.2.1 The European type

Most of the political parties set up in the nineteenth century are elitist in nature. Many contemporary parties who follow the same approach also come in the elitist or traditional category. Whether these parties are liberal or conservative or progressive, they are against admitting anybody and everybody to their membership. These parties emphasise quality rather than numbers. They seek support of prominent and influential persons. The wealthy people occupy prominent place in these parties. The European parties have their bases in local committees, and have minimum control of central party organisation. However, unlike many parties of

Continental Europe, the Liberal and Conservative Parties of nineteenth century Britain had a powerful central organisation. Now in the twenty-first century central control is increasing in many parties of European and Asian countries also. Similarly, there is a clear distinction in the working of Britain and other European parties.

Party whips have a major say in maintaining discipline in these parties inside the legislative bodies. Members of legislatures invariably vote according to the party whips, and often even speak according to wishes of party leadership. Those who defy the whips in Britain or India may be punished by the party, which may even include expulsion of defiant members. Legislators in many other countries are free to vote as they wish. They do not care for party discipline. The disciplined parties may be described as 'rigid', whereas others can be called 'flexible' parties. It is generally believed that elitist parties are flexible while mass parties are rigid. However, elitist parties in Britain, being disciplined, are exceptions.

But in case of large-scale defiance of party whip, the leadership may look the other side, and take no action. For example, in February 2003 as many as 122 Labour Party members of House of Commons voted against a resolution that sought use of force against Iraq. As Prime Minister Tony Blair was keen on waging a war (in collaboration with the US) against Iraq, the vote of 122 MPs of his own party was massive defiance. Yet, no action was taken against such a large number of members. Since generally British parties are far more disciplined than in other countries, even though they are elitist parties, they may be described as 'rigid elitist parties.' The British parties are symbols of liberal democratic system. With the growth of mass parties, even British parties tried to expand their membership, but they could not succeed. In the modern electoral fights, the parties require large number of workers. Therefore, they admitted large number of members, yet they did not change their basic features.

5.2.3.2.2 The American Type

The parties in the United States are different from British parties in several respects. But, the prominent differences are (i) the nature of presidential government in a federal set-up, as against British parliamentary democracy in a unitary state and (ii) the U.S. parties have remained limited to the elite, away from the masses. The U.S. parties, as mentioned elsewhere, are essentially election-oriented. The system of party primaries was introduced in the early twentieth century. In the primaries, common

citizens, who so desire, participate in the selection of candidates for various elected offices.

This system has adversely affected the power of local level party bodies. The primaries have brought party organisation under the control of the people. At the same time highly expensive and complicated electoral process has compelled the parties to strengthen their organisations. The dual process of strengthened party structure and increasing influence of the people has moved the American parties closer to the masses, yet they have not become mass parties. Professional politicians, many of whom are not democratically elected, lead American parties. Despite this, American parties have been able to establish better contacts with the masses than most of the European parties. An important feature of contemporary US parties is that their local committees have become very powerful; state committees enjoy lesser powers; and the central organisation is rather weak.

Duverger had commented that, “ discipline does not extend to the top of political hierarchy; although very powerful at the local level, it is weaker on state level, and practically non-existent at the national level.” Another feature of American system is lack of party discipline among the members of the Congress. They speak and vote according to their individual decisions. In this respect they are closer to some of the multiparty democracies rather than the British parties.

5.2.4 To Sum up

The concept of political participation has assumed a new significance in the Indian democratic process. The credit goes to the Behaviouralists for espousing this concept as an essential aspect for the democratic process. Various forms of political participation include voting in referendums, membership in political parties and pressure groups, government advisory committees, involvement in the implementation of social policies etc. The proliferation of political parties in an increasingly competitive system also contributed to the widening political participation across various sections of society. The non-party institutions like the NGOs have also been addressing the concerns of the people in the form of women's movements, anti-big dam movements etc. Other major factors of political participation include increased voter turnout, political assertions of the caste and religious groups and also disadvantaged groups. The final assessment of an effective participation and its impact on the Indian democratic process is subject to various interpretations and disputes.

Lesson 5.3 - Determinants of Voting and Non-Voting Behaviour

Unit Structure

5.3.0 Objectives

5.3.1 Introduction

5.3.2 What Is Voting Behaviour

5.3.3 Evolution of Studies of Voting Behaviour in India

5.3.4 Determinations of Voting Behaviour

5.3.5 To Sum up

5.3.6 References

5.3.0 Objectives

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Define different determinants of voting behaviour;
- Underline the significance of voting behaviour in democracy
- Discuss how caste and class have been prominent in determining the voting behaviour;
- Explain the role of Gender and Tribe as determinants of voting behaviour.

5.3.1 Introduction

Casting a vote is one of the most utilized terms in the modern age of democratic politics. In democratic systems, adult citizen uses “voting” as a means for expressing his approval or disapproval of governmental decisions, policies, and programmes. Casting a Voting is an important process of the democratic system, and the decision made at the base has the power to change the power elites. For this motive, voting may maybe be looked upon as the basic decision-making process in a democracy. However, in broad terms, as Richaead Rose and Harve Massavir point out, voting covers as many as six important functions:-

- It involves an individual's choice of governors or major governmental policies; It permits individuals to contribute to a reciprocal and continuing exchange of influence with office holders and candidates;

- It contributes to the development of an individual's allegiance to the existing constitutional regime;
- It contributes to the development of a voter's disaffection from the existing constitutional regime;
- It has emotional significance for individuals; and for some individuals, it may be functionless of any emotional or political significant personal consequences. The study of voting behaviour has come to be regarded as an important feature of current political research and theory.

5.3.2 What Is Voting Behaviour

Samuel S. Eldersveld in his article "Theory and Method of Investigating Electoral Behaviour" writes: "The term electoral behaviour is not new. But recently, it has been used to describe certain areas of research and types of political phenomena that were not previously conceived or considered inappropriate." Behaviour during voting is not limited to the assessment of voting statistics, records, and counting of changes in elections and balances. It is an analysis of a person's psychological processes and his relationship to political actions. According to J. K. Plano and Riggs: "Behaviour in voting is a field of study regarding how people tend to vote in public elections and the reasons why they vote the way they do".

A person's choice of casting vote and related values is called voting activity. Elections relate to the process of democratic participation in which all people express their opinions about individuals and issues by making voting ballots. However, given the situation with Indian selective behaviour, prof. V.M. Sirsikar well notes: "The study of the election process points to other factors besides rationality. It can be said that India has achieved a stable government, but massive manipulations, caste influences, fears of minorities and the prime minister's charismatic dominance did not play a significant role in this process".

5.3.3 Evolution of Studies of Voting Behaviour in India

Study of voting behaviour forms a part of election studies. The subject to study elections is known as psephology. Its purpose is to analyse questions about the behaviour of voters during the elections. What is it that determines voting behaviour? Why do voters vote a candidate or prefer a party in the elections? Is it the economic factor such as employment,

inflation, removal of poverty or non- economic factors? Is it quality of leader – strong, charismatic, etc? These are some of the questions, which have been addressed in studies about the determinants of voting behaviour.

In India, political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists, media houses and political parties have been involved in election studies. During post-Independence India, election studies started in the 1950s since the first general election of 1951-52. But systematic studies of elections began in the 1960s, with the initiative of Rajni Kothari, a scholar in the Centre for the Studies of Developing Societies (CSDS), New Delhi, and Myron Wiener, an American political scientist, who specialised in Indian politics. In the 1980s, Prannoy Roy, Davit Butler and Ashok Lahiri's book *A Compendium of Indian Elections*, gave a new momentum to election studies. But it was since the 1990s that election studies have become a regular feature of studies on electoral politics. The principal reason for this has been the increasing frequency of elections for state assemblies or Lok Sabha. The initiative to start election studies in India in the 1990s was again taken by a team of the scholar led by Yogendra Yadav from the CSDS. The team conduct the election studies under the banner of an organisation known as Lokniti.

As members of the CSDS team, scholars from various universities in the country conducted election studies. The methods of doing the election studies mainly include surveys. These surveys are known as National Election Survey (NES). The scholars conduct survey before and after election to ascertain various aspects relating to elections. And the determinants of voting behaviour form an important aspect of NES studies. The findings of these studies have been published in several articles in academic journals, books and print media. Apart from the CSDS, several scholars and media groups, political parties engage in studying determinants of electoral behaviour.

5.3.4 Determinations of Voting Behaviour

There are various determinants of voting behaviour such as religion, caste, class, community, ethnicity, language, ideology, political wave etc. The political parties use these determinants to attract voters for winning the election. These determinants are used by all the representative of political parties to woo voters irrespective of the inclination and ideologies. Voters also cast their votes because of these determinants.

5.3.4.1 Education

It is often seen that the educated people take more interest in casting their vote as compared to the illiterates because they know the importance of their right to vote and consider the use of this right a national duty. They know that they can elect the government of their choice by executing their right to vote. Thus, education affects the voting behaviour of person and with the spread of education the ratio of the use of franchise is also increasing and during the election of the 16th lok sabha, the percentage of voting had gone up to 66.38% which was quite high in comparison to previous elections.

5.3.4.2 Caste

Caste continues to be a determining factor in voting behaviour in India. It has deep roots in society and constitutes an important basis for social relations at all levels. Despite the adoption of various provisions that prohibit action and discrimination on the basis, the caste continues to be a determining factor in political behaviour. The politicization of caste and casteism in politics has been a well-known reality of the Indian political system. The political parties in India, without exception, in formulating their policies, programs and electoral strategies always keep the caste factor in mind.

It is often seen that several political parties while nominating the candidate and the voter while exercising their right to vote, pay particular attention to the candidate's caste at the time of the election slogan as "jat ki beti jat ko, jat ki voto jat ko" are raised. Many scholars have examined the role of caste as a determinant of voting behaviour and they have come out with the result, as Morris Jones writes, "Politics is more important for caste and caste is more important for politics than before". Rural voters pay special attention to the caste of the candidate. Despite the adoption of democratic values that conceive a society free from casteism, the caste continues to characterize politics in India.

5.3.4.3 Gender

Though Gender is a broader concept, when we discuss gender in relation to voting behaviour it is mainly refers to women's role in voting. Since the 1990s, the participation in voting in elections of the marginalized sections or plebeians, including women, has increased. Voting is a device,

which enable women's empowerment in terms of making choice of their representatives. The significance of women's role in voting is highlighted by the fact that many regional parties include issues concerning women in their agenda. These issues range from domestic economy, sexual violence, and dignity to reservation for women in legislatures and social oppression. However, there are differences among political parties on reservation for women in legislatures. Several parties have included issues about women's welfare in their manifestos and programmes. For example, in 2015 assembly election in Bihar, Nitish Kumar launched anti-liquor policy for welfare for women, especially for those belonging to the marginalised and backward classes.

Nitish Kumar regime's *Cycle Yojna*, which enabled girl student to travel to schools, influenced voting behaviour of several voters in an assembly election in Bihar. Modi government policies such as *Beti Padhao Beti Bachao* and *Jan Dhan Yojna* determined women's voting behaviour in several elections held in India since 2014. Rainuka Dagar's study (2015) on 2014 Lok Sabha elections shows the gender became a point of reference across three broad issues, i.e, governance, development, and secularism which formed part of the campaign. Women issues were lobbied across all three fronts as a point of reference.

Women' safety, inclusive growth model and economic, social and physical security were the essence of the broad issues. Indeed, this election saw the increase in number of women's participation. These issues determined the voting behaviour to a considerable extent. Even though other factors such as caste, class, religion and language impact the choice, women are becoming more aware of their rights and welfare schemes. It is important to understand that though the women's participation in political activities is increasing, there are few women leaders in political power than the men. Women are more active and assertive in present times irrespective of their education, class or caste. The best example of this assertiveness can be seen in local governance where women are participating in a huge number.

5.3.4.4 Ideological commitment

The ideological commitment of the voters also effect the voting behaviour most of the voters are crazy about particular ideology and they keep in view the ideology of the candidate and the political party at the

time of casting their votes. This fact is applicable to the voters who are the supporter of the leftist parties.

5.3.4.5 Religion

Religion also plays an important role in Indian politics. Many political parties have been formed on the basis of religion in India. At the time of elections, different political parties beg votes in the name of religion. They raise the slogan 'Religion is in danger' and instigate the religious feelings of the people. While distributing party tickets the religion of the voters and candidates is given due consideration. It is often seen that the voters cast their votes in favour of the candidates of their own religion on being influenced by the religious feeling.

5.3.4.6 Tribes

Tribes are different from castes or classes. While castes denote the positions of persons in social hierarchy among Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs, tribes can be identified by some other characteristics. Most important among these characteristics are their closeness to nature, dependence of economy on forests, minerals and other natural resources, relative social equality among the members of a tribe, relative freedom of women in comparison to non-tribals. Tribes belong to different religions such as Islam, Christianity, Buddhism or animism. There are special provisions in the Constitution of India fifth and sixth schedule in Indian Constitution for the governance of tribal-dominated areas.

These provisions are meant to protect tribal identities, culture, customs and economic interests. Many regions of India are inhabited by various tribes such as states in northeast India Assam, Meghalaya, Arunchal Pradesh, Tripura, Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, and Sikkim, and in other regions Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, etc. Tribes often complain that they have become "internal colonies" of the outsiders who exploit their economy and culture. On several occasions, this has resulted in ethnic violence.

Political parties, students' organisations and other civil society organisations mobilize tribes on these issues. During every election the political parties, especially regional parties espousing the cause of the tribal community, campaign on the issues related to tribes' cultural identities, economy and political autonomy.

Specifically, the most common determinants of voting behaviour of tribes are protection of their cultural identity, sustenance and protection of natural resources such as forest, minerals and other natural resources, the influx of outsiders which often leads to erosion of their cultural identity and exploitation of resource, regional development, political autonomy ensured through the V and VI Schedules. These issues generally work as the determinant of tribes' voting behaviour.

5.3.4.7 Party loyalty

In India, many of the people are attached to their different political party and they always cast their vote in favour of the party rather than the candidate. We can't change their party loyalty even when they know that their candidate would not be going to win, such voters are known as committed voters.

5.3.4.8 Populist Slogans

Sometimes different political parties raise the populist slogans according to the need of the time and affect the thinking of the voters. For example, congress raised the slogan of, 'garibi hatao' in 1971. During the 16th Lok sabha election the slogans like 'Aabki bar Modi sarkar'.

5.3.4.9 Language

India is a multi-lingual state. The language also serves as a factor in voting behaviour. The organization of states on a linguistic basis fully reflects the importance of language as a factor of politics in India. There have been problems in states like that of the status of one particular language in that state, or relating to the quality of the status of a language of a state. Since people have an emotional attachment with their languages, they easily get influenced whenever there comes up any issue relating to language. Linguistic interests always influence voting behaviour, for example, D.M.K secured the vote of the people in Tamil Nadu in 1967 and 1971 by making anti-Hindi propaganda.

5.3.4.10 Influence of money

India is a poor country with a large number of people living below the poverty line. Money as such plays a crucial role in determining the

behaviour of votes in India. A rich candidate or party has more chances of winning the elections always. At the time of elections, the poor are allured by the glitter of the money and their votes are purchased. In this way, the process of, 'give a note and take vote' goes on in India.

5.3.4.11 Election campaign

Each party launches election campaigns on a large scale to influence the voters in its favour. Use of mass gatherings, street gatherings, personal contacts, posters, poster war, movie star speeches, TV and radio broadcasts, newspaper advertising, pamphlets, processions, and propaganda is made to win votes, particularly floating votes. Polling campaign plays a role in influencing the choice of the voters. The ruling party always try to create an impression through its election campaign that it has a chance to win can earn some additional votes as several voters try to stand beside what they perceive to be a winning side.

Check Your Progress Exercise 4

Is Gender becoming a major concern for political parties for winning election? Answer this question with an example?

What are the important factors that impact voting behaviour of tribes?

5.3.5 To Sum up

These are thus the important determinants of voting behaviour in India. The continuity in the operation of India's political system as a developing democratic political system is progressively training the Indian voters. The process of emergence of an issue-based political struggle in place of caste or religion or personality dominated struggle for power is very slowly but gradually changing. Elections occupy a prominent place in the democratic government. It is a way through which people express and implement their political opinion and control the political organization of society. However, the behaviour of a voter is affected by many factors such as religion, caste, community, language, money, policy or ideology, the objective of the polls, and the like political parties make use of these variables for winning the elections. It is, therefore, crucial that the use of these determinants should be avoided and elections should be conducted in a very free and fair manner.

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