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**SELF LEARNING MATERIAL
B.A. Semester- IV**

Subject - Political Science

Unit - I to IV

Course No. : PS-401

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COURSE CO-ORDINATOR

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Political Science B.A. IVth Sem

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B.A. Political Science

Semester 4th

Course No. PS-401
Duration of Exam.: 3 Hours

Title Comparative Politics
Total Marks: 100
Theory Examination: 70
Internal Assessment: 30

Unit-I: Understanding Comparative Politics

- 1.1 Comparative Politics: Meaning, Nature and Scope
- 1.2 Distinction between Comparative Government and Comparative Politics
- 1.3 System and Structural-Functional Approach
- 1.4 Political Economy and Dependency Approach (A.G. Frank)

Unit-II: Political Process and Political Development

- 2.1 Political Culture: Meaning, Types and Determinants
- 2.2 Political Participation: Meaning, Types and Determinants
- 2.3 Political Socialisation: Meaning and Agents
- 2.4 Political Development: Concept and Ingredients

Unit-III: Political Dynamics: Democracy, Electoral Process and Party System

- 3.1 Theories of Democracy: Elitist and Pluralist
- 3.2 Theories of Representation: Territorial, Proportional and Functional
- 3.3 Party System: One Party, Bi-Party and Multi Party
- 3.4 Features of Authoritarian and Democratic Regimes

Unit-IV: Emerging Issues in Comparative Politics

- 4.1 Globalisation: Meaning, Nature and Evolution
- 4.2 Women's Issues: Welfare to Empowerment
- 4.3 Climate Change: A Comparative Perspective of North and South
- 4.4 Human Rights: Meaning, Significance and Trends

Note for Paper-setter:

- The Question Paper shall be divided into two sections. The first section will carry eight short questions of which students will be required to attempt six questions. The upper word limit for the answer of each question will be 500 words. Each question carries 5 marks.
- The second section shall comprise eight questions of which students have to attempt four questions on the basis of ‘**WITHIN UNIT**’ choice. The upper word limit for the answer to each question will be 1000 words. Each question will carry 10 marks.

Suggested Readings:

Almond, Gabriel, A., et. Al., *Comparative Politics Today*, Person, New Delhi, 2006.
Biswal, Tapan, et. Al., *Comparative Politics: Institutions and Processes*, Macmillan, New Delhi, 2013.

Dubash, Navroz, K. (Ed.), *Handbook of Climate Change and India: Development, Politics and Governance*, OUP, New Delhi, 2012.

Goodhart, Michael, *Human Rights: Politics and Practice*, OUP, London, 2013.

Hague, R., Haroop, M. and Breslin, S., *Comparative Government and Politics: Introduction*, Macmillan, London, 1993.

Stiglitz, Joseph E., *Globalisation and Its Discontents*, W.W. Norton, New York, 2002.
Ray, S.N., *Modern Comparative Politics: Approaches, Methods and Issues*, Prentice Hall, New Delhi, 2006.

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B. A. Semester IV: **Political Science**
Course No.: **PS-401 (Comparative Politics)**
Unit I: **Understanding Comparative Politics**

1.1 COMPARATIVE POLITICS: MEANING, NATURE AND SCOPE

KULWANT KOUR

STRUCTURE

- 1.1.0 Objectives**
- 1.1.1 Introduction**
- 1.1.2 Evolution of Comparative Politics**
- 1.1.3 Comparative Politics: Meaning**
 - 1.1.3.1 Features of Comparative Politics
- 1.1.4 Scope of Comparative Politics**
- 1.1.5 Let us sum up**
- 1.1.6 Suggested Readings**

1.1.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- know the meaning of Comparative Politics;
- comprehend Nature and main feature of Comparative Politics;
- understand the reason for increasing the scope of Comparative Politics;
- know the new areas to which the Comparative Politics extended.

1.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Comparative politics is one of the three main sub-fields of political science (along with political theory and international relations) focusing on internal political structures, actors, and processes, and analyzing them empirically by describing, explaining, and predicting their variety (similarities and differences) across political systems – be it national political systems, regional, municipal, or even inter-national political systems. This can be done through the intensive analysis of few cases or with large-scale extensive analysis of many cases.

The subject of comparative politics constitutes a study in the direction of the expanding horizon of political science. The aim is to study political reality by means of new techniques and approaches in a way that the entire area of politics is covered. Perhaps the main reason for the emergence of this new area is a widespread feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction with the traditional descriptive approach. Comparative politics therefore has appeared as a subject of momentous significance with the new approaches, new definitions and new methods and research tools.

Comparative politics was born out of diversity. There would be no comparative politics without diversity of political systems and their features. In present times, more than ever before, diversity is the rule. Different systems, institutions and values confront the student of contemporary society. More than one hundred eighty states are represented in the United Nations and each has its own peculiarities and political culture. The study of all these and in comparison, help us to understand the political reality better.

1.1.2 COMPARATIVE POLITICS: MEANING

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

Politics is continuous, timeless ever changing and a universal activity having its key manifestation in the making of a decision to face and solve a predicament. It connotes a kind of activity, a form of human behaviour. David Easton treats it as an action for the

authoritative allocation of values. Harold Laswell and Robert Dahl describe it as a “special case in exercise of power” and Jean Blondel lays emphasis on the point of “decision making”. As a subject of study, Politics has been popularly defined as “the struggle for power through which binding and authoritative values are made and implemented”. Accordingly comparative politics can be described as the subject that seeks to compare the political systems with a view to understand and describe the nature of politics and to build a scientific theory of politics.

Some popular definitions of comparative politics are as under. According to M. Curtis, “comparative politics is concerned with significant regularities, similarities and differences in the working of political institutions and political behaviour.”

According to E. A. Freeman, “Comparative politics is comparative analysis of the various forms of government and diverse political institutions.”

Jean Blondel defines comparative politics “as the study of patterns of national governments in the contemporary world.” The term patterns of government refer to three parts of study (i) government structure (ii) behaviour and (iii) the laws.

According to Roy C Macridis and Robert ward, “Government is not the sole concern of students of comparative politics. Comparative politics, no doubt, has to be concerned with the government structure, but at the same time it has to take note of: (1) society, historical heritage and geographic and resource endowed, its social and economic organisations; its ideologies and its political system and (2) its parties, interests and leadership etc.

1.1.3 NATURE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Comparative politics seeks to analyse and compare the political systems operating in various societies. In doing so it takes into account all the three connotations of politics—*political activity*, *political process* and *political power*. *Political activity* consists of all the activities and efforts directed towards creating the conditions of tension and having their resolution until the point of spontaneous unanimity is achieved. In other words, political activity emanates from a situation of predicament — a form of human behaviour in which the interests of persons, more than one, clash or interact for the purpose of having allocation of binding values in their respective favours. *Political process* is an extension of the sense of political activity. Here the role of all those agencies, who have the role in the decision making process, becomes important. The study of politics is thus broadened so as to include even non-state agencies. Comparative Politics, thus, involves the study of all formal

as well as informal agencies, the governmental and non state agencies through which the political process gets operationalised. Finally, politics being a struggle for power or a process of conflict resolution through the use of legitimate power, involves a *study of power or power relations in society*. Laswell describes politics as process of shaping and sharing of power. Robert Dahl holds that politics involves power, rule and authority to a significant extent. Here the study of politics naturally involves the study of power. As such comparative politics involves the study and comparing of political activity, political process and struggle for power in various political systems.

1.1.3.1 FEATURES OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The comparative politics studies in the contemporary time are characterized by the following features.

1. Analytical and Empirical Investigations

Comparative politics studies give more stress on analytical research. It is no longer confined to descriptive studies. It seeks to analyse, empirically and analytically the actual activities of the governments, their structures and functions.

2. Value-free Political Science

Comparative politics has rejected the normative prescriptive approach of the traditional political science. Its aim is to develop an empirical and objective theory of politics capable of explaining and comparing all the phenomena of politics. It involves a value free empirical study of the various processes of politics in different environments. Only those values are admitted whose validity can be scientifically demonstrated. It concentrates upon the study of what is and not what should be.

3. Study of Infrastructures

The study of comparative politics is not confined to the formal structures of government as was the trend with the traditional political scientists in the study of comparative governments. Comparative politics now seeks to analyse the actual behaviour of individuals, groups, structures, subsystems and systems in relations to the environment in which the behaviour manifests. It is now not confined to the formal structures in terms of their legal powers and functions. It seeks to analyse their behaviour in the environment. The study of decision-making process in a given environment is, also an integral part of comparative politics.

4. Focus on Intra-Disciplinary Approach

Comparative politics accepts the desirability and need for adopting intra-disciplinary approach. It accepts the need to study politics and political process with the help of knowledge of Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Economics and other social sciences. Political behaviour is a part of the general social behaviour and is intimately related to all other aspects of human behaviour. As such, it can be systematically analysed only with reference to other social sciences. Political studies can borrow tools and concepts from other social sciences.

5. Study of both Developed and Developing Societies

Whereas in its traditional form, comparative politics involved only the study of political functions of the governments in developed European societies, in modern times it lays great stress on the study of political systems of the developing societies as well. The biased and parochial nature of traditional studies stands replaced by all embracing studies of developing as well as developed societies. Study of political systems of Asia, Africa and Latin America enjoys equal importance with America and European systems.

Modern political scientists like Almond, Coleman, Sidney Verba, David Easton and Edward Shills have given considerable rather added importance to the study of politics of the developing societies. It has been accepted by all the political scientists that comparative politics must include all political systems of our times, developed as well as developing, European as well as non-European and major as well as minor.

6. Horizontal and Vertical Comparisons

Comparative politics involves both a comparative study of the political structures and functions of national political systems of various states and also a comparative study of the political institutions at work with a single state. The former is called horizontal comparative studies and the latter is called vertical comparative studies. Traditionally under comparative governments emphasis was placed only upon horizontal comparative studies. In contemporary comparative politics, however equal importance is given to both types of comparisons.

With all these features, comparative politics is almost a new science of politics. It has rejected traditional formal character, legal and institutional framework, normative and prescriptive approach and practical nature of comparative governments. Though comparison of political institutions continues to be one of its concerns, comparative politics has a wider scope, analytical approach and scientific theory building as its objective.

Explaining the difference between comparative politics and comparative governments, Sidney Verba has remarked that in comparative Politics we “look beyond description to more theoretically relevant problems; look beyond the single case to the comparison of many cases; look beyond the formal institutions of government to political functions and look beyond the countries of western Europe to the new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America”.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE I

1. Comparative politics involves a comparative study of various political systems. Elaborate.
2. By nature Comparative Politics takes into account all the three connotations of politics—political activity, political process and political power. Explain.
3. What are the basic features of Comparative Politics?

1.1.4 SCOPE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Traditionally the scope of comparative politics was limited and parochial. It was confined to the study of constitutions and political institutions in respect of their features, functions, powers and positions. It was parochial in the sense that it involved a study of only European constitutions. The emphasis was upon the study of governments and institutions.

After the Second World War, comparative politics has undergone revolutionary changes in respect of its scope and methodology. It has come to acquire a very wide scope which includes the analysis and comparison of the political processes, political activities, political functions, political structures of all political systems, developed as well as developing and European as well as Asian, African and Latin America. This was happened because before the Second World War, the world was mainly dominated by the European countries. Most of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are under their subjugation. In fact, the League of Nations was having a limited members, less than 50. Most of these countries are European countries. However, after the Second World War due to anti-colonial movements, all the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America became independent one after another. As result, the number of independent countries tremendously increased in the world. At present, the membership in United Nations General Assembly almost touched to 200. This increase in independent nations brought significant diversity to the international relation. The political systems of these newly independent countries are tremendously different from the countries of the Europe. This complexity forced many political scientists to pay significant attention to study the political systems of

these countries, their societies and cultures. As a result, the scope of comparative studies increased significantly.

The following subjects form the core of the scope of comparative politics.

(1) POLITICAL STRUCTURES

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

(2) FUNCTIONAL STUDIES

Comparative politics lays more on the functions, powers and processes and less on the legal aspects. It includes the studies of functions like interest articulation, interest aggregation, political communications, rule-making, rule-application, rule adjudication, socialisation, decision-making and policy-making etc.

(3) STUDY OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

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

(4) STUDY OF SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES

Comparative politics undertakes an analysis of similarities and dissimilarities between various political processes and functions. However, the approach is not descriptive, legalistic and formalistic. It is on the basis of actual functioning of political structures and processes, the similarities and dissimilarities are explained, analysed and compared. The objective is not the best process or system. The objective is systematic explanation, understanding and theory building.

(5) STUDY OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Comparative politics seeks to analyse the actual behaviour and performances of political systems—western as well as non-western. The political systems are analysed and compared

in terms of their structures, functions objective, and performances. The objective, however, is not to decide as to which political system is the best, the objective is to understand the actual working of various political systems with a view to gather systematic knowledge for theorybuilding.

(6) INTER DISCIPLINARY ENVIRONMENT STUDIES

To understand politics, one needs to know Sociology, Economics, Psychology and Anthropology. It is necessary to understand the social environments in which the political systems operate. For studying this, the political scientists have developed concepts like political culture, political socialisation, political development and political modernisation etc. These concepts have definitely enhanced the ability of political scientists to explain and compare the functioning of various political systems. In this way comparative politics has developed and is still developing.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. Explain the reasons for increased scope of Comparative Politics after Second World War.
2. Explain the scope of contemporary comparative politics and the subjects it deals in contemporary times.
3. “Comparative politics has become more universally applicable and broader “(Verba). Discuss the scope of comparative politics in the light of above statement.

1.1.5 LET US SUM UP

Comparative Politics is basically compares different political systems and political cultures. The scope of comparative politics has become very broad in post-Second World War period. It includes everything that falls within the preview of political activity, political process and political power. It involves the study of all structures and functions, which directly or indirectly, vigorously or passively affect and characterise the political processes in all the states. Political Behaviour, Political Culture, Political Socialisation, Interest groups, Political Parties, Decision Making, Policy Making, Power Struggle, Elites, Direct Action, Public Protests, Violence, Corruption Urbanisation, Modernisation and Development and Power etc. are all included within the scope of comparative politics. Comparative politics has also become less parochial and ethnocentric and more multifaceted and relativistic. No longer are politics evaluated solely in terms of the Anglo-Americans model. Scholars

draw evidence and illustrations of comparable political events from non-western countries. In this context, comparative politic has become more universally applicable and broader.

1.1.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

J. C. Johari, *Comparative Politics* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1976).

Sidney Verba, "Comparative Politics: where have we been where are we going?," in H. J. Wiarda (ed.), *New Directions In Comparative Politics* (New York: Westview, 1985).

D. Deol, *Comparative Government and Politics* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1992).

G. A. Almond and G. B. Powell, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* (New Delhi: Amerind, 1972, Indian ed.).

1.2 DISTINCTION BETWEEN COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENTS AND COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Baljit Singh

Structure

- 1.2.0 Objectives**
- 1.2.1 Introduction**
- 1.2.2 Evolution of Comparative Politics**
- 1.2.3 Meaning and Distinction between Comparative Governments and Comparative Politics**
- 1.2.4 Moving Towards Comparative Politics**
- 1.2.5 What Does Comparative Politics Compare**
- 1.2.6 Comparative Politics in Contemporary Scenario**
- 1.2.7 Suggested Readings**

1.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you should be able:

- To understand evolution of comparative politics;
- To know the meaning of comparative politics;
- To understand the distinction between comparative governments and comparative politics;
- To comprehend what does comparative politics compare;
- To understand the contemporary scenarios and developments in comparative politics.

1.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The comparative study of government and politics can be traced back to writings of Aristotle because he compared and contrasted various political systems for the better understanding of political phenomena across the countries. Aristotle is considered as the first scholar, who made the use of comparative method to understand the political happenings in the Greek City-States. Since then the comparative government has become an essential component of the discipline of political science. This Greek tradition of comparing governments continued for a long time till 19th century. Many studied and compared the various states, governments, judiciaries, executives, bureaucracy, etc.

However, two developments in the middle of the 20th century changed the nature of study and comparison. The behaviouralist revolution, which you have studied in the first semester, drastically altered the way we approach the politics. Instead of exclusively confining to states and governments, the focus shifted many issues that did not fall strictly under state's purview. Instead of studying only structures now the shift is towards processes. Secondly, as already explained to you, the emergence of many independent countries in the world, particularly in Asia and Africa, tremendously increased the scope of the comparison. In the changed context, one cannot confine to the old way of approaching the subject to get hold on much deeper and complex realities. Gradually, Comparative Politics has emerged in the space of Comparative Government as an approach to understand these changed realities.

1.2.2 EVOLUTION OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The discipline of comparative politics includes three different traditions (Van Biezen and Caramani 2006). The **first tradition** is oriented towards the study of single countries. This reflects the understanding of comparative politics in its formative years in the US, where it mainly meant the study of political system outside the US, often in isolation from another and involving little, if any comparison. For long comparative politics especially in the Anglo-Saxon world has meant the study of foreign countries. The **second tradition** is methodological and is principally concerned with establishing rules and standards of comparative analysis. This tradition addresses the question of how comparative analyses should be carried out in order to enhance their potential for the descriptive accumulation of comparative information, explanation and prediction. This strand is concerned with rigorous conceptual, logical and statistical techniques of analysis, involving also issues of measurement and case selection. The **third tradition** of comparative politics is analytical, in that it combines empirical substance and method. The body of literature in this tradition is primarily

concerned with the identification and explanation of differences and similarities between countries and their institutions, actors, and processes through systematic comparison using cases of a common phenomenon. Its principal goal is to be explanatory. It aims to go beyond merely videographic descriptions and ultimately aspires to arrive at the identification of law like explanations (Daniele Caramani 2008).

1.2.3 MEANING & DISTINCTION BETWEEN COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Generally the term comparative government and comparative politics are being used interchangeably but there is difference between the comparative government and comparative politics. In order to understand the distinction between the comparative government and comparative politics, it is required to understand the meaning of both. The subject matter of comparative government and politics has always been rather ambiguous. Comparative government can be defined in the preliminary fashion as the study of the patterns of national governments in the contemporary world. It would also be simplistic to suggest that the study of comparative government is and must be, the study of government on a comparative basis. Roy C. Macridis points out, the expression “comparative government” signifies the study of the legal instrumentalities of government and of political processes conceived as a result of the interaction between the properly constituted organs of government, namely the electorate, the legislature, the administration and courts (Ray: 2006).

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. Write a brief note on evolution of comparative politics.
2. Discuss the Meaning of comparative politics
3. Define comparative politics and explain the features\characteristics of comparative politics.

1.2.4 MOVING TOWARDS COMPARATIVE POLITICS

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

1.2.5 WHAT DOES COMPARATIVE POLITICS COMPARE?

Comparative politics compares political systems mainly at the national level. The classical cases of comparative politics are national political systems. They are still the most important political units in the contemporary world. However, national political systems are not the only cases that comparative politics analyses. On the other hand, non-national political systems can be compared: sub-national regional political systems or supra-national units such as (1) regions (Western Europe, Central-Eastern Europe, North America, Latin America, and so on), (2) political systems of empires (Ottoman, Habsburg, Russian, Chinese, Roman, etc), (3) international organizations (European Union, NAFTA, etc), and finally the types of political systems rather than geographic units (a comparison between the democratic and authoritarian regimes in terms of, say, economic performance. On the other hand, comparative politics compares single elements of components of the political systems rather than the whole system. The scholars of comparative politics compare the structures of parliament of different countries or regional governments, they compare policies, the finances of parties and trade unions, the presence or not of direct democracy institutions, electoral laws, and so on (Daniele Caramani 2008: 6). Comparative politics encompasses everything from a substantial point of view, it has no substantial specificity, but rather methodological one resting on comparison and its status as a discipline has been questioned, especially in recent literature (Verba 1985; Dalton 1991; Keman 1993a). Yet, there is specificity, and this is the focus on internal or domestic political processes. There is substantial specificity which resides in the empirical analysis of internal structures, actors and processes (Daniele Caramani 2008).

Comparative politics prior to the behavioural was typically a discipline that compared few cases. It used to believe that the world would converge towards the Anglo-Saxon model of democracy and that, consequently, these were cases that comparative political scientists should concentrate upon. The number of cases was therefore limited to the US, Britain, France, and a few other cases such as Canada, sometimes Australia and New Zealand, as well as failed democracies of Germany and Italy. Obviously, with such a limited number of cases the employment of statistical research methods was extremely problematic and consequently did not develop. The behavioural revolution involved the widening of cases, that is, much greater numbers. Besides this, the behavioural revolution also shifted the focus of analysis from institutions to the processes and political actors.

For the purpose of comparative government and comparative politics, which has been a dynamic discipline all through, the emergence of these third world countries and their entry into the community of nations has proved to be of great significance. **First**, as Erickson has stated, it has greatly enlarged the empirical range of the field of comparative politics in the post-second world war period (Erickson: 1963). **Second**, it has helped to

engender a desire for going much beyond common sense propositions and common sense testing procedures. **Third**, it has helped to produce the present emphasis on the social setting of politics and on agencies mediating between the social and the political, such as political groups and agencies of political socialization since, in these political systems, there is very little differentiation between the social and the political. **Fourth**, as Macridis pointed out, by expediting the efforts towards the studies of these clusters of countries as 'areas', it has promoted the inter-disciplinary involvement of modern comparative politics. The novelty of this inter-disciplinary approach lies not so much in its systematic orientation or in the development of analytical concepts for comparison, but rather in the sophistication with which it relates the political process in the particular system to the ideological, cultural and social context (Macridis: 1963). **Fifth**, according to Rustow, it has sharpened the edge of the comparative method, and has facilitated the adoption of cross-cultural, cross-polity comparisons of the political systems of the world and the application of rigorous research frames, and it has helped to realize the possibility of a global study of comparative politics based on the entire body of available evidence (Rustow: 1963).

1.2.6 COMPARATIVE POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY SCENARIO

The discipline of comparative politics is built on the idea that 'comparison' is the methodological core of the scientific study of politics (Almond et al. 2004: 31. Political systems exist within the framework of sovereign states; for this reason comparison is understood to be comparison between countries (i. e. sovereign states). The principle that comparative politics compares countries is so entrenched that major introductions to the discipline (e. g. Almond et al. 2004; Landman 2003) do not find it necessary to explain why that is the case: it is considered self-evident. Similarly, a dominant view in the discipline of international relations is that the international system is a system of sovereign states: they are the basic components of the international system (e.g. Waltz 1979).

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

At the same time, states are constantly in a process of change. Therefore, it is always relevant to ask questions about the current major modalities of statehood, not least

because help explain how and why states are able or unable to provide basic social values. During the cold war period, the prevalent distinction was between the advanced capitalist states in the first world, the communist states in the second world, and the remaining states in the third world. With the collapse of most communist states, some use distinction between the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South. Although, this is a very precise categorization but another categorization is suggested: first, the advanced capitalist states are in the process of transition from modern to post-modern statehood; second, the weak post colonial states display a serious lack of stateness and they are by no means on a secure path to the development of more substance; third, the modernizing states are different combinations of these three ideal types. Of course, even this categorization can further be refined. Typology suggested here is not meant to replace any other possible distinction. It will remain relevant—depending on the research question—to differentiate between big and small states, nation-states and non-nation states, old and new states, states from various regions and sub-regions, and so on. But the modalities put forward here help explain how sovereign states have transformed in the context of globalization. So the first recommendation to comparativists is to be aware of the larger context in which political, economic and other processes play out. This is not a very dramatic proposition as awareness of context is nothing new to comparative politics. The add-on here is merely the suggestion of a different distinction between types of state. The second recommendation is to accept that ‘international’ and ‘domestic’ are intimately connected and this requires that both elements are taken into the analysis of the development and change of sovereign statehood.

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

which closely connect ‘domestic’ and ‘international’ affairs. That insight must be taken on board while conducting comparative analysis of political systems.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE II

1. Comparative politics now offers to study political process and institutions in a totally comparative fashion for the purpose of answering common problems and questions. Explain.
2. How the movement from comparative governments to comparative politics enlarged the understanding of political phenomenon?
3. The discipline of comparative politics is built on the idea that ‘comparison’ is the methodological core of the scientific study of politics. How do you understand this?

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1.3 SYSTEM AND STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL APPROACHES

BALJIT SINGH

STRUCTURE

1.3.0 Objectives

1.3.1 Introduction

1.3.2 Approaches in Comparative Politics

1.3.3. Systems Theory

1.3.3.1 Systems Theory in Comparative Politics

1.3.4 Structural-Functional Analyses

1.3.4.1 Criticism on Structural Functionalism

1.3.5 : Let us Sum UP

1.3.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Various approaches followed in comparative politics;
- The distinction between these approaches;
- The Systems theory and its practice in comparative politics;
- Structural Functional approach and major criticism on it.

1.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The subject matter of politics is extremely complex, involving a range of institutions, actors, and ideas that interact on the continuous basis to provide governance for society. The complexity of politics and government is compounded when we

attempt to understand several different political systems, and to compare the ways in which these systems function. As comparative politics has moved beyond simple descriptions of individual countries of a few institutions, scholars have required substantial guidance to sort through the huge amount of evidence available, and to focus on the most relevant information. Given the high complexity of political systems and the wide range of variation between them across the world, it is important to develop approaches that are use across them and not simply in single countries. Political theories are the source of these approaches to comparison. A number of different theories and approaches enable the comparative political scientists to impose some analytic meanings on the political phenomena being observed, and to relate that evidence back to a comprehensive understanding of politics

1.3.2 APPROACHES IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Although, there is an important interaction between theory and empirical research in all areas of the discipline, that interaction is especially important in the field of comparative politics. One of the crucial functions of theory in comparative politics is to link micro and macro behaviour. Much of contemporary political theory functions especially at the micro level, attempting to understand the logic of individual choice. The link between the micro and the macro is crucial for comparative politics, given that one of our primary concerns is explaining the behaviour of political institutions rather than individuals. Certainly variations in individual behaviour and the influence of cultural and social factors on that behaviour are important, but the logic of comparison is primarily having larger structures in play, and to think about how individuals interact within parliaments, parties, or bureaucracies. Indeed one could argue that if a researcher went too far down the individualist route, then any comparison would become irrelevant, and all the researcher would care about would be the individual's behaviour. Theory is at once the best friend and the worst enemy of the comparative researcher.

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

These developments resulted in mushrooming of “approaches” to study various systems – national, regional and global. Approaches enable us in understanding a particular phenomenon. The perspective may encompass micro and macro level of local, regional, national, or international issues. Comparative politics is no more limited to the study of government alone. The discourse of comparative politics has broadened to such an extent that it has emerged as an interdisciplinary study. Elements of society, economy, and other emerging disciplines greatly influenced the subject area of comparative politics in modern times. Some of the important approaches to study in comparative manner are outlined in this lesson. These are Systems Theory and Structural-Functionalism. You will study two other approaches, Political Economy and Dependency, in the next lesson.

1.3.3 SYSTEMS THEORY

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

You have already studied system theory in your first semester and you are already aware that the system theory had its origin the natural sciences. This concept is based on the idea that objects or elements within a group are in some way related to one another and in turn, interact with one another on the basis of certain identifiable processes.

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

David Easton is the first major political scientist who has developed a systematic framework on the basis of the systems analysis approach for the study politics. He has selected the political system as the basic unit of analysis and concentrated on the intra-system behaviour as principal areas of research. Easton clearly distinguishes political system from other systems – physical, biological or economic. Easton defines a political system as “that system of interactions in any

society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented”.

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

David Easton’s political system always remains subject to challenges from forces operating in the environment. Easton calls such forces as stresses that constitute the response mechanism of the political system. The stresses are of two kinds—demand stress and support stress. Demand stress may result from the failure of the system to deal with the particular range of demands made upon it. There may be factor of support stress which means that the system may suffer a loss or at least an erosion of the support given to it by the members of the system itself.

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

1.3.3.1 SYSTEMS THEORY IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS

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

Classifications of Systems

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

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

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

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. What is the importance of ‘approach’ to understand political phenomenon?
2. State the reasons for the mushrooming of “approaches” in comparative politics.
3. What are the important elements in David Easton’s Systems Theory?
4. How Systems theory was applied to comparative analysis?

1.3.4 STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

The terms *functional analysis* and *structural analysis* have been applied to a great variety of approaches. The functional approach is used more often than any other method in the study of Western political science. The literature is full of references to the “functions” of political systems and to the relation between structure and function. This section deals with the theoretical implications of structural functionalism and its relationship to Comparative Politics.

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

Although the structures of political rule may be very dissimilar, the functions that political systems perform are universal. Although undeveloped political systems assign numerous functions to a single person or institution, in more developed

political systems, the same functions may be performed by many individuals or institutions.

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

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

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

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

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

including undifferentiated structures like kinship and lineage, status and caste groups, as well as anomic phenomenon like riots, street demonstrations, and the like.

2) ***Interdependence***: that means, a change in one subset of interactions produces changes in all the other subsets, for example, electoral reforms of any country affect the feature and nature of party system, the function of parliament and cabinet, of the country.

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

Almond focused on such concepts as roles (the interacting units of a political system) and structures (representing the patterns of interaction). He introduced the concept of political culture (embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action). His system was elaborated through a set of structures and functions in a conscious effort to avoid the formalities of government institutions in areas where changes are widespread. He revised basic concepts of comparative politics: the political system replaced the state and the legal and institutional apparatus employed by traditional political scientists. In addition, function substituted for power, role for office, and structure for institution. These concepts were incorporated in his thesis that all political systems (advanced and backward nations) have four universal characteristics: (1) all political systems, including the simplest ones, have political structures; (2) all political systems perform the same kind of functions; (3) all political structures are multi-functional; (4) all political systems are 'mixed' systems in the cultural sense.

While Almond's structural functional model neatly accounts for what happens within a political system, systems are never entirely self-contained. They exist in a dynamic relationship to other political systems and must continuously adapt to changing conditions in the larger socio-political context. For this reason, all political systems require efficient feedback mechanisms.

1.3.4.1 CRITICISM ON STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

Many criticized the structural functional approach for its narrow and biased orientation. The structural functional approach contains within it several inherent

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

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

1. Briefly state the history of Structural Functionalism?
2. The political system, as defined by Almond, was a system of interactions to be profound in all advanced and backward societies. Elaborate.
3. What are the three properties identified by Almond that are common to all the systems?

1.3.5 LETS SUM UP

The field of comparative politics is one in which a variety of different approaches have been undertaken to understand political systems and developments. Approaches enable us in understanding a particular phenomenon. The perspective may encompass micro and macro level of local, regional, national, or international issues. In this lesson, we have studied two of the important approaches which are popular among the comparative scientists across the world. These are Systems

Theory and, Structural-Functionalism approaches. Each one of them studies politics using different tool and compares them with unique perspective. However, there are many approaches which have become popular in recent times such as Constructivism, Institutionalism, Governance Approach, Decision-Making Approach, Game theory, Communication model, Group analysis, Corporatism, etc. You will be benefitted by exploring these approaches in the future.

1.4 POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEPENDENCY APPROACH

STRUCTURE

1.4.0 Objective

1.4.1 Introduction

1.4.2 Political Economy Approach

- 1.4.2.1 Nature of Political Economy
- 1.4.2.2 Liberal and Marxist Perspectives

1.4.3 Dependency Approach

- 1.4.3.1 Dependency Theories
- 1.4.3.2 A.G. Frank; Development of Underdevelopment

1.4.5 Let us sum up.

1.4.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson deals with the Political Economy and Dependency Approaches in Comparative Politics. After going through this lesson should be able to discuss:

- the importance of Political Economy approach;
- how Liberal and Marxist perspectives differ in their analysis of political economy;
- the significance of Dependency Approach and various theories in it;
- the contribution of A.G. Frank to the Dependency Theory.

1.4.1 INTRODUCTION

As you have studied in the previous lesson, there are many approaches in Comparative Politics to understand complex realities in the world or in our own country. We the people as individuals differ on any matter in terms of why, what, how, etc. Your understanding of issue may be different from the understanding of your neighbour. This is simply because we all have different value systems and when we understand and evaluate the reality through these value systems.

In this lesson we study two more approaches in comparative politics: Political Economy and Dependency Approaches. Political Economy approach makes you understand the interface or inter-relationship between politics and economy. How politics influence economy or how economic developments change political equations. On the other hand, the Dependency Approach makes you understand how the world is organized, why some countries are rich others are poor, how income and resources are getting distributed, who is benefitting and who is losing in contemporary international political economy.

1.4.2 POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

How does politics affect economic outcomes? This question is serious concern for numerous people ever since they developed an interest towards understanding the role economic factors play in politics. From Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 until at least John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* in 1848, what we now call 'Political Science' was in fact generally referred to as 'political economy'. This terminology in large part reflects the belief that politics was not really separable from economics. This was more than an administrative classification of disciplines; it arose from the widespread view that political factors are crucial in determining economic outcomes or vice versa.

Political economy begins with the political nature of decision-making and is concerned with how politics will affect economic choices in a society. Politics may be thought of generally as the study of mechanisms for making collective choices. Asking how power or authority are attained and exercised can be thought of as a specific form of the general question of what mechanisms are used to make collective decisions. Hence, studying the exercise of power in making collective decisions in the backdrop of conflicting interests is the core of political economy studies. This can be carried out at local, regional and global level, by observing multiple dimensions of society, polity, history, economy, etc.

In short, Political Economy most commonly refers to interdisciplinary studies drawing upon Economics, Political Science, Law, History, Sociology and other disciplines in

explaining the crucial role of political factors in determining economic outcomes. Further, political economy is an area of study that permits a variety of ideological perspectives and theories.

It is also important to note that from the very beginning, political economy combined a sense of the descriptive and the prescriptive. This is in keeping with the *Dictionary of Economic Terms*, which defined the original intent of political economy as a “branch of statecraft”, but which is now “regarded as a study in which moral judgments are made on particular issues”. Political economy asks us to concentrate on a specific set of social relations organized around *power* or the ability to control other people, processes, and things, even in the face of resistance. This would lead the political economist to look at shifting forms of control along the circuit of production, distribution, and consumption.

One can apply Political Economy approach to compare the developments at national level, sub-national or local level or international level. You can compare India and China’s political institutions or economic growth in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab or development levels in Kashmir and Jammu provinces. Hence, one can use political economy approach to understand developments from village level to international level. For example comparative analysts might use political economy approach to study why America is more powerful than China or how Punjab has become more developed than Jammu and Kashmir or what are the average income levels of people in Jammu and Udhampur.

1.4.2.1 NATURE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY: ANALYTICAL, NORMATIVE AND PRESCRIPTIVE

When it comes to treatment of issues, Political Economy is neither an objective, value-free science, nor a detached, ivory tower, purely academic debate about the relationship between states and markets. On the contrary, it is an inherently normative and practical discipline which “consists of prescription rather than description; although, since it is concerned with practice, its recommendations make use of what aspires to be a scientific examination of the results of action rather than wishful thinking regardless of consequences”.

Susan Strange states that Political Economy must be closely concerned with causes so as to be able to explain the consequences today for individuals, states and corporations of events in the past. Therefore, IPE must be sensitive both to the political and economic history of contemporary events, and also to the future possibilities for remedying today’s problems. Political Economy must therefore encompass not only a reflective, analytical approach to discover what has happened and why, but also a normative, prescriptive approach, thereby identifying what should happen.

The issue pervading the subject of political economy is the relationship between economic change and political change. Political economy concerned with the effects of economic changes on political relations. These economic changes undermine the status quo of nations, states, regions and raise profound political problems. What will be the new basis of economic order and political leadership? Can or will adjustment to the changed economic realities, for example, new trading and monetary relations, take place? How will the inevitable clash between the desire of states for domestic autonomy and the need for international rules to govern change be reconciled? It is important to probe the relationship between these structural changes and the crisis of the political economy.

Apart from this, the Political Economy approach also deals with the influence of world market economy on domestic economies, its consequences in the economic development, economic decline, and economic welfare of individual societies. Further, it deals with the questions like, how does the world market economy affects the economic development of the less developed countries and the economic decline of advanced economies? What is its effect on domestic welfare? How does it affect the distribution of wealth and power among national societies? Does the functioning of the world economy tend to concentrate wealth and power, or does it tend to diffuse it?

Political economy studies how politics shape developments in the global economy and how the global economy shapes politics. It focuses very heavily on the enduring political battle between the winners and losers from global economic exchange. Although all societies benefit from participation in the global economy, these gains are not distributed evenly among individuals. Global economic exchange raises the income of some people and lowers the income of others. The distributive consequences of global economic exchange generate political competition in national and international arenas. The winners seek deeper links with the global economy in order to extend and consolidate their gains, whereas the losers try to erect barriers between the global and national economies in order to minimize or even reverse their losses. International political economy studies how the enduring political battle between the winners and losers from global economic exchange shapes the evolution of the global economy.

1.4.2.2 LIBERAL AND MARXIST PERSPECTIVES

Over the past century and half, the theories or ideologies of liberalism and Marxism have divided humanity. Theories based on ideology refer to “systems of thought and belief by which (individuals and groups) explain how their social system operates and what principles it exemplifies”. The conflict among these two moral and intellectual positions has revolved around the role and significance of the market in the organization of society and economic

affairs. These theories are fundamentally different in their conception of the relationships among society, state, and market, and it may not be an exaggeration to say that every controversy in the field of political economy is ultimately reducible to differing conceptions of these relationships.

Liberal Perspective

There is a set of values from which liberal theories of economic and of politics arise; in the modern world these political and economic values have tended to appear together. Liberal economic theory is committed to free markets and minimal state intervention, although the relative emphasis on one or the other may differ. Liberal political theory is committed to individual equality and liberty.

The basic notion behind liberalism is that government intervention should be kept to a minimum, emphasizing instead the role of the individual and the primacy of the mechanism of the free market. Three key ideas underlie liberal thought:

1. that there is great value to be derived from the free expression of the individual personality;
2. that such expression can be made valuable both to those who express it and to society, and
3. that institutions and policies that protect and foster both free expression and confidence in that freedom must be upheld.

Economic liberalism assumes that a market arises spontaneously in order to satisfy human needs and that, once it is in operation, it functions in accordance with its own internal logic. The rationale for market system is that it increases economic efficiency, maximizes economic growth, and thereby improves human welfare. Their ultimate defence of free trade and open markets is that they increase the range of goods and services available to the consumer.

Liberals believe that trade and economic intercourse are a source of peaceful relations among nations because the mutual benefits of trade and expanding interdependence among national economies will tend to foster cooperative relations. Whereas politics tends to divide, economics tends to unite peoples. A liberal international economy will have a moderating influence on international politics as it creates bonds of mutual interests and a commitment to the status quo.

Marxist

Perspective

Like liberalism, Marxism has evolved in significant ways since its basic ideas were set forth by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the middle of the nineteenth century. Contrary to Liberals who give importance to market, Marx's starting point was human work. Social labour is the essence of humankind and the key presupposition of a materialist conception of history. This underpins Marxism's preoccupation with class. Hence, the questions of exploitation, production and distribution have become critical in Marxist theories. To understand any society it is useful first to understand what is produced, how, and by and for whom.

Marx's critique of political economy understands capitalism as a historically specific mode of production. Exploitation becomes masked by the apparent equity of market relationships. Labour power, the ability to work, is itself reduced to a commodity, which can be bought and sold. Its value, like that of other commodities, is determined by the work needed (to produce the commodities needed) for its reproduction. So in a sense workers do receive a 'fair wage'. Of course, even market relationships between capital and labour are iniquitous; workers have no choice but to work for capital, while capital's ability to draw on a reserve army of unemployed workers leads to low wages. However, the fundamental inequity and exploitation comes in production, as workers can be made to work longer or more intensely than is needed to produce goods equivalent to the value of their labour power. Exploitation in production creates surplus value, which can become profit for capitalists.

After Marx, many Marxist thinkers unravel the processes at work in the capitalist global political economy through the utilization of a framework of analysis that considers class as a major factor in international relations; economic relationships as key dynamics, and international justice and equality as key normative concerns. Most of the neo-Marxist writings express commitment towards a more equal global community coupled with some idea that theorization of inequality could contribute to emancipator outcomes.

In international relations this description of 'class relations' within a capitalist system has been applied to describe relations between the **core** (industrialized countries) and periphery (developing countries), and the unequal exchange that occurs between the two. Dependency theorists describe the ways classes and groups in the 'core' link to the 'periphery'. Underdevelopment and poverty in so many countries is explained as the result of economic, social, and political structures within countries that have been deeply influenced by their international economic relations. You will study these Dependency Theories in the following section of this lesson.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. What are the core propositions of Political Economy approach?
2. By nature, Political Economy is analytical normative and prescriptive. Elaborate.
3. How Liberal perspective is different from Marxist perspective in its analysis of political economy?

1.4.3 DEPENDENCY APPROACH

The Dependency Theory is one of the important and interesting debates in the field of comparative analysis, particularly in analysing the status of the Third World countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It was initially developed by the scholars of Latin-America during the 1960s and emerged as a critique to Political Development theory.

The concept of dependency can be explained in terms of economic relations among nations – particularly between the western and the third world countries. A Brazilian social scientist, Dos Santos (1970), affirmed:

By dependence we mean a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of inter-dependence between two or more economies, and between these or world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion, which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate developments.

Dependency theory, as such, is a school of thought which attempts to explain the causes of economic development. It primarily devoted to analyse the economic development in Third World Countries and the reasons for their poverty. Strictly speaking it is not a single theory. There are many great personalities analysed the reasons for under-development in Third World Countries. Hence, it is proper to call Dependency Theories than Theory.

However, all the dependency theorists share a common view that the force of international capitalism setting up a global division of labour has been the chief force responsible for shaping the history of the South. Capitalism and its basic structures, the Multi-national Corporations (MNCs) etc., have created a world economic system and also controlling production and distribution. The distinguishing feature of all the dependency writers is that they treat the social and economic development of underdeveloped countries as being

conditioned by external forces: namely, the domination of these countries by other, more powerful, capitalist countries. They posit that under-development can be explained in terms of relations of domination in exchange. However, there are varied approaches to deal with the concept of dependency.

1.4.3.1 DEPENDENCY THEORIES

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

DEPENDENCY: DIVERGENT POSITIONS

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

Most popular and significant among these approaches is "Capitalist development of underdevelopment" as propounded by A.G Frank.

1.4.3.2 A. G. FRANK: DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

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

Frank argues that the mainstream history that we have been subjected to (namely modernization theory) does not at all explain the underdevelopment of countries, and that an alternative historical viewpoint is necessary. Using Latin America as an example for the model, he begins his analysis by dubbing the urban centres (what Frank calls “metropolises”) of these countries as the centres of exploitation. The exploitation comes from the “interdependence” that the metropolis has with the satellite region. What it means is that the productive (and natural) resources from the outside regions are forced to these centres of exploitation so that they can trade their resources for ones in the metropolis. In doing so, however, these satellites become caught in a relationship of pseudo-servitude.

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

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

This resulted in a situation where the development in satellite countries linked to the economic success of metropolis countries (a linkage that is neither “self-generating nor self-perpetuating”). Therefore, Frank says, when countries in the core experience growth, countries in the periphery also tend to experience growth at a proportional level. But, when world metropolises experience economic recession, the satellite countries feel it at a larger rate due to the loss of their resources and their subordinate relationship to metropolises.

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

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

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

1. How do you understand Dependency Approach?
2. What are the major differences between Structuralist theories and Marxist theories of Dependency?

3. Write a note on A.G.Frank's contribution to the Dependency School of thought?
4. Do you agree with the Frank's opinion that the development of Western world took place at the cost of under-development in the peripheral countries like Asia and Africa?

1.4.4 LET US SUM UP

Dependency theory became popular in the 1960's as a response to research by Latin American social scientists. Dependency Theories basic proposition is that increases in the wealth of the richer nations appeared to be at the expense of the poorer ones. The structural Dependency theory advocates an inward looking approach to development and an increased role for the state in terms of imposing barriers to trade, making inward investment difficult and promoting nationalisation of key industries. Contrary to this, A.G.Frank's Dependency theory, which is based on Marxism, sees globalisation in terms of the spread of market capitalism, and the exploitation of cheap labour and resources in return for the obsolete technologies of the West. This view of dependency theory is that there is a dominant world capitalist system that relies on a division of labour between the rich 'core' countries and poor 'peripheral' countries. Over time, the core countries will exploit their dominance over an increasingly marginalised periphery. The Dependency theory significantly contributed to increase our understanding on global inequality, diminishing returns to trade, and the North-South divide, etc.

2.1 POLITICAL CULTURE – MEANING, TYPES AND DETERMINANTS

Rainoo Bhai

STRUCTURE

2.1.0 Objective

2.1.1 Introduction

2.1.2 Meaning and Nature of political culture

2.1.3 Determinants of Political Culture

2.1.3.1 Historical

2.1.3.2 Geographical

2.1.3.3 Socio-economic

2.1.4 Typology of Political culture

a) Parochial Political Culture

b) Subject Political Culture

c) Participant Political Culture

2.1.5 Critical appraisal

2.1.6 Suggested readings

2.1.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the concept, meaning and nature of political culture;
- identify the various determinants of political culture;
- discuss various types of political culture.

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Political culture is a concept that has been developed to understand the linkage between formal institutional arrangements and actual behaviour. The study of this concept constitutes an analysis of the sociological aspects of the theme of political development. The term political culture has been popularised by the American political thinkers like Ulam, Beer and Almond and it is now being used frequently to compare the different political systems. It has now enabled the different political scientists to distinguish one system from the other not only in terms of its structures but also the political culture in which it grows.

2.1.2 MEANING AND NATURE OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Political culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relates to the political system and to political issues. It is defined as “the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system”. The people of a civil society by and large share a common human nature like emotional drives, intellectual capacities and moral perspective. The common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, beliefs and emotional attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another and thus constitute the general culture of the society. There are certain aspects of the general culture of the society which are specially concerned with how government ought to be conducted and what it shall try to do. This sector of political culture refers to “the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that gives order and meaning to a political process and that provides the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political systems.”

The concept of political culture is the subjective realm which underlines and gives meaning to political actions. It involves three components:

- a) **Cognitive Orientations:** Implying knowledge, accurate or otherwise, of the political system.
- b) **Affective orientations:** Implying feelings of attachment, involvement, rejection and the like about political objects, and
- c) **Evaluative orientation:** Implying judgements and opinions about the political object and events.

Thus, political culture may be defined as “the short-hand expression to denote the emotional and attitudinal environment within which the political system operates”. The whole concept

is concerned with orientations towards political objects. Orientations are pre-dispositions to political action and are determined by such factors as traditions, historical memories, motives, norm, emotions and symbols.

2.1.3 DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL CULTURE

Political culture hinges on the fact or people's attitudes and beliefs towards the political system, whether homogenous or heterogeneous, is a product of several outer related factors viz. historical, geographical and socio-economic. Moreover, political culture is not static, it is dynamic and thus responds to the needs generated from within the political system or imparted or improved from outside. Pragmatic orientation, in this direction, is known by the name of secularisation of the political culture. Let us examine the factors that constitute the foundation of the political culture.

2.1.3.1. HISTORY

The traditions of a country have their own part in the making of the political culture of a country. For instance, the British people follow their traditions and believe in slow and gradual change. As a result, the ancient values have merged with modern attitudes. France offers a sharp contrast where people have a radical temperament. They have changed their constitution many times since the revolution of 1789. The behaviour of the masters has its own impact on the culture of the slaves. Hence, we may gather, many facts to show that while Indians learnt from their British masters the values of parliamentary democracy, the people of Algeria and Vietnam learnt the ways of violent revolution from their French masters.

2.1.3.2 GEOGRAPHY

Besides the historical development, geography is also an important factor in moulding the culture. The insular character of British isles protected the country from foreign invasion and also from massive influx of foreign rules that could have created the problem of ethnic differences. In contrast to this, the vast frontiers of the country like India opened ways for the foreigners to invade and even stay here with the result that we developed the values of independent egalitarianism in the midst of sharp ethnic and cultural differences.

2.1.3.3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A predominantly urban industrialised society is a more complex society, putting a premium on rapid communication. Educational standards are higher, groups proliferate, and

participation in the decision making process is also wider. But rural societies are not subject to changes and innovation and states with a predominant peasant population are more conservative. Developments in the fields of science and technology have their impact on the growth of agriculture and industry; they also have their impact on the process of transportation and communication, migration and imagination, imports and exports, revolution and warfare.

It is on account of the immense economic and technological development of a country like United States that the labour class became “em bourgeoisified” to the extent that the Marxian law of inevitable revolution has lost its relevance there. It is also possible that an industrially developed state may establish its hold over a weak country and cause a transformation of the political culture of the subjugated people. For instance, the Americans put Japan under their occupation for a period of about two years after the Second World War and left it after the imposition of the peace constitution establishing liberal democratic values over the feudal political culture in 1947.

2.1.4 TYPOLOGY OF POLITICAL CULTURE

According to Almond and Verba typology of political culture can be placed under 3 categories as discussed below.

- a) **Parochial Political Culture:** This type of political culture is characterised by the people who have no awareness of national political system. It exists in simple traditional societies in which there is very little specialisation, and where actors fulfil a combination of political economic and religious roles simultaneously.
- b) **Subject Political Culture:** It exists where there is high frequency of orientations to the system as a whole and to its specifically output aspects. It occurs in dependent colonies where the people either feel pride or cultivate hostility towards their political system. That is, they either accept the decision of their rulers as legitimate, or struggle against them in the name of their right to self determination.
- c) **Participant Political Culture:** In this type of society or culture people are aware of the structures and the process of political system. In fact they are active participants in all inputs output structures. They make demands on the political system and develop a set of specific attitudes towards the political structure, such as political parties and pressure groups and (interest groups).

Besides the above three ideal types of political culture there is a political sub-culture which develops when the political system is unable to advance rapidly according to the fast changing needs of the society. So when a particular section of the society is clearly

distinguishable from others in the same political system, it is said to have developed a distinct political sub-culture of its own. France is an example of such sub-cultures.

Generally, various groups do not make the same effective contribution in a political system but in times of grave national crisis, they do so. In developing countries also political sub-cultures develop because of the differences of language, religion, class, and caste. For example we find such sub-cultures among the tribal areas in India.

Sub-cultures involves different basic beliefs and conceptions of authority and scope, and usually result from membership in different ethnic, religious, or linguistic groups, from different geographical locations or adherence to different ideologies.

2.1.5 CRITICAL APPRAISAL

According to the protagonists of political culture approach, it has made a significant contribution to the development of modern political theory. Professor S. P. Verma has highlighted the five main contributions of this approach:

1. It has made political science a more complete social science through its insistence on a combined micro macro approach.
2. It has focussed our attention on the study of political community on society as distinct from the individual and thus on the total political system.
3. It has encouraged 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.
4. It has helped us in combining the study of the rational factors, which shape the actions of the individuals to a larger extent.
5. It is the political culture approach which helped us to understand why different political societies inevitably moved in different directions of political development, or may be, find themselves suffering from severe constraints, socio-economic as well as political, which force them to move towards political decay.

However some points of criticism against political culture approach may be pointed out as under:

1. The concept is merely a new label for an idea; it suffers from the stigma of conservatism and reaction. It is not progressive but reactionary in character.
2. According to Almond and Powell, this approach cannot be taken as a correct barometer of individual behaviour.
3. It is difficult to distinguish the elements that contribute to political culture from those which are found in culture generally.
4. The political culture approach cannot be described as a very precise variable for presenting a morphological study of modern political systems. The terms coined by the protagonists of this approach are neither very clear nor very precise as a result of which a student of comparative politics often confronted with a confusing situation.

Therefore, Almond and Powell affirm that a careful analysis of political culture, “still provides no such guide, perhaps at best a probabilistic one, for the prediction of individual behaviour in a given case.” But at the same time it cannot be denied that the concept of political culture “is an attempt to gain the rigor and compressiveness which the other concepts lack.”

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. Define and distinguish between culture and political culture.
2. Discuss the major components of political culture.
3. Discuss the various factors that mould and determine the political culture.
4. What are the three ideal types of political culture?
5. Evaluate the political culture approach to the study of comparative politics.

2.1.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

Johari, J C, *Comparative Politics* (New Delhi: Sterling, 2000).

Sharan, P, *Theory of Comparative Politics* (New Delhi: Meenakshi Parkashan, 1984).

Ball, A. R, *Modern Politics and Government* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1979).

2.2 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION – MEANING, TYPES AND DETERMINANTS

Rainoo Bhai

STRUCTURE

2.2.0 Objectives

2.2.1 Introduction

2.2.2 Meaning

2.2.3 Forms/ Patterns of Political Participation

2.2.4 Determinants Political Participation

2.2.5 Types of Political Participation

2.2.6 Aspects of Non-participation

2.2.7 Suggested Readings

2.2.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the concept of political participation which would enable you to

- understand the forms of political participation besides meaning of the concept;
- know various factors influencing political participation;
- understand different levels of participation and factors attributing to non-participation

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Participation is an ingredient of every political system whether traditional or modern, democratic or totalitarian, large or small. It facilitates the involvement of the people in the

affairs of the state and helps in the promotion of the stability and order in the system. It gives an opportunity to express one's views on all important political questions. Democratic system is characterised by a high level of political participation by virtue of universal adult franchise.

2.2.2 MEANING

Political participation refers to those voluntary activities by which members of a society have share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly have a role in the formation of public policy.

These activities are like:

- ◆ casting vote;
- ◆ supporting possible pressure groups by being a member of them;
- ◆ holding discussions and meetings;
- ◆ making financial contributions to political parties;
- ◆ staging strikes and demonstrations; and
- ◆ communicating with the legislators.

However, the most active forms of political participation are formal enrolment in a party, canvassing and registering votes, speech writing and speech making, participation in political campaigns and competing for public and party offices. A trend in the opposite direction is known as “political apathy” that refers to a state of withdrawal from an indifference to such activities.

It follows that political participation is the involvement of the individual at various levels in the political system. Political activity may range from non-involvement to office-holding, political participation helps in promoting broader political understanding. It is a sign of political health and is the best method of ensuring that the interests of the participants are not neglected.

2.2.3 FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The political participation of an individual depends upon different motives resulting into different patterns of political participation such as deferential solidarity, instrumental and civic.

Differential participation results from the actor's deep respect for and strong identification with the influence and to appear to be influenced by him. This phenomenon is noticed in the rural areas of India where the villagers often vote out of deference on respect for their traditional leaders.

Solidarity participation is motivated by a desire to affirm one's solidarity and loyalty to his larger social group such as village, class, tribe, ethnic or religious community and social class etc.

Instrumental participation is participation in anticipation of some kind of material growth or gratification. At the time of voting in India the voters are influenced by various kinds of incentives and inducements. Such inducements may be individual, communal or sectoral. Individual inducements are cash payments, patronage and various types of factors. Communal inducements are provided by such rewards as provision or public works like roads, buildings, community halls or schools for the entire community. The sectorial inducements include policy commitments or legislation involving favourite charges in tax laws, subsidy or welfare programs and distributive policies etc.

Civic participation is based on a sense of moral obligation or duty to participate in the political process as this is perceived to be in the interest of the community. This is derived from the belief that it is possible to have a good social or political order without the participation of the people. This kind of participation is also called "Ideological participation" where the participants does not anticipate personal, communal or sectoral gain.

However it is to be noted that several patterns of participation may co-exist within the same society.

2.2.4 DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The form and nature of political participation vary from one political system to another. Following are the factors influencing it.

Social Environment: The magnitude of political participation in country should be studied in terms of education, occupation, age, same sex mobility etc. These are the variables co-related to the degree of participation.

Psychological Environment: Participation also occurs by virtue of its capacity to provide reward to the participants. Here important variables are need for power, competition,

achievement, affiliation, aggregation, money, prestige, status, recognition, manipulation or virtually every need that impels human behaviour.

Political Environment: Political participation is affected by hurdles like cumbersome registration procedures, literacy tests, poll tests, poll taxes, adequate provisions for absentee voting, inaccessibility, polling places and some situational factors like war, external aggression and serious disturbances in the country abroad.

2.2.5 TYPES OF PARTICIPATION

The level of participation in a country varies from place to place, time to time and from one section of the people to another.

According to Milbrath political participation varies in relation to four major factors:

- 1) the extent to which the individual receives political stimuli;
- 2) individual personal characteristics;
- 3) individuals social characteristics;
- 4) political settings or environment in which the individual finds himself.

However, we may highlight the following important levels of Political participation:

Very Active Level: Here we may refer to the leaders holding high positions in the legislative and administrative spheres; they are concerned with the exercise of formal political power i.e. they are the repositories of power.

Occupational Active Level: Here we may refer to a case where people take part in the political process of their country occasionally as well as in an informal manner. Their participation is based on issues as per their social and economic interests.

Inactive Level: The inactive level of political participation reveals the elements of apathy, alienation, anomie and violence. Such elements attribute to non-involvement or very limited involvement in the political process of the country.

2.2.6 ASPECTS OF NON PARTICIPATION

There are various factors, which inhibit political participation. Such psychological and emotional factors are briefly discussed as under.

2.2.6.1 APATHY

It is individual's passivity or abstention from political activity. It may be defined as a lack of interest or lack of concern for persons, situation or phenomenon in general or particular. Apathy leads to malfunctioning of the political system and has several repercussions such as decline of political vitality and vigilance.

2.2.6.2 CYNICISM

It leads to suspicion and distrust of the motives and activities of others and may be defined as being contemporary distrustful of human nature. It is based on the belief that pessimism is more realistic than optimism. The attitude of cynicism develops because of the feeling that politics is a dirty game, that politicians are not to be trusted, that real power is enjoyed by the worthy people and that the individual can manipulate.

2.2.6.3 ALIENATION

It is a personal sense of estrangement from the matters or politics and administration for the reason of their being run by a set of unfair rules.

2.2.6.4 ANOMIE

It refers to a sense of value loss and lack of direction in which the individual experiences a feeling of ineffectiveness.

Thus, while apathy means lacking interest and cynicism represents an attitude of distaste, both alienation and anomie imply a feeling of estrangement or divorce from society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. How do you define political participation?
2. Describe the forms of political participation?
3. What are the factors that influence the political participation?
4. Explain the different levels of participation?

2.2.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

Johari, J C, *Comparative Politics* (New Delhi: Sterling, 2000).

Sharan, P, *Theory of Comparative Politics* (New Delhi: Meenakshi Parkashan, 1984).

Ball, A. R, *Modern Politics and Government* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd 1979).

2.3 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION MEANING AND AGENTS

- Shandilya Perminder Kour

STRUCTURE

- 2.3.0 Objective**
- 2.3.1 Introduction**
- 2.3.2 Meaning of Political Socialization**
- 2.2.4 Definitions**
- 2.3.4 Features of Political Socialization**
- 2.3.5 Kinds of Political Socialization**
- 2.3.6 Agents of Political Socialization**
- 2.3.7 Let us Sum up**

2.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through the lesson, you will be able to know about

- The meaning and definition of Political Socialization.
- Feature and kinds of Political Socialization.
- Different agencies of Political Socialization

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Political Socialization plays a very important and big role in the study of comparative politics because it is a process by which political culture is maintained and got changed as well. It also helps in the process of establishment and development of attitudes and beliefs about political system. It is not a process confined to impressionable years of childhood but one

that continues throughout life. It is primarily a psychological concept which deals with orientation of individuals towards political objects. It deals with all sections of society, including high and low and even deviant groups.

2.3.2 MEANING OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Political Socialization is the process which includes people into political culture and their orientation towards certain objects are formed. Political cultures change with the help of political socialization. It is a process by which ongoing acceptable political norms are transmitted by one generation to the other. It aims at developing individuals in such a way that they become self functioning members of political community to which they belong.

2.3.3 DEFINITIONS

- 1) According to Almond and Verba, “Political Socialization is a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed.”
- 2) In the opinion of Robert Sigel, “Political Socialization is the gradual learning of norms, attitude and behaviour acceptable to an ongoing political system.”
- 3) David Easton describes Political Socialization as “those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour.”
- 4) Robert Lenin defined Political Socialization as “the means by which individuals acquire motives, habits and values relevant to participation in a political system.”
- 5) In the view of Allan R. Ball, “Political Socialization is the establishment and development of attitudes and beliefs about the political system.”

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE I

1. What do you mean by Political Socialization?
2. Give any two definitions of Political Socialization?

2.3.4 FEATURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

On the basis of above written definitions, one can say that Political Socialization is the process of learning, formal as well as informal, through which people of a political system learn and develop values, beliefs, orientations, and attitudes towards politics. The following can be described as the features of political socialization:-

- 1) Political Socialization is a process of learning.

- 2) It involves both formal & informal learning.
- 3) It is through political socialization that an individual is inducted into the political culture.
- 4) It involves the transmission of values and beliefs of the political culture by one generation to the next.
- 5) Political culture is maintained and changed through political socialization.
- 6) Political socialization is a life-long learning process.
- 7) It is a source of stability and change.
- 8) It provides the necessary knowledge and incentives for individual's participation in politics.

2.3.5 KINDS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Almond and Powell are of the views that political socialization is of two types:-

- (1) Manifest political socialization
- (2) Latent political socialization.

(1) Manifest Political Socialization: - i.e. which is open. It involves the explicit communication of information, values or feelings towards political objects. Direct teaching of civics or political science in schools and colleges constitutes an example of this type of political socialization.

(2) Latent Political Socialization: - which is hidden. It is the transmission of non-political roles, objects and the political system. It is deep rooted and usually it functions unnoticed and more or less automatically.

Moreover, in terms of continuity and discontent, political socialization can be further classified into two categories:-

- (1) Homogeneous Political Socialization.
- (2) Heterogeneous Political Socialization.

(1) Homogeneous Political Socialization: - When the process of political socialization is continuous and consistent, it is called Homogeneous Political Socialization. In such a process, all the agents provide and maintain a given type of political orientation

and the elements influencing the individual do not seriously conflict either with each other or with his adult political activities and expectations. People support one another and their political institutions and values.

(2) Heterogeneous Political Socialization: - It is the opposite of Homogeneous Political Socialization. Here, the process is discontinuous. The people are subjected to different political orientations, at different times. Such discontinuity creates an important potential for dissatisfaction and conflict and high potential for system change. For example, people of Pakistan have been experiencing Heterogeneous political socialization they find themselves living with a democratic process of politics, at other times, they are forced to live with military dictatorship. Such a political socialization hinders the development of a political culture and constitutes a danger to the stability of the political system.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE II

1. Write down the important features of political socialization?
2. Discuss briefly, the kinds of political socialization as given by Almond and Powell?
3. Write a short-note on Homogeneous Political Socialization.
4. Write a short-note on Heterogeneous Political Socialization with example.

2.3.6 AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Political Socialization is a continuous and an ongoing process. Every person passes through several stages, before he completely gets politically socialized. It is the result of interaction of individuals and very much depends on environments. The following are the important agents of political socialization.

1. Family: - Family is the first agent of political socialization. The members of family have both manifest as well as latent influence on the ideas of the children which subsequently help in the formation of his political opinion. It is in family that child learns the habits of both acceptance of authority and living in cooperation with others. His political competence is bound to increase in case he is associated with decision-making process from the very beginning in the family. And this equally applies to his desire for political participation. The extent to which he accepts authority of his parents in the family to that extent he will learn to obey his political bosses under normal circumstance. He is also influenced to a great extent by the general attitude of family members towards politics

Robert Lane has suggested that there are three ways in which the foundations of political beliefs may be laid through the family: (i) by overt and covert indoctrination, (ii) by placing the child in a particular social context, and (iii) by moulding the child's personality.

Among the many important latent influences perhaps the most distinctive is the shaping of attitudes towards authority.

2. Educational Institutions: - The educational institutions constitute the second powerful agent of political socialization. Allen R. Barce says that the educational system has important effects on the process of socialization. It has been found that educated persons are more aware of the impact of the govt. on their lives and more aware of political activities, better politically informed and have always manifested a higher degree of political competence than others. They have also greater capacity to influence political decision-making process.

3. Peer Groups: - In political socialization, Peer Groups come the next. These are also called reference groups and work outside educational institutions. These are friendly in nature and thus, can change the very attitude and outlook of any person towards the problems which face him. Groups have always exerted influence both on the young and the old. In every society as the boy grows with that the influence of parents on him decreases and that of the peer group increases. The courses of study, debates, discussions and other extra-curricular activities have their own impact upon the attitudes of the grown up students.

4. Work or Employment experience:- Work place and nature of employment which one gets in life, has too been a consideration in political socialization. After completing education one makes efforts to settle in life. His attitude towards political institutions and structures gets shape with ease or difficulty with which he gets job. He develops love or hatred for the system accordingly. The job as well as the formal and informal organizations built around it like unions and clubs, may constitute the channels for the explicit communication of political information and beliefs and any sort of participation in the process of collective bargaining or involvement with a strike can be a powerful socializing experience for workers and employers alike. The striking labourer not only learns that he can shape the authoritative decisions being made about his future, but he gains knowledge of specific action skills such as demonstrating and picketing etc.

5. Mass Media:- The channels of mass media exercise their own impact upon the 'cognitive map' of the individual's personality. By reading newspaper reports, listening to radio talks and seeing T.V. films, people develop taste as well as distaste for certain norms and values. A controlled system of media politically socializes listeners in a particular manner. A free media teaches different values. It has perhaps very rightly been said by Lucian Pye that, "Socialization through mass media is the best short run technique available and most crucial for political socialization."

6. Direct contact with the Political System:- Direct formal and informal relationship with specific elites in political system are, according to Almond and Powell, “a powerful force” in shaping orientations of individuals to the system. In this connection, the direct contacts between the individuals and government as well as political parties play a significant role. Political parties are the most important agents of political socialization. Through political propaganda, electioneering, presenting their views in written and spoken political language, by recruiting people and by articulating and aggregating their political interest, political parties become the direct agents of political socialization.

7. Symbols:- Role of symbols is an important means of developing political orientations. Events such as May Day Prades, general elections, street demonstrations, birth anniversaries of Marx, Gandhi, Nehru, Observance of national rejoicing days etc. lay stress on historical continuity as well as unity of the people. A young child not only sees such events, he also develops an effective and evaluative orientation towards the region.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE III

1. Describe the agents of Political Socialization.

2.3.7 LET US SUM UP

Political socialization is a process by which ongoing acceptable political norms are transmitted by one generation to the other. It aims at developing individuals in such a way that they become self-functioning members of political community to which they belong. It is a process by which people acquire political values not simply during political participation but also during the period they are engaged in an explicitly political activity.

B. A. Semester IV: **Political Science**
Course No.: **PS-401 (Comparative Politics)**
Unit II: **Political Processes and Political Development**

2.4 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT: CONCEPT AND INGREDIENTS

Shikha Malhotra

STRUCTURE

2.4.0 Objectives

2.4.1 Introduction

2.4.2 Emergence of the Concept of Political Development

2.4.3 Concept of Political Development

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2.4.5.2 Riggs Views on Political Development

2.4.5.3 James and Coleman's Views

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2.4.6.1 Problem of State-Building

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2.4.7 Factors that Influence Political Development

2.4.8 Crisis in the Political Development

2.4.9 Critical Appraisal

2.4.10 Suggested Readings

2.4.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- how the concept of political development emerged;
- the meaning and concept of political development;
- the features of political development;
- the factors that influence the political development;
- the basic criticism against this approach.

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

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 non-western 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.

2.4.2 Emergence of the concept of Political Development

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

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

2.4.3 CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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

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

the population as a whole, with respect to the level of governmental and general systematic performance, and with respect to the organisation of polity.

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

2.4.3.1 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS THE POLITICAL PREREQUISITE OF ECONOMIC 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 considerations. Thirdly it should also be taken into account that the prospects for rapid economic development have become exceedingly 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.

2.4.3.2 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT CONCERNS ONLY THE POLITICS OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

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

2.4.3.3. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS POLITICAL MODERNISATION

A good number of social theorists like James S. Coleman, Karl Deutsch and S.M Lipset hold that political development means a study of the developed western and modern countries and of their ways that the developing countries are trying to emulate. It means that the advanced western and modern countries are the pace-setters of political

development. Pye disagrees with such a view, as it fails to distinguish between the western and the modern and that it ignores the fact that the backward or developing countries may have their own historical traditions that they may not like to give up for the sake of merely emulating everything that is western or modern.

2.4.3.4. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS OPERATION OF NATION-STATE

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

2.4.3.5. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS ADMINISTRATIVE AND LEGAL DEVELOPMENT

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

2.4.3.6. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND MASS MOBILISATION AND PARTICIPATION

Clifford Greetz, Rupert Emerson, Eisenstadt stressed the role of a politically awakened citizenry and the behaviour of the people in the direction of an expanded popular participation. Pye considered the disastrous effects of the politics of mass manipulation and thus pointed out that such a view of political development is also fraught with the dangers of either sterile emotionalism or corrupting demagoguery, both of which can sap the strength of a society.

2.4.3.7. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS THE BUILDING OF DEMOCRACY

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

2.4.3.8. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS STABILITY AND ORDINARY CHANGE

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

2.4.3.9. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS MOBILISATION AND POWER

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

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

Max F. Millikam, Donald L. M. Blackmer and Daniel Lerner hence put forth an argument that the political sphere may be autonomous from the rest of the society, for sustained political development to take place. It can only be within the context of a multi-dimensional process of social change in which no segment or dimension of the society can lag behind. Pye appreciates this view on the plea that here all forms of development are related, development is much the same as modernisation, and it takes place within a historical context in which influences from outside the society impinge on the process of social changes just as changes in the different aspects of a society—the economy, the polity and the social order—all impinge on each other.

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

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

Write briefly about how the concept of Political Development emerged.

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

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

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

2.4.4 PYE'S CONCEPT OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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

2.4.4.1 EQUALITY

The first broadly shared characteristic noted is a general spirit or attitude toward equality. The subject of political development according to Pye, involve mass participation and popular involvement in political activities. Participation maybe 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.

2.4.4.2 CAPACITY

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

2.4.4.3 DIFFERENTIATION

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

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

2.4.5 OTHER CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

2.4.5.1 HUNTINGTON'S VIEWS ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Samuel P. Huntington in his works, particularly in his *Political Order in Changing Societies* and in his famous article "Political Development" has played the most important role in liberating "political development" from "socio-economic modernisation" and challenged the very idea of "political development" as a "unilinear process". He introduced the idea of "political decay". He says that Chinese, Greek, Egyptian and Indian societies were highly developed political systems in ancient time. But later on there was political decay in these societies. Huntington presents this main thesis in his article "Political Development and Political Decay" by saying that "Institutions, decay and dissolve, as well as grow and mature". So, Huntington seriously objected to the prevalent tendency of "linking up political development with modernisation not only on political field, but also in economic, social and cultural fields. "We identified political development with "institution building" based on a well institutionalised polity that would be marked by high levels of adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence.

2.4.5.2 RIGGS VIEWS ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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

2.4.5.3 JAMES AND COLEMAN'S VIEWS

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

2.4.5.4 KENNETH ORGANSUI'S VIEWS

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

- ➔ Political unification, designed to achieve a centralisation of power in the hands of the state.
- ➔ Industrialization, with a view to bring about economic development.
- ➔ National Welfare, where the results of political and economic power gained by the state are available to the masses, and
- ➔ Abundance, where people begin to achieve high standards material affluence.

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

2.4.5.5 WALT W. ROSTOW' VIEWS

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

- ➔ Traditional stage
- ➔ Precondition to take off stage
- ➔ Take off stage
- ➔ Drive towards maturity
- ➔ Age of high mass consumption
- ➔ The search for quality

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

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

1. According to Pye the first characteristic of Political Development is equality. Explain.
2. What are the other two characteristics of Political Development in Pye's Model?
3. Write briefly about Huntington's concept of Political Development.
4. Organski outlined four essential stages to pass through before reaching goals of development. What are they?
5. What are the six stages of Political Development given by Walt Rostow?

2.4.6 INGREDIENTS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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

- i. Industrialization
- i. Urbanization
- i. Spread of education and literacy
- iv. Expansion of secular culture.

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

- i. Growth of modern bureaucracies;
- i. Development of a sense of nationhood;
- i. Advent of political parties;
- iv. Expansion of popular political participation;

- v. Increased capacity of the political system to mobilise resources for the accomplishment of its ends in the most modern politics, and
- vi. Decline in the missionary fervour of the political movement.

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

- i. Penetration and integration or state-building
- i. Loyalty and commitment of nation-building,
- i. Pressure from various interested groups in the society for taking part in the decision-making process or participation.
- iv. Pressure from the society to employ coercive power of the state to distribute opportunities, income, wealth and honour or the problem of distribution.

2.4.6.1 PROBLEM OF STATE-BUILDING

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

2.4.6.2 PROBLEMS OF NATION-BUILDING

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

2.4.6.3 PROBLEM OF PARTICIPATION

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

participation in the process of decision-making, so that “outputs” are favourable to the interests of the claimants.

2.4.6.4 PROBLEM OF DISTRIBUTION

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

2.4.7 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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

2.4.7.1. NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

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

2.4.7.2. RESOURCES OF THE SYSTEM

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

2.4.7.3. EFFECT OF FOREIGN SOCIAL SYSTEMS

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

2.4.7.4. FUNCTIONING PATTERN OF THE SYSTEM

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

2.4.7.5. RESPONSE OF THE POLITICAL ELITES

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

2.4.8 CRISIS IN THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

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

2.4.8.1. IDENTITY CRISIS

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

2.4.8.2. LEGITIMACY CRISIS

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

2.4.8.3. PENETRATION CRISIS

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

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

2.4.8.4. PARTICIPATION CRISIS

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

2.4.8.5. INTEGRATION CRISIS

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

2.4.8.6. DISTRIBUTION CRISIS

It refers to the questions about how governmental powers are to be used to influence the distribution of goods, services and values throughout the society. In some cases, governments seek to meet the problem directly by intervening in the distribution of wealth; in other cases the approach is to strengthen the opportunities and potentialities of the disadvantaged groups.

Pye tries to highlight the nature of this crisis and determines the sequence of political development in different countries of the world. It is therefore needed that ultimately any useful theory of Political development "must come to grips with the types of problems that may be subsumed under the category of crisis".

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 3

Write the factors that affect political development.

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

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

How do you understand the Identity crisis in Political Development?

Write about penetration crisis in Political Development?

2.4.9 CRITICAL APPRAISAL

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

Firstly, the concept lacks a precise definition. After studying the enormous literature on this subject, it seems difficult to decide what it really covers and what it really excludes. It entangles the case of political development into all sorts of developments whether economic or cultural, or sociological and the like with the result that the concept lacks cohesion. Even Riggs feels at the very outset of his study, "In fact, of course, there is as yet no such theory, although there are a host of speculations and even hypothesis. Nor is there any consensus on the meaning of the word 'development' in this context, or even, for that matter, of the word 'political'."

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

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

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

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

Despite these serious drawbacks, the theory of political development still has a relevance of its own. This approach has certainly broadened the scope of empirical political investigations by joining the frontiers of comparative politics with those of other social

sciences. It has also engaged the attention of a host of new social theorists towards the study of the political conditions of the new and developing societies of the third world.

2.4.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

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B. A. Semester IV: **Political Science**

Course No.: **PS-401 (Comparative Politics)**

Unit III: **Political Dynamics: Democracy, Electoral Process and Party System**

3.1 THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY: ELITIST AND PLURALIST

Seema Shikhawat

STRUCTURE

3.1.0 Objectives

3.1.1 Introduction

3.1.2 Elitist Theories of Democracy

3.1.3.1 Development of the Theory

3.1.3.2 Explanation of the Theory

3.1.3 Elitist Theories of Democracy by Pareto and Mosca

3.1.3.1 Elite Theory of Pareto

3.1.3.2 Elite Theory of Mosca

3.1.4 Democracy and Elitist Theory

3.1.5 Criticism of Elitist Theory

3.1.6 Pluralist Theory of Democracy

3.1.6.1 General Principles of Pluralism

3.1.6.2 Bases of the Pluralist Theory

3.1.7 Laski's Views on Pluralist Democracy

3.1.8 Criticism of Pluralism

3.1.9 Let's Sum Up

3.1.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson introduces you to some of the important theories on Democracy. After going through this lesson you should be able to discuss:

- the concept of democracy and the meaning of democracy;
- the concept of the elite and the development of the elitist theory of democracy;
- the elitist theory of democracy by Pareto and Mosca;
- the concept of the plural theory of the democracy, the bases on which it has emerged and its major propositions;
- Laski's views on pluralist democracy; and
- The major criticism on elite theories and pluralist theories of democracy.

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

"Democracy", says Carl Friedrich "has been the battle cry of the twentieth century." In the present-day world democracy is a popular and fascinating slogan and also one of the most controversial concepts which convey different meaning to different people. In our age democracy has been used by undemocratic rulers in such a way that it has lost its shape. Dictatorship has been established through democratic process and many dictators have defined democracy in their own way to suit their convenience. Thus democracy has become a confused and vague concept. Regarding theories of democracy, there is a debate among the liberals themselves as well as between liberals and Marxists. Among the liberals there are mainly three theories – classical, elitist and pluralist – and all these interpret democracy in their own way. In this lesson, we look into the various theories, including elitist theory of democracy as given by Masco and Pareto, and pluralist theory of democracy advocated by Laski.

3.1.2 ELITIST THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

Elitist Theories of Democracy are part of broader liberal theory. Liberal theory has faith in the worth of individual and in his natural rights and liberty. Classical liberal theorists Bentham and Mill treat democracy as a "National Institutional arrangement" which is responsible to the people. For them people's participation has a value and it ensures that the government does not turn tyrannical.

However, the theory has been criticized on the ground of its inability to see the incompatibility of democracy and capitalism and understanding the importance of the ruling elite or leaders in democracy, overlooking the class divisions and economic structures in

the society as well as taking a simplistic view of complex political procedures and decision making in politics.

In the post Second World War era the scientific temper, sceptical attitude, behavioural approach, and love for value-free study of politics of the American Political Scientists has given birth to a new liberal theory of democracy. This is known as the elitist theory of democracy. Macpherson has called this theory as 'equilibrium democracy' or 'pluralist elitist equilibrium model' of democracy. Traces of this theory are found in the writings of Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923), Gaetano Mosco (1858-1941) and Robert Michels. These writers doubted the reality of the classical liberal theory of democracy as the government of the people and argued that it is not practical.

3.1.2.1 DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY

The elitist theory was originally developed in the field of Sociology to explain the behaviour of men in social setting. This theory was put forward by liberal sociologists in the 19th century in opposition to the Marx's theory of ruling class which maintains that in a class-divided society, the economically dominant class is always the ruling class. Though in the beginning the elitist theory was in opposition to socialism and democracy yet later on the elitist theory of democracy was built up on the argument that if there is a competition between the elites for people's votes, and people vote in periodic election to choose the ruling elite, then, in spite of the ruling elite, there will be a democracy.

3.1.2.2 EXPLANATION OF THE THEORY

The elitist theory argues that every government is oligarchic, in which power and influence are shared only by some leaders or a ruling elite. Broadly speaking, the elitist theories hold that every society consists of two categories of men: (a) the elite or the minority within a social collectivity (such as, a society, a state, a religious institution, a political party) which exercises a preponderant influence within that collectivity; and (b) the masses of the majority which are subjected to the influence of the elite. In simple terms every political system is divided into the governors and the governed whereby the former are always a minority class (elite) who exclusively share power and influence.

The elitist theory denies that there can be, in any real sense, government by the people and argued that "government of the people" is a sheer fantasy, a myth, a deceptive concept, which is impossible in practice. In every political system authority vests in the political elite because only they provide the leadership. The elitist theory does not accept the concept of political equality as the governors and the governed cannot be equal. In other words, men are inherently unequal and thus only a few have a right to rule many. However, the supporters of this theory do not accept inequality by birth, instead they hold that the basis of inclusion in elite is higher ability, knowledge, character, efficiency, wealth, or skill.

The supporters of the elitist theory maintained that though the political elite may give the slogans of “will of the people”, “public interest”, “majority rule”, “responsible government” and “popular sovereignty” to appease or bluff the people; though there may be elections at fixed intervals, yet political organisations demand that the political power should vest in the minority (elites).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. What is the broader meaning of Democracy?
2. Write the meaning and definitions of “Elite”.
3. The elitist theory does not accept the concept of political equality as the governors and the governed cannot be equal. Explain.

3.1.3 ELITIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY BY PARETO AND MOSCA

Pareto and Mosca argued that the traditional classification of political systems into monarchies, and democracies ignored the more important common features that all were ruled by a minority or elite. The elite gain a dominant position as a result of its possession of some resources or attributes which were valued in the particular society.

3.1.3.1 ELITE THEORY OF PARETO

The elite theory of Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) is contained in his principal affirmation that “history is a graveyard of aristocracies.” Pareto, an Italian Sociologist, in his *The Mind and Society* argues that in all forms of society there are “people who possess in a marked degree the qualities of intelligence, character, skill, capacity, of whatever kind.” He gives this class the name of elite. He maintained, “so we get two strata in a population: (1) a lower stratum, the non elite; (2) a higher stratum, the elite, which is divided into (a) a governing elite, (b) a non-governing elite.” Thus it is assumed that society is divided into elite and non-elite. The people with higher abilities are included in elite and those with lower ability in masses or non-elite. He develops his ideal to the point that his theory of elite becomes a theory of the circulation of elites. According to him, in every society there is an increasing movement of individuals and elites from higher to lower levels and from lower to higher levels. Besides, the circulation of elites may be replaced by another elite, as, for example, when aristocracies decay or regenerate.

Pareto argues that elite possesses certain qualities on the basis of which one comes at the top. He calls these qualities as ‘residues’. He has given six kinds of residues: (1) persistence of aggregates (2) sociability, (3) activity, (4) integrity, (5) sex, (6) instinct of combinations.

Of these Pareto attaches the greatest importance to the first and last. Pareto says that there are two kinds of elites, one ruling by force; the second ruling by cunningness, diplomatic manipulations, and persuasion. They clearly have a close resemblance to Machiavelli's characterization of governing cliques as "forces" and "lions". Political changes occur through the displacement of one elite by another ('circulation of elites'). This results from the 'psychological unfitness' of the elite to deal with the changing circumstances. The 'foxes', excellent at generating consent through political manoeuvres, are incapable of wielding violence when needed. They will be overthrown by a counter elite, 'lions' who employ coercion to deal with the situation. History shows a constant pattern of circulation between these two types of elite.

3.1.3.2 ELITE THEORY OF MOSCA

Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) a political scientist, further developed the theory of political elite in his book, *The Ruling Class*. He maintained that in every society there are governors and governed. The governors belong to minority and are organized whereas the governed belong to majority and are unorganized. The term elite is not emphasized by Mosca, instead he preferred such terms as political class, ruling class, and governing elite. What is of special attention in Mosca's theory of two classes is that one class counts on the cooperation of another. While the ruling class needs the support of the ruled class, the latter provides protection to the former.

Like Pareto, Mosca also believed in the theory of the circulation of elites. The distinguishing characteristics of the elite "being the aptitude to command and exercise political control", once the ruling class loses this aptitude and the people outside the ruling class cultivate it in large numbers, then there is every possibility that the old ruling class will be replaced by the new one. He asserts the new interests and ideals are formed in the society, new problems arise and the process of circulation of elite is accelerated. Mosca argues that the elite tries to convert itself into a form of hereditary rule by using its power to perpetuate its control. As a minority it can act in a conscious, cohesive manner. Even liberal democracies are subject to manipulation wherein the free elections are controlled by the party elites. The ruling class rules not only by violence and manipulation but through ideology or 'the political formula' which convinces the general population of the moral legitimacy of the elite's domination. Thus unlike Pareto, Mosca preferred the more subtle influences of habits of obedience, religion and patriotism to the naked use of force. He preferred constitutional government, under which cabinet ministers were to be responsible to the head of the state. He thought it to be the best system on the ground that it fostered the maximum of liberty.

Pareto saw modern democracies as merely another form of elite domination. Mosca, however, argued that there were important differences between democracies and other form of elite rule. By comparison with closed systems such as caste and feudal societies,

the ruling elites in the democratic societies is open. There is therefore a great possibility of an elite drawn from a wide range of social backgrounds. As a result, the interest of various social groups may be represented in the decisions taken by the elite. Thus, an elite does not simply rule by force and fraud, but represents in some sense the interests and purposes of important and influential groups in the society.

3.1.4 DEMOCRACY AND ELITIST THEORY

On the basis of elite theory given by Pareto and Mosca the elitist theory of democracy was developed. The theory conceived democracy as a political system in which political parties competed for the votes of a mass electorate, the elites were relatively 'open' and were recruited on the basis of merit, and the mass of the population was able to participate in ruling the society at least in the sense that it could exercise a choice between the rival elites. The main points of emphasis of elitist theory of democracy are as following.

- 1) The concept of elite is used to mean leadership than rulership, and it is said that democracy is not incompatible with leadership.
- 2) The actual political decisions are to be taken by the elite, and not by the general public.
- 3) Democracy implies the rule of political elite which has been elected by the people. Without elite, there can be no democracy. We have democracy when there is a competition for power between various competing elites and the people decides through voting as to who will enjoy political power. Thus democracy means election of elites by the people.
- 4) The theory maintains that elites are not against democracy. Democracy is the rule of elites to which every man with required ability and experience can have an open entry. The nature of elite is plural and competing one.
- 5) The role of the people in a democratic society is not to govern, or even to lay down the general decisions on most political issues. The electorate's role is "to produce a government, or else an intermediate body which in turn will produce a national executive or government. Democracy, argues pluralists, is simply a mechanism for choosing and authorizing governments.
- 6) People's participation in decision making is neither possible nor appropriate. Policy making is a complex affair and it can not be entrusted to the inexperienced public.
- 7) The theory supports elections as a way of peaceful resolution of conflicts. It is mainly concerned with the fundamental issue of the maintenance of the political

system and this responsibility commonly be entrusted to the competing elites and not masses.

- 8) Theory regards democracy as a mechanism to maintain stability and equilibrium in society.
- 9) It regards “will of the people’ as a myth and has faith in the capacity of the leaders to maintain democracy.

3.1.5 CRITICISM OF THE THEORY

The elite theory has been criticized on various grounds. Some of the important grounds of criticism are following:

1. The theory is Conservative: It gives a theory of democracy to justify the prevailing socio economic and political system of liberal democracies.
2. The theory keeps people away from democracy : It discourage people’s participation in politics and encourages political apathy. As Davis says “popular participation has reduced to manageable task of periodic choices in the elections.”
3. The elites cannot maintain equilibrium in society. It is argued that equilibrium in political system cannot be maintained through competition between the elites for people’s vote, or through circulation of elites.
4. The theory gives undue importance to leaders since it argues that the democracy is possible only when good leaders are there.
5. The theory does not give due importance to the public opinion and consider public opinion meaningless as a basis of government.
6. Advocates the authoritarian basis of policy making in a democracy.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

1. Give Pareto’s definition of Elite.
2. Pareto has given six kinds of residues. What are they?
3. How Mosca defined the Elite?
4. Pareto saw modern democracies as merely another form of elite domination. Elucidate.
5. Write the main points of emphasis of elitist theory of democracy.
6. Write briefly the criticism on Elite theory of Democracy.

3.1.6 PLURALIST THEORY OF DEMOCRACY

The pluralist theory of democracy is one of liberal theory of democracy besides the classical and elitist theories of democracy. The pluralist theory was put forward by political scientists who considered that in the society power is diffused. The theory maintains that power in society is shared by many groups and it is not enjoyed by elite. Historically pluralism is identified as a school of philosophy, which argued against the concept of an absolute and sovereign state.

According to pluralism, sovereignty resides not with the state but with many other institutions. There exist many social, political, cultural and economic institutions in society and many of these institutions are prior to the state for example, family and church. Thus the state does not reserve the authority to exercise sovereignty according to its will. According to Laski, “state is only one among the various forms of associations and as compared with them, has no superior claim to the individual allegiance.” He further says, “these associations are not less sovereign than the state itself. Because society is federal, the authority must also be federal”.

The pluralist theory has developed on the basis of activities of interest groups in politics. According to this, centralization of political power is against the principle of democracy. Democracy means decentralization of power or plurality of decision centres. Thus the political power should be shared between the government and different interest groups operating in a society.

3.1.6.1 GENERAL PROPOSITIONS OF PLURALISM

The following general propositions are integral to the political theory of pluralism

1. Individual fulfilment is assured by small government units, for they alone are representative.
2. Society is composed of a variety of reasonably independent religious, cultural, educational, professional, and economic associations.
3. These private associations are voluntary in so far as no individual is ever wholly affiliated with one of them.
4. Public policy accepted as binding on all associations is the result of their own free interaction.
5. Public government is obliged to discern and act only upon the common denominator of group concurrence.

3.1.6.2 BASES OF THE PLURALIST THEORY

Pluralist theory of democracy maintains that every individual has a fundamental right to form an association and become a member of any association. Individuals can get their voice heard only through associating himself with like-minded people, having a common interest to pursue. Thus the *first* base of the pluralist theory of democracy is not an alienated individual but various organisations, pressure groups, trade unions, political parties and other socio-economic associations through which individuals participate in political process.

The concept of the states sovereignty is the *second* basis of pluralist democracy. The theory maintains that sovereignty is not indivisible so it should be divided among various associations.”

The *third* basis of pluralist democracy is that it pleads for limitations on the authority of the state and maintains that the powers of the states should be organised in such a way that one organ of the government may be able to control another organ. On this basis division of power in a federation between the centre and state governments and separation of powers between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary is recommended.

People’s participation in political process as a member of organisations and association is the *fourth* basis of the theory.

The *fifth* basis is that people’s organisation and association should be consulted before hand in order to ensure loyalty and obedience of groups towards the laws of the state. The theory emphasizes that credibility of the laws and policies increase if various organisations are given due regard while framing them.

The *sixth* basis of the theory is that the gap between the political system and the people can be reduced by various organised groups and associations.

Thus the gist of pluralistic democracy is that the people should participate in the political proceedings through their organisations only, for better policies, democratic loyalty and obedience. In other words, public policy is not a product of the will of the elite or the chosen few, as the elitist theories of democracy hold; on the contrary, it is an outcome of the interaction of all groups who express interest in a particular issue.

Pluralist democracy means a political system in which policies are made by mutual consultations and exchange of opinions between various groups. The power should be shared by all the groups of the society and that all organised groups must have a share in policy making. Each social organisation must have partnership in the decision making process, thus making the power structure of the society decentralised.

The theory argues that elections are not merely to elect a ruling elite. They are the simplest way to know the public mind on important political issues. Presthus says, “elections are a viable instrument of mass participation in political decisions, including those on specific issues.” Referendum on important political issues is also supported by the pluralist theory of democracy.

The theory maintains that the object of democracy is to maintain unity in diversity and destruction of diversity for the sake of unity is undemocratic. It emphasised the role of multiparty system and pressure groups in the political system.

The theory advocates that it is necessary for pluralist democracy that “a consensus exists on what may be called the democratic creed.” All the associations and groups, including the ruling party as well as the opposition party, must have faith in the democratic method.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 3

1. What are all those general propositions of pluralism?
2. The first base of the pluralist theory of democracy is not an alienated individual. Explain.
3. The Pluralist theory maintains that the object of democracy is to maintain unity in diversity and destruction of diversity for the sake of unity is undemocratic. Elaborate.

3.1.7 LASKI’S VIEW ON PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY

Harold Joseph Laski (1893-1950), an eminent teacher, political scientist and British Labour Party leader. Laski was a fighter for human liberty against absolutism and was a great supporter of the liberal tradition and also its rational critic.

In his writings he argued against the myth of the sovereign, omni competent state and defended the doctrine of political pluralism. The state, he maintained, is not the supreme association to whose will all the groups must bow, but is only one among many groups – corporations, unions, churches, societies of all kinds – with which it is engaged in a constant struggle for men’s loyalty and obedience. He maintained that never in history has state sovereignty existed as an absolute power and there have always been limitations on its scope and exercise.

Being a pluralist, Laski says that besides state there are many other groups which are as real, purposeful and useful to the social man as the state is. The state cannot be given all the powers over man and other associations since man cannot fulfil all his desires and requirements through one association. Laski considers state as a public service corporation, an association in which membership is compulsory. In this way, Laski supports a pluralist

society in which the state will co-exist with other associations and share its power with them.

Being a liberal thinker, Laski had a profound faith in the ideals of democracy. Laski stood for broadening the basis of sovereignty by giving maximum possible participation to citizens and their associations in the law-making, policy-making as well as decision making processes. He argues that generally speaking the authority is exercised by only a small number of people and they must use it by sharing it with those who are influenced by its exercise. However, argues Laski, this cannot be done by the present system of representation and present doctrine of consent and as such, there is a need for the re-interpretation of the two.

Laski was a strong advocate of decentralization of power. He demanded that law-making process should be open and the decision-making process be decentralised and the experience of the people should be given due consideration. He argued that a legitimate democratic authority give proper recognition to the different interests of society and work with the advice of those concerned. Thus, says Laski, in a democratic society open participation and advice of the people is essential and this can be done by distributing power between the state and other associations. For a democratic authority mere participation in the elections is not sufficient on the part of the people, rather people should participate in economic, legal and administrative matters pertaining to society.

Laski uses the term authority instead of sovereignty and argues that three conditions are required for a responsible authority in a democratic state: firstly, the ways of removing the people having authority, or government should be prescribed; secondly, institutions for consultation should be organised; and thirdly, equality among citizens should be there, both in economic and educational matters.

While assuming a link between authority and obedience, Laski argues that no authority is respected merely because it can issue commands. Proper authority must have a moral basis and this moral basis is achieved when people obey it willingly and rationally. This is possible only when association and different interest groups participate in the law-making and decision-making processes. He further argues that the rights of individuals can only be ensured in democratic polity.

He argues that state is a necessary association with a moral purpose. He writes “the state is a necessary association; the most adequate means yet invented for the promotion of an end deemed good. It exists, we may broadly say to promote good....” He considered that the state was “the fundamental instrument of society,” and argued that its purpose was to “satisfy, or organize the satisfaction of, the wants of men on the largest possible scale.” Yet

he also advocated a large measure of decentralization, consultation with organized groups, and restraints on governmental action to prevent misuse of political power. Laski, committed to a democratic socialism, urged that the political democracy was virtually meaningless unless it led forward to “economic democracy” or socialism. In addition, Laski also stood for division of power between executive, legislature and judiciary.

3.1.8 CRITICISM OF PLURALISM

The theory of the pluralistic state and democracy has been criticized by a number of political thinkers on the following grounds:

- (1) The state is needed to control various types of institutions existing in society. It is the sovereign state that brings about unity and regulates all the associations existing in the society.
- (2) If sovereignty is divided among various associations existing in society, this division will lead to the destruction of the sovereignty. As a result anarchy will prevail in society and there will be chaos.
- (3) Many of the pluralists believe that law is superior to the state and the state is controlled by law. But this hypothesis is wrong because laws are framed by the state.
- (4) It is mere illusion and not a reality that other associations are equal in status to the society.
- (5) Laski, the ardent advocate of Pluralism, has also gone to the extent of criticizing pluralism by saying that it has not closely studied the different sections of the society.
- (6) If sovereignty is divided among various associations they will be so powerful that it would be difficult for the state to have a control over these associations. This will lead to the rise of numerous problems in the state.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 4

1. Write Laski’s views on state’s sovereignty.
2. Laski supports a pluralist society in which the state will co-exist with other associations and share its power with them. Explain.
3. Laski was a strong advocate of decentralization of power. Why?
4. Laski said three conditions are required for a responsible authority in a democratic state. What are they?

5. Write the main criticism against pluralist theory?

3.1.9 LET US SUM UP

In this lesson you have studied what is democracy and how various people interpreted. Of the many interpretations given to it, this lesson focuses two major theories on democracy: one is Elite theory of democracy, and the second is Pluralist theory of democracy.

Elite theory of democracy propounded by Pareto and Mosca appears undoubtedly hostile to democracy yet a close look discloses that it was trying to articulate the real issues how democracy is practiced at the ground level. Moreover, in a sense the elite theories of Pareto and Mosca were not opposed to the general idea of democracy. Their original and main antagonist was, in fact, socialism, and especially Marxist socialism. Mosca in his later writings have clearly favoured democracy and thereby became a cautious defender of some aspects of democratic government. The theory, in fact, reflects the sad reality of democracy where the society is invariably divided between a minority which rules and the majority which is subjected to a rule.

Pluralist Theory of Democracy is completely opposed to the Elite theory. It advocates that it is not only the state but many other associations in the society are also important. It never accepts the absolute and indivisible sovereignty of the state. It always states that sovereignty is diffused between many social organizations, like Church or Family. It completely differ with the Elite theory when it argues for the participation of the people in decision making process and it always advocates for the involvement of as many people and groups as possible in decision making process. In this way Pluralism has played an important role in upholding the importance of associations, for which they claim much autonomy. We admit that the sovereign state in practice must be a subject to many limitations so that democracy may flourish but as a concept the sovereign state must not be subject to any legal authority.

B. A. Semester IV: **Political Science**

Course No.: **PS-401 (Comparative Politics)**

Unit III: **Political Dynamics: Democracy, Electoral Process and Party System**

3.2 THEORIES OF REPRESENTATION: TERRITORIAL, PROPORTIONAL AND FUNCTIONAL

Shikha Malhotra

STRUCTURE

3.2.0 Objectives

3.2.1 Introduction

3.2.2 Democracy and Representation

3.2.3 Representative Systems

3.2.4 Territorial Systems

3.2.4.1 Simple Plural Systems

3.2.4.2 Second Ballet System

3.2.4.3 Alternative Vote System

3.2.5 Proportional Systems

3.2.5.1 Limited Vote System

3.2.5.2 Additional Member System

3.2.5.3 Single Transferable Vote System

3.2.5.4 Party List System

3.2.6 Functional Representation

3.2.6.1 Advocates of Representation of Interests

3.2.6.2 Criticism of Functional Representation

1.2.7 Let's Sum Up

3.2.0 OBJECTIVES

This lesson explains what the meaning of Representational Democracy is and how many ways we elect our representatives to govern our affairs. After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- the linkages between Democracy and Representation;
- how we elect our representatives and how the working of democracy changes with the system of representation;
- how the territorial system of representation works and merits and demerits of this system;
- what is nature of proportional representation system and how it functions;
- the meaning of functional representation and the advantages and disadvantages of functional democracy.

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Democracy, rule by the people, can broadly be divided into two subcategories, namely, direct and indirect democracy. While Direct Democracy involves involvement of the people in the management of their affairs, Indirect Democracy involves governance by the representatives of the people. Due to the complexity of the size and functioning of the modern State, direct democracies have been rendered impracticable in most cases and hence representative democracies have emerged as the order of the day. In this lesson you will study what are the theories of the representation, that how many ways we chose our representatives to making laws and execute them.

3.2.2 DEMOCRACY AND REPRESENTATION

In a representative democracy, elections are usually held on the basis of universal adult franchise and representation of the people is governed by either of the two dominating types. The types of representation are functional representation and territorial theory representation. While the former entails election of representatives by people belonging to a certain occupation or profession, the latter is centred round division of a nation into constituencies and election of representatives from every constituency. While in principle, the functional type may score over the territorial type in that the latter fails to give adequate

representation to all sections of society, in reality the former has largely been practised only in totalitarian regimes.

Further, in a Democracy, elections lend legitimacy to the authority of the government. Under the Democratic system, electoral systems too may be broadly categorised into the Plurality system, the Majoritarian system and the Proportional Representation system. Under the Plurality system, the first past the post system is applied wherein the candidate securing the maximum number of votes is deemed elected. This method of election is largely followed in Britain, the USA and India. However, this system of election has largely been criticised for the number of seats won by a party in Parliament may not correspond to the votes scored by the party. Hence, a party representing a minority of voters may hold a majority of seats in the Legislature. The issue of minorities has also been debated under the system. While the proponents of this system hold that it makes the majority more sensitive to the needs of the minority, the opponents contend that the minority opinion may come to be totally ignored by the winning party.

Contrary to this, the Proportional Representation system has been widely acclaimed to be the best system of election for it secures a fair representation for both the minorities as well the majority. The system of Proportional Representation may go a long way in securing representation for ethnic minorities, women and diverse racial groups but it may also create a problem of majority in the Legislature leading to Coalition Governments.

3.2.3 REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEMS

A representative system is a set of rules that governs the conduct of elections. It is a method of allocating offices to candidates and Political parties, of translating votes of seats. Electoral systems attract attention in part because they have a crucial impact on party performance and particularly on their prospects of winning power. Political Scientists have long been interested in the classification of different systems and the analysis of their political effects. For general purposes, however, the systems available can be divided into two broad categories on the basis of how they convert votes into seats—Territorial (Majoritarian) systems and Proportional systems.

In the Territorial/Majoritarian systems the larger parties, with a higher proportion of seats gained in territorially delimited constituencies than the proportion of votes, gain in the election. This increases the chances of a single party gaining a parliamentary majority and being able to govern on its own. Contrary to this, the proportional systems guarantee an equal, or at least more equal, relationship between the seats won by a party and the votes gained in the election. In a pure system of proportional representation (PR), a party that gains 45 percent of the votes would win exactly 45 percent of the seats. Hence

Proportional systems, therefore, make single party majority rule less likely and are commonly associated with multi party systems and coalition governments. In other words, this method aims at providing representation to various groups and parties in proportion to their voting strength. So, proportional electoral systems seem to be more representative than the majoritarian systems. In majoritarian system, party representation is not commensurate with electoral strength. But, at the same time, they (majoritarian) deliver stable and effective rule and dominated by single party rule. But the supporters of Proportional systems held the view that effective government should be understood in terms of popular support and the willingness of citizens to obey the government. Here, broadly based coalitions may possess these qualities in greater abundance than do single party governments. So, it seems that both the systems have their own plus and weak points. It would be better at this place to be acquainted with the different variants of both the Majoritarian and Proportional systems.

TABLE: ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

MAJORITARIAN SYSTEMS	PROPORTIONAL SYSTEMS
Simple Plurality System - "First, Past, the Post" system	Limited vote system
Second Ballot system	Additional Member system
Alternative vote system	Single-Transferable vote system-
	Party List system

3.2.4 TERRITORIAL/MAJORITARIAN SYSTEMS

As you already understood, territorial systems are the one which provides representation on the basis of majority gained by candidate or party in a territorially delimited constituencies. There are many sub systems within this system. In this section, you will study all these varieties of territorial systems.

3.2.4.1 SIMPLE PLURALITY SYSTEM- "FIRST, PAST, THE POST" SYSTEM (FPTP):

- The country here is divided into single-member constituencies, usually of equal size.
- Voters select a single candidate, usually marking his or her name with a cross on the ballot paper.
- The winning candidates need only to achieve a plurality of votes (the 'first past the post' rule).

- The victorious candidate needs only acquire more votes than any single rival. Such systems do not seek to equate the overall number of seats won by each party with the member of votes it gains in the election.
- Examples are- UK, USA, New Zealand and India.

Advantages

The system establishes a clear link between representatives and constituents, ensuring that constituency duties are carried out.

- It offers the electorate a clear choice of political parties of government.
- It allows governments to be formed that have a clear mandate from the electorate although often on the basis of plurality support amongst the electorate.
- It keeps extremism at bay by making it more difficult for small radical parties to gain seats and credibility.
- It makes for strong and effective government in that a single party usually has majority control of the assembly.
- It produced stable government in that single-party governments rarely collapse as a result of disunity and internal friction.

Disadvantages

- The system “wastes” many (perhaps most) votes, those cast for losing candidates and those cast for winning ones over the plurality mark.
- It distorts electoral preferences by ‘under-representing’ small parties.
- It offers only limited choice because of its duopolistic (two-major-parties) tendencies.
- It undermines the legitimacy of government in the sense that governments often enjoy only minority support, producing a system of plurality rule.
- It creates instability because a change in government can lead to a radical shift of policies and direction.
- It leads to unaccountable government in the sense that the legislature is usually subordinate to the executive because the majority of its members are supporters of the governing party.
- It discourages the selection of a socially broad spread of candidates in favour of those who are attractive to a large body of voters.

II SECOND BALLET SYSTEM

- There are single candidate constituencies and single-choice voting, as similar in the case of first-past-the post (FPTP) system.
- In order to win on the first ballot, a candidate needs an overall majority of the votes cast.
- If no candidate gains a first ballot majority, a second, run-off ballot is, held between the leading two candidates. Example- Traditionally in France.

Advantages

- The system broadens electoral choice; voters can vote with their hearts for their preferred candidate in the first ballot and with their heads for the least-bad candidate in the second.
- Strong and stable government is possible, as candidates can only win with majority support.

Disadvantages

- As the system is little more proportional than the FPTP system, it distorts preferences and is unfair to 'third' parties.
- The holding of a second ballot may strain the electorate's patience and interest in politics.

III ALTERNATIVE VOTE SYSTEM (AVS)

- There are single-member constituencies.
- There is preferential voting. Voters rank the candidates in order of preference.
- Winning candidates must gain 50% of all the votes cast.
- Voters are counted according to the second (or subsequent) preferences. This continues until one candidate has a majority.
- Example – Australia (House of Representatives).

Advantages

- Fewer votes are wasted and possibility of majority government is not ruled out.

Disadvantages

- The system is not much more proportional than the FPTP system and is still biased in favour of large parties.

- The outcome may be determined by the preferences of who support small, possibly extremist parties.

3.2.5 PROPORTIONAL SYSTEMS

In proportional system, the constituencies are based on populations, groups, parties, etc. Here also there are sub-systems.

3.2.5.1 LIMITED VOTE SYSTEM

- Under the limited vote plan, multi-member constituencies with at least three seats are envisaged.
- Each voter is allotted fewer votes than the number of candidates to be elected. Thus, if there are four candidates to be elected from a constituency, the voter shall be entitled to cast only three votes.
- Example – Japan (House of Representatives)

Advantages

- The system is fairer to small parties, which can improve their chances of victory by putting up only a single candidate and concentrating their support.
- The majorities are assured of representation.
- Competition amongst candidates from the same party broadens electoral choice and provides a strong incentive for candidates to develop a personal appeal.

Disadvantages

- Although this system is more proportional than the majoritarian systems, it is still only a semi-proportional system, and thus does not satisfy many PR supporters.
- Ultra party competition breeds factionalism and conflict.

3.2.5.2 ADDITIONAL MEMBER SYSTEM (AMS)

- Under this system, a certain proportion of seats (say 50 percent, as in Germany) are filled by the FPTP (first past the Post ‘ system) using single member constituencies.
- The remaining seats are filled using a party list, prepared by each Political party (Containing a list of candidates equal to the number of seats to be filled).
- Electors cast two votes- one for a candidate in the constituency election and other for a party.
- Examples – Germany and favoured by the Royal Commission in New Zealand.

Advantages

- The party list process ensures that the whole assembly is proportionally representative.
- It allows electors to choose a constituency representative from one party and yet support another party to form a government.
- Although the system is broadly proportional in terms of its outcome, it keeps alive, the possibility of single-party government.

Disadvantages

- The retention of single member constituencies prevents the achievement of high levels of proportionality.
- The system creates two classes of representative one burdened by insecurity and constituency duties, the other having higher status and the prospect of holding ministerial office.
- Parties become more centralised and powerful under this system, as they have to prepare the list of candidates at their own discretion.

3.2.5.3 SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE SYSTEM (STVS)

- This scheme was suggested by Thomas Hare of England and is also known as Hare scheme.
- It envisages multi-member constituencies with minimum of three seats. Parties may put forward as many candidates as there are seats to fill.
- Each voter is granted one effective vote irrespective of the number of seats in the constituency; although he is permitted to indicate his first, second, third preference etc. on the ballot paper.
- The candidate securing the quota is declared elected. The quota is determined by dividing the total number of votes cast by the number of seats to be filled and adding one to the quotient.

Total number of votes cast

$$\text{Quota} = \frac{\text{Total number of votes cast}}{\text{Number of seats to be filled} + 1}$$

For example, if 10,000 votes are cast in a constituency that elects four members, the quota is $10000/(4+1) + 1 = 2001$.

- First of all, the first preference votes are counted and the candidate reaching the quota is declared elected. The surplus votes are transferred to the second preference candidates. This process continued till the requisite number of candidates are elected. As this method involves the transfer of vote from one candidate to another, it is also known as ‘Single Transferable Vote system.’
- Examples – Ireland and supported for adoption in the UK by the Liberal Democrats.

Advantages

- This system is capable of achieving highly proportional outcomes.
- Competition amongst candidates from the same party means that they can be judged on their records and on where they stand on issues that cut across party lines.

Disadvantages

- Strong and stable single party government is unlikely.
- Ultra-party competition may be divisive and may allow members to evade their constituency responsibilities.
- The degree of proportionality achieved varies, largely on the basis of the party system.

3.2.5.4 PARTY LIST SYSTEM

- Either the entire country is treated as a single constituency or in the case of regional party lists; there are a number of large multimember constituencies.
- Each Political Party prepares a list of candidates equal to the number of seats to be filled. Each voter is entitled to cast all his votes in favour of the list.
- Parties are allocated seats in direct proportion to the votes they gain in the election. They fill these seats from their party list.

Advantages

- This is the only potentially pure system of proportional representation and is therefore fair to all parties.
- The system promotes unity by encouraging electors to identify with their nation or region rather than a constituency.
- The system makes it easier for women and minority candidates to be elected, provided, they feature on the party list.

- The representation of a large number of small parties ensures that there is an emphasis upon negotiation, bargaining and consensus.
- Examples – Israel and in countries throughout Europe including Belgium, Luxembourg and Switzerland.

Disadvantages

- The existence of many parties can lead to weak and unstable government.
- Unpopular candidates who are well placed on a party list can not be removed from office.
- Parties become heavily centralised because leaders draw up party lists and junior members have an incentive to be loyal in the hope of moving up the list.

The above analysis of various electoral systems, range from the most majoritarian type of system to the purest type of proportional system, underpin the principles of good government. They have certain distinct advantages, yet the system of majority representation is considered as best. The majority system is quite easy to operate because the candidate getting largest number of votes is declared elected. On the other hand, the system of proportional representation is quite complicated. No doubt, system of proportional representation ensures that various minorities get fair representation in the legislature, but it has certain serious drawbacks. It leads to coalition governments which are quite unstable. Again, it envisages multi member constituencies; the constituencies are very large which make a direct contact between the representatives and the voters difficult. So, the system is quite complex and difficult for the voters to comprehend which may defeat the very purpose of providing representation to all sections. Still its significance cannot be discarded. Many countries are still engaged in its successful operation.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. How do you define a Electoral system?
2. Do you agree that Proportional systems are more representative than Majoritarian systems?
3. What are the features of “First, Past, the Post” Electoral System?
4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of Second Ballot system?
5. What are the main features of Alternate Voting System?
6. What are the advantages and disadvantages of Additional Member System?
7. How do you understand Single-Transferable-Vote System (STVS)?

3.2.6 FUNCTIONAL REPRESENTATION

The Functional Representation means that the seats for each profession should be fixed in the legislature. The voters from each profession should elect their representatives separately to the legislatures. A great writer of Political Science, Professor Duguit is of the opinion that industry, trade and commerce, science, literature, art, etc. should be given their representation in the legislatures. Hence, Functional or occupational representation is a protest against the system of territorial or geographical representation. Advocate of functional representation argue that in the legislature, it is not the territorial communities that to be represented but only various interests in the society that are to be represented.

People pursuing the same kind of work or functions have more things or ideas in common than people living in the same locality. It is, therefore, proposed to replace the traditional territorial system of representation by occupational representation in which various industrial or other occupational groups should be reflected. All such interests, it was urged, required special representation in the legislature. Only a cobbler should represent cobblers and the really representative bodies are these which are related to the various functions which individuals performed.

3.2.5.1 ADVOCATES OF THE REPRESENTATION OF INTERESTS

The system of representation based upon classes, professions, occupations, or other groupings of society is not of recent origin. Mirabeau, at the time of the French Revolution, declared that a Legislative Assembly ought to be a mirror of all the interests of society. Sieyes, too, emphasized the need for special representation in the legislature of the great industries of society. In more recent times, however, the system of functional representation found an increasing number of advocates. Duguit maintains, "All the great forces of the national life ought to be represented industry, property, commerce, manufacturing professions, and even science and religion."

But the theory of functional representation is primarily associated with the name of G.D.H. Cole. Cole says that in place of an omni-competent representative body there should be in society as many separately elected groups of representatives as there are distinct groups of functions to be performed.

Graham Wallas is of the opinion that while the lower chamber may be elected on the territorial basis, it is necessary that the second chamber be representative of various interests and functional groups. Sidney and Beatrice Webb advocated in 1920 a system in which there should be a "Political Chamber" and an "industrial Second Chamber." In 1947, Christopher Hoiis, M.P. in his book, *Can Parliament Survive* put forward proposals for a kind of Functional Third Chamber.

The system of functional representation is commonly known as the Soviet system. The geographical or territorial system of representation was replaced in Soviet Russia by a system based on the vocational principle, i.e., workers, farmers, professional men and other classes choose their own representatives without regard to territorial areas. A representative in the Soviet Union did not represent the district from which he happened to be elected. He represented a particular interest.

3.2.6.2 CRITICISM OF FUNCTIONAL REPRESENTATION:

The principle of functional representation “has such serious weaknesses as to make it little, if any, better than territorial representation.” The late Professor Esmien stigmatized it as “an illusion and a false principle which would lead to struggle, confusion, and even anarchy.” Herman Finer says that the principle of functional representation “does not proceed from the integration of the community, and then temper this with the representation of differences, but it proceeds at once from the postulate of disintegration into a large number of separate communities whose ultimate integration is thenceforward to be fabricated.”

Human affairs cannot be divided into watertight compartments, and it is disastrous when lines of division, which are in no sense marked, between one economic interest and another, are accentuated. Even Professor Laski is opposed to the system of functional representation. He says, “The territorial assembly built upon universal suffrage seems, therefore, the best method of making final decisions in the conflict of wills within the community.” The legislature elected on territorial basis cannot act in an irresponsible fashion. It is the creature of electoral will. Laski maintains that various interests within the States will receive adequate representation, if the legislature is made “to consult the organised wills of the community before it acted upon them.”

Functional representation, it is further maintained, is inconsistent with the principle of national sovereignty. The legislative assemblies are chosen to represent the interests of the nation as a whole, and not the special interests of particular occupations or classes. The principle of vocational representation would force citizens to consider first of all their particular interests and ignore the national interests.

Vocational representation, it is further argued, does not solve the problem of minority representation. Nor does it offer any protection to an independent voter who may not like to vote for a candidate put up by his profession or trade. Then, there is the practical difficulty involved in classifying a huge population on a vocational basis suitable for electoral purposes.

Some political thinkers suggest that the system of proportional representation in the form of single transferable vote serves the purpose of vocational representation in essence.

3.2.7 LET US SUM UP

The above comprehensive study of the Representative processes and Systems brings in to forth the worth and importance of representation in democratic regimes. At the very least, they provide the public with its clearest formal opportunity to influence the political process and also help directly or indirectly to determine who will hold the government power. So, elections are about results—who win and who lose. Elections in this sense are a visible manifestation of the public interest, in short, “the public has spoken”. Some Political commentators proclaimed that elections reflect a ‘shift in the popular mood’. At best, election-results reflect the preferences of a majority, or perhaps a plurality, of voters. Perhaps the most significant function of elections is to set limits to arbitrary government by ensuring that Politicians who claim to speak for the public must ultimately be judged by the public.

B. A. Semester IV: **Political Science**

Course No.: **PS-401 (Comparative Politics)**

Unit III: **Political Dynamics: Democracy, Electoral Process and Party System**

3.3 PARTY SYSTEM: ONE-PARTY, BI-PARTY AND MULTI-PARTY

Rainoo Bhai

STRUCTURE

- 3.3.0 Objectives**
- 3.3.1 Introduction**
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- 3.3.9 Critical Appraisal**
- 3.3.10 Let Us Sum Up**

3.3.0 OBJECTIVES

In this lesson, you will study about the political parties and how many type of party systems are functioning in the contemporary world. After going through this lesson you will be able to understand:

- meaning of political parties and how these parties are formed;

- the major functions of the political parties in a democracy;
- how many party systems are prevalent in contemporary world;
- the nature and functions of one-party, bi-party and multi-party systems.

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Political parties act as political machines organised to win elections and wield government power. They virtually exist in every political system except for those where they are suppressed by dictatorship or military rule. Whether they are great tools of democracy or sources of tyranny and repression, political parties are the vital link between the state and civil society, between the institutions of governments and the groups and interests that operate within society. The existence of political parties also indicates the fact of political modernisation by desiring the involvement of more and more people in the political process of the country.

3.3.2 MEANING OF POLITICAL PARTY

Political parties are an integral part of the political system. These exist in every system of government whether democratic or totalitarian. Modern democracy has procreated the system of political parties and organised interest (pressure) groups as an indispensable factor in its operation. The reason behind it is that the representative system lays stress on the maximisation of political participation by enjoying upon the members of a political elite to take the people in confidence either for the sake of demonstrating their faith in the myth that 'the voice of the people is the voice of God' or to justify the very legitimacy of their leadership and authority.

According to Michael Curtis, it is notoriously different to define a political party accurately. The reason is that the views of the Liberals and Marxist writers differ sharply on this point. Not only this, even the views of the English liberals differ from their American counterparts. The most celebrated view among the English writers is that of Burke who holds that a political party is "a body of men united for promoting the national interest on some particular principle in which they are all agreed." Reiterating the same view, Disraeli defined political party as "a group of men banded together to pursue certain principles." So, according to Benjamin Constant, a party is a group of men professing the same political doctrine."

The key point in all these definitions relates to the issue of 'principle' of public importance on which the members of a party are agreed.

But the American view is different in the sense that here a political party is taken as an instrument of catching power. No significance is attached to the key point of 'principles' of

national or public importance in which 'all are agreed'. A party is just a platform or a machinery for taking part in the struggle for power, it is a device for catching votes, it is an agency to mobilise people's support at the time of elections, it is an instrument for the aggregation of interests that demand their vociferous articulation.

Marxist view on the theme of political party as elaborated by Lenin is different from the English and American view. Here a political party is taken as a 'vanguard' of the social class whose task is to create class consciousness and to prepare the proletariat for a bloody and violent revolution. Every party is a class organisation.

Therefore, talking from liberal perspective, a definition of political party has three essential ingredients. Firstly, it is an organisation of persons who are more or less agreed on some important matters of public policy. Secondly, it is an organisation whose main aim is to take part in the struggle for power. Thirdly, it is a body whose members make concerted efforts to implement their policies and programs by constitutional (democratic) means.

Some definitional statements

Burke – "A political party is a group of citizens, more or less organised, who act as a political unit and who by the use of their voting power aim to control the government and carry out their general policy."

Maurice Duverger – Political parties are "groups organised for the purpose of achieving and exercising powers within a political system."

R M MacIver – "A political party is an association organised in support of some principals or policy which by constitutional means it endeavours to make the detriments of government."

R N Gelchrist – "A political party is 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".

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. According to Michael Curtis, it is notoriously difficult to define a political party accurately. Why?
2. What is the American view or concept of political party?
3. Define the liberal and Marxist view of political parties.
4. From a liberal perspective, a definition of political party has three essential ingredients. What are they?

3.3.3 DETERMINANTS OF A POLITICAL PARTY

The manifold determinants of the party structure vary from religious and social to economic and political. These determinants help us to understand the origin and characteristics of political parties. Such determinants may be reduced to three main factors as discussed below.

3.3.3.1. RELIGIOUS AND COMMUNAL SENTIMENTS

People have very strong sentiments for their religious or communal order. Certain political parties are associated with a religious faith like Christian Democrats in Switzerland, Italy and Germany, Sokka Gakkai or Buddhist in Japan, Hindu Maha Sabha, Muslim League and Akali Dal in India . Some parties are formed on community or caste basis for example Dravida Munnetra Kazhgam, Mizo National Front and Jharkhand parties in India.

3.3.3.2. SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR

The level of economic development influences the nature of party competition. We may find that there is a different response to urban and rural societies and to those in which class conflict is a significant aspect of the political process. In a liberal democratic state, parties with totalitarian structure may hardly find a congenial place to live in and operate, since there is open electoral competition that allays possibilities of all such developments. Nationalism and religious division maybe more important than those of class in forming the basis of political parties. Beside this, the attitudes and values prevalent in society and political culture may be of vital significance in determining the type of political parties that emerge in any society.

People have divergent economic interests and so they form and join different parties. If some desire economic freedom, others prefer more and more state control on the economic liberties of the people. Thus, while some advocate the course of laissez faire, others desire socialism that stands for more and more control on man's economic freedom in the public interest. It may also be noted that some have faith in the system of free enterprise, others may desire whole-sale nationalisation of private property. That is why we find a party of liberal in favour of less and less state control over the modes of production.

3.3.3.3. IDEOLOGY

The factor of ideology has a very important place in the making and working of political parties. Socialist and communist parties are organised on the basis of a particular ideology. They are called leftists because they desire a change in the present system so as to give benefits to the unprivileged and under privileged sections of the society. They struggle to change the status quo. There may be parties based on rightist ideology like Fascists in Italy and Nazis in Germany. Such parties stand for maintenance of status quo and are interested

in protecting and promoting the interests of the capitalist and other affluent classes of the society.

However, it is not necessary that every political party is committed to some ideology. The political parties of the United States have nothing like ideology commitment for which reason the democrats and the republicans have been described by Lord James Bryce as two bottles having same liquor but different labels.

It is therefore, obvious that different factors play their part in the making and working of the party system of a country. One may add the factor of 'charisma' that attracts the peoples to join the particular party.

3.3.4 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The functions which the parties perform necessarily depend upon the nature of the political system under which they operate. Even with in the same political system not all parties perform the same functions. National parties, for instance, have broader functions than regional parties. Taking all these differences in to consideration the functions of the political parties may be described as under:

- 1. Representation:** Political parties articulate the interests they consider to be important for acceptance by the political decision makers. While performing this functions a party, especially a broad based party, balance in the various interests and reaches a compromise among them, in other words, it acts as a broker.
- 2. Conversation and aggregation:** A political party converts the various interests and demands into coherent interests and decisions. For its success, this function demands aggregation of the diverse interests and demands.
- 3. Integration:** A political party performs the function of integration also. Integrating an individual into the political system takes forms of participation, socialisation and mobilisation. Parties bring together sectional interests, mobilise diverse cultural and linguistic groups and wield them within a common framework. The role which the Indian National Congress has played in integrating the north and the south, the east and the west has been most notable.
- 4. Persuasion:** The function of persuasion means that a political party so designs and presents its policies and programs before the people as to enlist widespread popular support. This is necessary for acquiring political power.

5. Political Recruitment: It is through political parties that political leaders emerge and this is true of democracies as well as one party dictatorships. It is only in the most primitive societies or military dictatorships that political leaders are selected by bodies other than parties. James Bryce observed about the American parties that “the chief thing is the selection of candidates.”

6. Policy Formulations: Political parties formulate policies and programs for adoption and implementation, and before this is done there is internal discussion among the members. They thus generate coherent policies and programs.

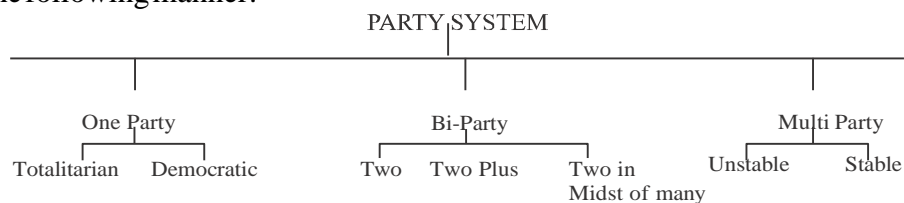
7. Control of the Government: Political parties exercise control over the government in many ways. In a parliamentary government the ruling party takes charge of the machinery of government and runs it in accordance with its policies and programs while the opposition keeps a healthy watch on the government.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

1. What is the difference between the ‘leftist’ parties and the ‘rightist’ parties.
2. Give the examples of some parties based on factors like religion, community or caste in India.
3. Highlight the major functions of political parties.

3.3.5 TYPES OF PARTY SYSTEM

Maurice Duverger formulated a simple classification of one, two and multi party system and thereby sought to place all the party systems of the world in one of these three categories. Duverger’s too simplistic classification is now outdated. However, the three categories of single, bi- party and multi party systems have their own sub-categories that may be explained in the following manner:



3.3.6 ONE PARTY SYSTEM

This type of regime “is characterised by the party in power either dominating all other groups, trying to absorb the political opposition or in the extreme case suppressing all opposition groups which are regarded as counter revolutionary or subversive of the regime as forces dividing the national will”. This principal category has two-sub categories –

totalitarian and democratic. There is a single party system in the totalitarian model. On the other hand if the party in power allows no other party or group to live or act in opposition to its authority, it is democratic. In case the ruling party exercises its authority in a way that it may sometimes take the help of another party, or there are parties that even when put together, are in no position to the worst power from the dominant party, or there is one party absorbing all other parties within the field. In this category, the party in power allows other parties and groups to exist and operate. In this situation that looks like the model of a multi party system *the party in power enjoy a dominant position.*

Further, we may say that even totalitarian model of a single party system may be said to have two more sub categories – ideologically committed and ideologically non committed. That is, the only party in power may and may not be committed to a particular ideology. Moreover, even this ideological commitment may be of two types – *rightist* and *leftist*. While the rightist stands for the maintenance of the status quo, the leftist aim at the liquidation of the present system and its substitution by a new order that is more equitable and just for the interests of the weaker, oppressed and exploited sections of the community.

The Fascist or Nazi party systems constitute the case of a *totalitarian* party system committed to an ideology of the right. The Communist party systems belong to the latter category where we find a single party system committed to the ideology of the left. For example Italy and Germany [of pre–Second World War period], Spain and Portugal in the first category and China, Russia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Albania, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, Magnolia may be placed in the second category. The examples of single party system under an *ideologically non-committed* party include countries like Indonesia [before 1965], Bangladesh under the Awami League (before 1975), and Egypt under the Arab Socialist Union and Burma under the Lanzik Party.

The *democratic* category of a single party system has three sub-categories namely, *one-plus* party system where the dominant party seldom takes the help of some other party as we find in the case of liberal democratic party of Japan.

One dominant system where one party enjoys a position of far more authority than all other parties put together as it was in case of Indian National Congress. Finally, one absorbing party system where we find that one party absorbs all other major and minor political organisation within its fold as we find in the case of Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI] of Mexico, Kenya, African National Union [Kanu] of Kenya and National Renovating Allowance of Brazil.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 3

1. Highlight the basic features of single party system
2. Bring out the features of the 3 sub-categories of Bi-party system

3.3.7 BI-PARTY SYSTEM

A two party system can be said to be the major part of the electoral vote and to exercise political control, through other parties may exist and obtain some seats in the representative assembly. There may be other parties, but the alternation of power remains between the two major ones. A two party system has three sub-categories:

(a) **Two party system**, where alternation of power takes place between two major parties. Britain is a leading instance here where power alternates between the conservative and the labour parties. The two party system has its two more sub-categories – distinct and indistinct. In the case of distinct two party system, two major parties have policies and programs, clearly different from each other and also struggle for seizure of power e.g. the Conservative and Labour parties of England. The example of indistinct Bi-party system is United States where the Democrats and the Republicans have no ideological differences or as Dahl says, they have “*ideological* similarity and issue conflict”.

(b) **Two plus party system**, where the two major parties sometimes take the co-operation of some other party or parties to form their coalition governments, for example west Germany and Canada.

(c) **Two party system in the midst of many**, where parties other than the two major ones have chances, now and then, to share power e.g. Belgium and Ireland.

Major influences favourable to the two-partysystem are the use of single-member districts for the election of representatives, the presidential system, and the absence of proportional representation. In Great Britain and the United States members of the national representative assemblies are chosen from single-member districts, and the candidate polling the largest number of votes is the winner. Such an electoral system compels a party to strive for a majority of the votes in a district or other electoral area. Usually only two fairly evenly matched parties may successfully compete for office in a single-member district, and a third party suffers recurring defeat unless it can swallow up one of the other parties. Parties do not thrive under the certainty of defeat. A third party may have a substantial popular following and yet capture few seats in the representative body. With, for instance, 20 percent of the popular vote spread evenly over an entire country, such a party would not win a single seat. (Under full proportional representation, it would be entitled to 20 percent of the seats in a legislative body.) The rise of the Labour Party in Great Britain, for example,

virtually deprived the Liberal Party of parliamentary seats even when it had a substantial popular following.

In addition to the single-member-district system, in the United States the presidential system induces parties to seek majority support. No fractional party can elect its presidential candidate, and third parties in national politics have proved to be protest movements more than serious electoral enterprises.

The two-party system is said to promote governmental stability because a single party can win a majority in the parliament and govern. In a multiparty country, on the other hand, the formation of a government depends on the maintenance of a coalition of parties with enough total strength to form a parliamentary majority. The weakness of the ties that bind the coalition may threaten the continuance of a cabinet in power. The stability shown by the government of the United States has not been entirely due to its party system, it has been argued, but has been promoted also by the fixed tenure and strong constitutional position of the president.

3.3.8 MULTI PARTY SYSTEM

In Western countries there is a tendency to consider the two-party system as normal and the multiparty system as the exceptional case. But, in fact, the two-party system that operates in Great Britain, the United States, and New Zealand is much rarer than the multiparty system, which is found in almost all of western Europe

One of the most important factors determining the number of parties operating within a particular country is the electoral system. Proportional representation tends to favour the development of multiparty systems because it ensures representation in the legislature for even small parties. Another factor producing multiparty systems is the intensity of political conflicts. If, within a given political movement, extremists are numerous, then it is difficult for the moderates in that party to join with them in a united front. Two rival parties are likely to be formed. So is the case with the rightist or conservative parties.

In a multiparty situation, on the other hand, it is quite rare for one party to have a majority in the legislature; governments must, therefore, be founded on coalitions, which are always more heterogeneous and more fragile than a single party. The result is less stability and less political power. Such systems may be referred to as nonmajority parliamentarianism.

In short, a multi-party system in politics is a system of government in which more than two political parties truly have a chance to get real political power. This means that more than two parties have a chance to either govern on their own or to be part of a coalition

government (as the Liberal Democrats and the Tories are part of a coalition government in England right now).

Multi-party systems are different from one-party and two-party systems. A one-party system is like China's – it is basically not a competitive democracy because only one party has any chance at power. A two-party system is like that of the United States. There can be many parties (as there are in the US) but only two of them are relevant and can hope to gain power. By contrast, in a multi-party system (such as that of Germany or Israel) many parties can hope to have some share of the power.

In other words a multi-party system means the existence of several popular and active political parties (three or more than— three political parties) in the political process. People are members of several political India, Switzerland, Japan, Italy and France provide four classic examples of multi-party systems. The Congress, BJP, CPI, CPM, BSP, NCP, BJD and several other political parties have been active actors in Indian politics. Different parties have been using political power in India. In India the multi-party system has been mainly responsible for the emergence of coalition politics.

3.3.9 CRITICAL APPRAISAL

Political parties play a very important and unavoidable role in modern democratic state. Their role in totalitarian states is in no way less important. This system of political parties has its own advantages and disadvantages. The advantages and disadvantages of the party system are discussed below.

It is said that political parties are in accord with human nature. Since people differ in respect of their ideas, beliefs and commitment, they have political parties. It is on account of this fact that the groups and faction of people have always been in existence and the party system is the mechanism which renders the feasibility to democratic system. A political party acts as the vehicle of ideas and opinion of the people and a powerful instrument for holding election. In other words, a party acts like a machinery or an agency by which “public opinion is translated into public policy.”

Parties act as a check against the tendency of absolutism. The role of opposition party keeps the government vigilant. It also prevents it from being arbitrary and irresponsible.

While discussing the advantages of political parties Maivder has pointed out that these bring considerable elasticity in otherwise rigid state organisation. These promote a sense of self-determination and do not allow the government to become irresponsible.

The party system has its disadvantages or demerits too. It is described as unnatural political phenomena. Members belonging to different parties, as Leacock says, remain in a state of “wilful inconvincibility with individual judgements frozen tight in the shape of the party mould”. It creates factionalism as it “tends to make the political life of a country machine like. The party in opposition is always antagonistic to the party in power. The interest of the party is given precedence over the interests of the nation. Not only this, in order to win the support of the electorates, the parties exploit religion, caste and regionalism. This leads to disharmony and disunity among all the sections of the society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 4

1. How do you understand the Bi-Party system?
2. Write the advantages of having political parties.
3. What are the disadvantages of political parties?

3.3.10 LET US SUM UP

In spite of all disadvantages of party system, it cannot be denied that they are unavoidable because the idea of partyless democracy is purely utopian. Political parties exist both in totalitarian and democratic states. Therefore, party system is an inescapable necessity.

B. A. Semester IV: **Political Science**

Course No.: **PS-401 (Comparative Politics)**

Unit III: **Political Dynamics: Democracy, Electoral Process and Party System**

3.4 FEATURES OF AUTHORITARIAN AND DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

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STRUCTURE

- 3.4.0 Objectives**
- 3.4.1 Introduction**
- 3.4.2 Democracy: Definitions**
- 3.4.3 Direct Democracy**
- 3.4.4 Indirect Democracy**
- 3.4.5 Features of Democratic Regimes**
- 3.4.6 Meaning of authoritarian regimes**
- 3.4.7 Evaluation of authoritarian regimes**
- 3.4.8 Features of authoritarian regime**
- 3.4.9 Let us sum up**

3.4.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit concerns with the features of authoritarian regimes. After going through this unit, you should be able to discuss:

- the meaning of democracy;
- the difference between direct and indirect democracies;

- the meaning of authoritarian regimes;
- evaluation of authoritarian regimes;
- features of authoritarian regimes.

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The age today we live in, is the age of democracy. Political regimes today, being practised by vast majority of nations is democratic. Even those nations where democracy is not being practised, claimed the existence of democratic form of government. In fact democracy is probably the most emotionally provocative word in the world's political vocabulary. The new emergent nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America preferred their devotion to democracy. They proclaim the superiority of democracy over communism, fascism and other totalitarian or autocratic systems of government. Even dictators too, pay lip service to democracy and communist countries call themselves as "People's democracies".

The origins of the term democracy can be traced back to Ancient Greece. Like other words that end in "cracy" – such as autocracy, aristocracy and bureaucracy – democracy is derived from the ancient Greek words "demos" (people) and "kratia" (rule or authority), hence rule by the people. In contrast to its modern usage, democracy was originally a negative or pejorative term, denoting not so much rule by all, as rule by the propertyless and uneducated masses. In classical – Greece, the citizen body has invariably excluded some persons as unqualified. Even at the height of Athenian democracy in the fifth century, 'the people' or those able to participate comprised only a small minority of the adult population of Athens while writers such as Aristotle were prepared to recognise the virtues of popular participation, they nevertheless feared that unrestrained democracy would degenerate into a form of 'mob rule'. Indeed, such pejorative implications continued to be attached to democracy until well into the twentieth century. It was not until the beginning of twentieth century that in both theory and practice democracy came to mean that the suffrage, as well as other rights of full citizenship, ought to be open to all, or almost all, permanent residents of a country.

3.4.2 DEMOCRACY: DEFINITIONS

The term Democracy has been variously defined by different writers. One school of thought holds that "Democracy means simply a particular form of government", "a form in which the people" or the "many exercise political control". The other school of thought is the opinion that "democracy is not a mere form of government, it is something more – that it is, first and foremost, philosophy of human society, a way of life", a set of ideas and attitudes motivating and guiding the behaviour of members of a society towards one another not only

in their political affairs, but in their social, economic and cultural relationship as well. Amongst the meanings that have been attached to the word “democracy” are the following:

- a system of rule by the poor and disadvantaged;
- a form of government in which the people rule themselves directly and continuously, without the need for professional politicians or public officials;
- a society based on equal opportunity and individual merit, rather than hierarchy and privilege;
- a system of welfare and redistribution aimed at narrowing social inequalities;
- a system of decision – making based on the principle of majority rule;
- a system of rule that secures the rights and interests of minorities by placing checks upon the power of the majority;
- a means of filling public offices through a competitive struggle for the popular vote;
- a system of government that serves the interests of the people regardless of their participation in political life.

Perhaps a more helpful starting point from which to consider the nature of democracy is Abraham Lincoln’s Address, delivered in 1864 at the height of the American Civil War. He called it as ‘government of the people, by the people and for the people’. This makes clear that democracy not only links government to the people, but also that this link can be forged in a number of ways: government ‘of, by and for’ the people.

The broader, more inclusive concept of democracy is well expressed by Charles E. Merriam, “Democracy is not a set of formulas, or a blueprint of organisation, but a cost of thought and a mode of action directed towards the commonweal as interpreted and directed by the commonweal”. Merriam’s ‘commonweal’ includes more than political affairs. It embraces a wide range of material objectives and spiritual ideas, ideals, raising the standard of living, cultivating and enriching human personality, and diffusing the ‘mass gains’ of commonwealths resulting from increased economic and social productivity, throughout the community without delay.

Harold Laski, stresses the demand for equality – economic and social, as well as political – as the “basis of democratic development”. He believes that “so long as there is inequality, there cannot be liberty”.

R. M. McIver indicates the difficulty of separating democracy as a form of government from democracy as a way of life, when he says, “we do not define democracy by its spirit,

since democracy is a form of government. But men have struggled towards democracy not for the sake of the form but for the way of life that it sustains.”

True democracy, is indeed, a kind of regime in which the people have the final voice. In a true democratic regime, popular will and public opinion are the final power on major questions of public policy. However, such a government exists, not as an end in itself, but as a means towards more important ends. It's a government by discussion, including rational deliberation and open choice. Public policy is determined by the principle of majority rule. In fact the main characteristics of democracy can be summarised as – safeguards for individuals and groups, by securing the regular, periodic, and peaceful change of their leaders, and by organs of effective popular representation, by the use of discussion rather than force to settle disputes, by an acceptance of legitimacy of the system under which the people are governed.

Just as ideas about what properly constitutes the people have changed, so too have conceptions as to what it means for the people to rule. The political institutions that have developed in modern democracies to facilitate ‘rule by the people’ and the ideas about political life that lend legitimacy to these institutions in democratic countries, are in some important ways radically different from those of classical Greece, the Roman republic or the Italian republics of the middle ages and early Renaissance, so different in fact that a citizen of fifth century Athens might be unable or unwilling to recognize any modern regime as democracy.

One of the most far reaching changes has been the shift of the locus of democracy from the small scale of the city state to the large scale of the modern nation state. By the end of the eighteenth century, democratic efforts, ideas and ideology were shifted away from the city state to the problem of democratizing the government of the nation state. Democratic government has, thus, varied considerably over the centuries. Perhaps the most fundamental distinction is between democratic systems, like those in Ancient Greece, that are based upon direct popular participation in government, and those that operate through some kind of representative mechanism. This highlights two contrasting models of democracy: 1) Direct democracy; 2) Representative democracy. Moreover, the modern understanding of democracy is dominated by the form of electoral democracy that has developed in the industrialised west, called Liberal democracy.

3.4.3 DIRECT DEMOCRACY

Direct democracy (sometimes participatory democracy) is based on the direct, unmediated and continuous participation of citizens in the tasks of government. Direct democracy thus makes the distinction between government and the governed and between the state and

the civil society, it is a system of popular self – government. It was achieved in ancient Athens through a form of government by mass meeting; its most common modern manifestation is the use of the referendum. The merits of direct democracy include:

- It heightens the control that citizens can exercise over their own destinies, as it is the only pure form of democracy.
- It creates a better – informed and more politically sophisticated citizen and thus it has educational benefits.
- It enables the public to express their own views and interests without having to rely on self – serving politicians.
- It ensures that rule is legitimate in the sense that people are more likely to accept decisions that they have made themselves.

3.4.4 INDIRECT OR REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

Representative democracy is a limited and indirect form of democracy. It is limited in the sense that popular participation in government is indifferent and brief, being restricted to the act of voting every few years. It is indirect in the sense that the public do not exercise power themselves; they merely select those who will rule on their behalf. This form of rule is democratic only in so far as representation establishes a reliable and effective link between the government and the governed. This is sometimes expressed in the notion of an electoral mandate. The strengths of representative democracy include:

- It offers a practicable form of democracy (direct popular participation is only achievable in small communities).
- It relieves ordinary citizens of the burden of decision making, thus making possible a division of labour in politics.
- It allows government to be placed in the hands of those with better education, expert knowledge and greater experience.
- It maintains stability by distancing ordinary citizens from politics, thereby encouraging them to accept compromise.

The most successful form of democracy has been liberal democracy founded upon the twin principles of limited government and popular consent expressed at election times. It is found in almost all advanced capitalist societies and now extends, in one form or another, into parts of the former communist world and the developing world. Political pluralism, open competition between political philosophies, movements, parties and so on, is thought to be the essence of democracy. The attraction of liberal democracy is its capacity to blend elite rule with a significant measure of popular participation. Government is entrusted

to professional politicians, but these politicians are forced to respond to popular pressures by the simple fact that the public put them there in the first place, and can later remove them. This process of accountability is strengthened by the capacity of citizens to exert direct influence upon government through the formation of cause groups and interest groups. Liberal democracies are, therefore, described as pluralist democracies within them political power is widely dispersed amongst a number of competing groups and interests, each of which has access to government.

3.4.5: FEATURE OF DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

From the above models, following features of democratic regimes can be drawn:

1) Principle of political equality: One of the core features of democracy is the principle of political equality, the notion that political power should be distributed as widely and as evenly as possible. It ensures that each individual member carries the same weight – all voices are equally loud. Ultimately sovereignty is rented with the people and denies that any class possesses political privileges or monopolies political power. It implies not merely equal voting rights, but also significant level of social equality.

2) Principle of ‘government by the people’: This implies, people govern themselves, that they participate in making the crucial decisions that structure their lives and determine the fate of their society. This participation can take a number of forms. In the case of direct democracy, popular participation entails direct and continuous involvement in decision making, through devices such as referendums, mass meetings, or even interactive television. The alternative and more common form of democratic participation is the act of voting which is central feature of what is actually called representative democracy. It empowers the public to ‘kick the rascals out’, and thus makes politicians publicly accountable.

There are also models of democracy that are built on the principle of ‘government for the people’, and that allow little scope for public participation of any kind, direct or indirect. The example of this can be found in the so-called ‘totalitarian democracies’, which developed under — dictators such as Mussolini and Hitler. The democratic credentials of such regimes were based on the claim that the ‘leader’ and the leader alone articulated the genuine interest of the people, thus implying that a true democracy can be equated with an absolute dictatorship. Popular rule were meant, nothing more than a complete submission to the will of an all powerful leader, orchestrated through rallies, marches and demonstrations. This was sometimes portrayed as plebiscitary democracy.

3) A guarantee to will of everyone: Democratic regimes give a guarantee that the will of everyone shall be duly considered and that no one shall be neglected in what is done by the

government. “Democracy”, says Prof. Hocking, “ties a nerve to every individual. It becomes a connection between him and the centre”. The government looks after the welfare of all classes of people because the government is ultimately responsible to the people as a whole and not to any particular community and class of people.

4) Highly informative: Another important characteristic of democracy is that it is highly informative. At the time general election, every reasonable opinion is given a chance to express itself. Every political party arranges meetings and educates the masses about living political issues. The result of all these is a phenomenal rise in the popular understanding of the problems of government. It would also foster amongst individual’s intellectual development, moral virtue and practical understanding. This, in turn, would create a more balanced and harmonious society and promote ‘the general mental advancement of the community’. As it has been said by C. D. Burns that, “All government is a method of education but the best education is self – education, therefore, the best government is self – government which is democracy.”

5) Character development: In democracy, people get intellectual development and they rise from narrow outlook of egoism and try to promote national character. This highlights the educative value of democratic regimes. While other forms of government produce a passive type of character, democracy led an individual to realise that, he has a share in the determination of the government and the government of the day can be promptly changed if it is which makes the average man take a genuine interest in the affairs of his country. Masses also feel that this is their land and thus, sense of patriotism develops even in common man. It instils love, affection and sense of duty towards his own country and gets ready every time to sacrifice his life and property for the motherland.

6) Promotes a sense of social solidarity: One of the important features of democracy is that it is for the community rather than for the individual. Democracy can create sense of social solidarity by giving all members a stake in the community by virtue of having a voice in the decision – making process. Rousseau expressed this very idea in his belief that government should be based upon the ‘general will’, or common good, rather than upon the private or selfish will of each citizen. Political participation, therefore, increases the feeling amongst individual citizens that they ‘belong’ to their community. Very similar considerations have inclined socialists and Marxists to support democracy, albeit in the form of ‘social democracy’ and not merely political democracy. From this perspective, democracy can be seen as an egalitarian force standing in opposition to any form of privilege or hierarchy. Democracy represents the community rather than the individual, the collective interest rather than the particular.

7) Policy of persuasion and piecemeal changes: Democracy is a government by persuasion. It is a form of government in which there is no possibility of violence and revolution. The people have always right to change the government by peaceful means. Other regimes rest to a greater or less extent on force and usually leaves no scope for peaceful evolution of government. When evolution stops, revolution begins. But it is the democracy alone that allows peaceful changes and it bases itself on freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and concerted action.

8) Development of new constellation of political institutions and practices: Modern democracy provides wider space to an individual, through the coming of entirely new political institutions and practices in order to attain his rights and interests. These include – universal suffrage, right of any citizen to run for public office, the right of political leaders to compete publicly for support, free and fair (normally secret) elections; the right of all citizens to form autonomous political parties in order to contest elections, their right to form other political associations, such as lobbying organisations and pressure groups in order to influence the conduct of the government, the existence of alternative sources of information independent of the control both of the government and of one another; institutions that ensure the peaceful departure of government leaders who lose elections, and their peaceful replacement by the winners. This combination of institutions constitutes a type of regime that is sometimes called Polyarchy.

9) Characteristic of pluralism: Modern regimes are distinguished by the existence, legality and legitimacy of a variety of autonomous organisations and associations that are relatively independent in relation to the government and to one another. This characteristic is often referred to as 'pluralism' or more narrowly, as organisational pluralism. This very feature makes modern representative democracies as 'pluralistic democracies'. It implies that the spread of democratic ideas and beliefs has greatly strengthened the tendency to apply. The idea of democracy not only to governing state but to the internal government of associations and organisations of many kinds – Trade Unions, Political Parties, Consumer and Producer Co-operatives and so on.

10) Promotion of participatory democracy: The spread of democracy to the internal authority of organisation is sometimes referred to as idea of 'participatory democracy'. It emphasizes the importance of decentralizing decision making to smaller associations, strengthening opportunities to participate in the decisions of regional and local governments, and providing opportunities for referendums and other plebiscitary devices.

11) Instils a sense of self confidence: Democracy has faith in the capacity of people to govern themselves, which ultimately develop a sense of self confidence among the people.

Even science, art literature and all other pursuits develop fully under a democratic government.

12. Some writers like Dr. Garner claim that democracy makes far greater efficiency than any other form of government. In his words, "popular election, popular central and popular responsibility are more likely to ensure a degree of efficiency than any other system of government.

Hence, the purpose of democracy is to establish, through same process of popular participation, a framework of laws within which individuals can conduct their own affairs and pursue their private interests. The ideals of democracy have been widely and enthusiastically accepted in the modern world. So broad is respect for democracy that it has come to be taken for granted; its virtues are seldom questioned and its vices rarely exposed.

1. The most fundamental argument against democracy is that ordinary members of the public are simply not competent to rule wisely in their own interests. Common man is indolent in politics. He simply does not possess the capacity to understand complex political problems and is incapable of intelligent action. The earliest version of this argument was put by Plato, who advanced the idea of rule by the virtuous, a class of philosopher kings. Where as? Plato suggested that democracy would deliver bad government; classical elitists, such as Plato, Mosca and Michels, argued that it was simply impossible, because political power is always exercised by a privileged minority, an elite. They put forth the idea that, a cohesive minority will always be able to manipulate and control the masses, even in parliamentary democracy. An average citizen does not have the time, inclination and ability to inform himself on the affairs of the state. The result is that power passes into the hands of professional politician, who is always ready to rule the masses. This states that it is in the nature of organizations, however, democratic they may appear, for power to concentrate in the hands of a small group of dominant figures, who can organise and make decisions, rather than in the hands of the apathetic rank and file

2. Critics like Alexander Tocqueville opines that democracy degenerates into the tyranny of the majority: it regards undue importance to quantity rather than quality. If for some matter, one hundred foolish men say 'yes' and ninety intelligent men say 'no' then the view of the foolish will be accepted because in democracy votes are counted not weighted. This leads to 'majoritarianism' which implies insensibility towards minorities and individuals. In final analysis only unanimous decisions can be binding upon the 'demos' and thus, restricts the application of true democratic principles.

3. A fear of democracy has sprung not so much from the danger of majority rule as from the nature of the majority in most, if not all, societies. Certain theorists suggests that democracy places power in the hands of those least qualified to govern the educated masses, those likely to be ruled by passion and instinct rather than wisdom. In 'the revolt of the masses' for instance, Ortega Y Gasset warned that the arrival of mass democracy had led to the overthrow of civilized society and the moral order, paving the way for authoritarian rulers to come to power by appealing to the based instincts of the masses. For many, this critique is particularly directed at participatory forms of democracy, which place little or no check upon the appetites of the masses.
4. Democratic regimes rely on the principle of equality but according to many critics, principle of equality is unnatural. They say that men are manifestly not equal. Physically and mentally they differ widely from one another.
5. A further argument against democracy sees it as the enemy of individual liberty. Thus fear arises but of the fact that the people is not a single entity but rather a collection of individuals and groups possessed of differing opinions and opposing interests, the democratic solution to conflict is a resort to numbers and the rule of the majority or greatest number, should prevail over the minority rights can thus both be crushed in the name of the people. A similar analysis was advanced by S.S. Mill. He believed not only that democratic election was no way of determining the truth- wisdom cannot be determined by a show of hands- but that majoritarianism would also damage intellectual life by promoting uniformity and dull conformity.
6. Party system is indispensable for democracy. But the manner in which party system actually works in modern democracies deprives country of the services of some of their best citizens. Political parties encourage hollowness and insecurity, create cleavages in the life of the nation, debase moral standards and distribute the 'spoils'. Election propaganda misguides and mis-educates people. Rigid party discipline gives little or no freedom to the individual.
7. A serious charge against democratic government is that it is highly expensive form of government. Democracy means organisation of opinion, propaganda and frequent elections which involves a great deal of expenditure. Its governmental machinery is complex and its functions involve which should be used on productive purpose, is being spent on electioneering and nursing the constituency.
8. The ethical value of democracy is also seriously questioned. Election campaigns and party meetings convened for purposes of 'nursing the constituency' are very often mudslinging campaigns where issues are popularised before they can appeal to the people.

9. It has often been said that the democracy, at it seeks on the ever changing consent of the people, is a weak government and it has failed to lay down second lines of policy over any long period. It is specially weak in the quality of its ministers, its national defence, in foreign relations and in questions of diplomacy.

Though democratic government like other human institutions had its weaknesses, yet it is the most available form of government. The world has tried aristocracy, oligarchy and monarchy at various times and found them to be generally failure, so one cannot go back to them. However , democracy can only succeed when democratic feelings synchronize with the democratic action at all levels, provided certain necessary conditions. Different writers have stated different conditions. Some have suggested reform in forms and institutions like the electoral system and the introduction of the initiative and referendum as necessary; while others lay stress on education and characters of citizens. Following are the requisite for the successful working of democracy:

- First and foremost, is the widespread habit of tolerance and compromise among the members of a community, a sense of ‘give and take’
- Provisions of adequate opportunities for the individual to develop his personality; vast disparities in the distribution of the national wealth should be progressively reduced;
- Belief in the persuasion, not force and need of attaining internal and external peace and security;
- Education in the spirit of the constitution in order to equip the citizens for the performance of his civic duties;
- High moral standard of the citizens, rational conduct, active participation, intelligent understanding and independent judgement;
- Written constitution defending the sphere of activity of each and every organ of the government;
- Freedom of speech, press, expression and association;
- Careful, intelligent, diligent and enlightened citizens;
- Local self government;
- Proper organisation ;
- Political leaders must be of huge character. Possessing the valuable qualities of head and heart;

- Independent judiciary in order to protect the fundamental rights and liberties of the citizens.

In fact, democracy is not merely a matter of political institutions, but the spirit in which they are worked. It must arise from within; it can not be imposed. For its successful operation, true democratic temper is needed.

3.4.6 MEANING OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes are the two veritable opposites of the Liberal Democratic Political system. These two types of political systems are at work in several states of the world. During the inter-war years of 1919-1939, these two political systems were so popular that once Mussolini in his speech observed, “if the 19th century was an age of socialism, liberalism and democracy, the twentieth is to be a century of authority, collectivism and totalitarian state”. Mussolini’s prediction did not prove to be correct, yet no one can deny that nearly one third of the population of the world is even today living under authoritarian political system in which there is total state control over their lives. Pakistan, our neighbour state again came under an authoritarian military rule in 1999.

Authoritarian regime is very close to totalitarian regime but very far away from liberal democratic political systems. Different political scientists have given their different views on authoritarian regimes. The following are the some important definitions of authoritarian regime

1. “The states which do not fall between the two categories—liberal Democracy and totalitarian state belong to the category of authoritarian state.”——— A. R. Ball.
2. “Authoritarian state as one in which all authority and power are concentrated in the hands of a few. I.e. the government, whose rule is essential not responsible. The people participate in few of their decisions but are subject to all of them”. - —— C. H. Dillon.
3. “An authoritarian government is characterised by the possession of supreme authority either by one person or by a minority group which is in no way accountable to the people over whom control is exercised”.——— E.B. Schulz.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. Briefly discuss the meaning of Authoritarian regimes.

3.4.7 EVALUATION OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

The rulers adopted this authoritarian systems for strong government, stability and efficiency, rapid growth and development and modernisation through forced mobilisation of resources, helpful in meeting emergencies, less expensive, possibility of strong action in favour of removal of social evils and so on. But for the people, it is exploitative in nature and always based on force which is not helpful for their personality development. The people enjoy little liberty and rights. Force and fear, violence and coercion manipulation and suppression characterises their living, this regime always involves violent political changes in the form of coups and resolutions because there is no place for peaceful and constitutional changes in the system. We can find the problem of successors. The changes in leadership are always accompanied by big and revolutionary changes.

The whole world has witnessed a lot and war oriented aggressive policies pursued by the totalitarian and authoritarian rulers. Totalitarianism in the form of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany and the inter- war years (1918-1939) were responsible for throwing the world into the pit of a very destructive war – the World War II (1939-1945).

3.4.8 FEATURE OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

A R Ball uses the term Autocratic state for an authoritarian state and gives the following important seven features of authoritarian regimes.

- 1) Important limitations are imposed on open political competition i.e. on political parties and elections.
- 2) There is absence of a dominating political ideology such as communism or fascism, although racialism and nationalism often providesome basis for attempted political uniformity.
- 3) The definition of what is “political “ is more restricted in totalitarian system than in authoritarian system.
- 4) The political rulers mostly use force and coercion to command political uniformity and obedience.
- 5) Civil liberties enjoy low priority and governmental control over judiciary and mass media is direct and considered justified in the interest of public good.
- 6) The basis for rule is found either in a traditional political elite or in a new modernising elite, often the army, which has seized power by a coup (As in Pakistan in October 1999)

or as the result of a colonial war of independence. Manipulation and suppression is the basis of the power of the rulers.

7) It is usually one group that monopolises political control in contrast to the pluralism of liberal democracies.

The authoritarian political systems are further sub classified by Almond and Powell into two categories: (1) stabilisation conservative authoritarian government; and (2) modernising authoritarian government. A. R. Ball Classified these into two parts – traditional authoritarian government and modernising authoritarian government. The latter is further sub divided into military authoritarian government and civil authoritarian government.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

1. Explain the features of authoritarian regime.

3.4.9 LET US SUM UP

Authoritarian regime is an opposite political system of the liberal democratic political systems. This authoritarian political system was adopted by different nations for their rapid development and modernisation through forced mobilisation of resources. In this system, people suffer a lot. They enjoy little freedom and rights. Fear and force, violence and coercion are the parts and parcels of this system. Limited openness is permitted.

4.1 GLOBALIZATION: MEANING, NATURE AND EVOLUTION

V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

- 4.1.0 Objectives**
- 4.1.1 Introduction**
- 4.1.2 Background**
- 4.1.3 Evolution of Globalization**
- 4.1.4 Meaning of Globalization**
 - 4.1.4.1 Establishment of WTO
- 4.1.5 Nature and Implications of Globalization**
- 4.1.6 Critical Analysis on Globalisation**

4.1.0 OBJECTIVES

- After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand
- Meaning of Globalisation;
- The evolution of globalization over the period including the establishment of WTO
- Nature and implications of Globalisation.

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Globalisation may well be the dominant political, social, and economic issue of our era. Globalisation generally refers to the process whereby capitalism is increasingly constituted

on a transnational basis, not only in the trade of goods and services but even more important, in the flow of capital and the trade in currencies and financial instruments. There is considerable debate across the political spectrum about just how advanced this globalisation process is, or is likely to become, as well as its political implications.

4.1.2 BACKGROUND

Though Globalisation as a major phenomenon appeared towards the end of 20th Century, however, its origin can be traced to as early as 17th Century. In the 17th and 18th centuries trading, investment and property rights of foreigners had evolved from European practices and treaties, and were accepted by the US after its independence – a legal expression of reciprocal obligations undertaken to safeguard the mutual economic interests of their nationals.

From the early part of the 19th century, when Britain was the dominant centre and capital exporting country, and right till the First World War there was no challenge to these principles. But after the First World War and the efforts under the League of Nations to obtain legitimacy for the earlier regimes, there has been a steady erosion of these international norms or their enforcement. After Second World War, when the US put together the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and World Bank) for the monetary and financial system and sought to create the parallel Trading system through the International Trade Organisation and the Havana Charter, there were efforts to include provisions about international property and investment rights.

The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) came into being in 1948 as a temporary arrangement, until the Havana Charter and the International Trade Organisation (ITO) envisaged under it came into being. But the US Congress refused to ratify the charter – since it would have meant ceding to the ITO some part of US sovereignty and agreeing to forego some rights of the Congress and the US government in the area of trade policy. As a result, the General Agreement has remained for 40 years as a provisional treaty – a contract among governments acceding to it, and not a definitive treaty with its own institutional arrangements. The provisions of the General Agreement are basically akin to those of the Havana Charter for exchange of tariffs and trade concessions. Additionally, there are ancillary trade policy provisions to ensure that the concessions granted to imported products are not negated by other actions of governments.

4.1.3 MEANING OF GLOBALIZATION

Although the noun ‘globalization’ appeared in a dictionary for the first time in 1961, the idea has antecedents that stretch back at least several centuries. However, the terms ‘globalize’ and ‘globalism’ were introduced in a treatise published in 1944. However, until the last

decades of the twentieth century such terminology generally resided at the margins of speech and meaning.

When a new word gains currency, it is often because it captures an important change that is taking place in the world. New vocabulary is needed to describe new conditions. In the case of globalization, the precise character of that new circumstance is much debated. Since each one defined globalization from the perspective one takes on the processes, Anthony Giddens definition somewhat widely accepted. He sees globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa”. Martin Albrow provides the most succinct and general definition of globalization as “all those processes by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single world society”.

According to John Baylis, globalization as process that involves a great deal more than simply growing connections or interdependence between states. It can be defined as “A historical process involving a fundamental shift or transformation in the spatial scale of human social organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across regions and continents”. Such a definition, according to Baylis, enables us to distinguish globalization from more spatially delimited processes such as ‘internationalization’ and ‘regionalization’. Whereas internationalization refers to growing interdependence between states, the very idea of internationalization presumes that they remain discrete national units with clearly demarcated borders. By contrast, globalization refers to a process in which the very distinction between domestic and the external breaks down.

4.1.4 EVOLUTION OF GLOBALIZATION

Although public references to globalization have become increasingly common over the last two decades, the concept itself can be traced back to a much earlier period. Its origins lie in the work of many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century intellectuals, from Saint-Simon and Karl Marx to students of geopolitics such as MacKinder, who recognized how modernity was integrating the world. But it was not until the 1960s and early 1970s that the term ‘globalization’ was actually used. This ‘golden age’ of rapidly expanding political and economic interdependence – most especially between Western states – generated much reflection on the inadequacies of orthodox approaches to thinking about politics, economics and culture which presumed a strict separation between internal and external affairs, the domestic and international arenas, and the local and the global. For in a more interdependent world events abroad readily acquired impacts at home, while developments at home had consequences abroad. In the context of a debate about the growing interconnectedness of human affairs, world systems theory, theories of complex

interdependence and the notion of globalization itself emerged as largely rival accounts of the processes through which the fate of states and peoples was becoming more intertwined. Following the collapse of state socialism and the consolidation of capitalism worldwide, academic and public discussion of globalization intensified dramatically. Coinciding with the rapid spread of the information revolution, these developments appeared to confirm the belief that the world was fast becoming a shared social and economic space – at least for its most affluent inhabitants.

4.1.4.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO)

In the last fifty years, since the founding of the multilateral trading system under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), there has been considerable liberalisation in world trade. The GATT was the result of the first round of the multilateral trade negotiations (MTNs) held in Geneva in 1947. The eighth and latest Uruguay Round of negotiations concluded at Marrakkesh, Morocco on April 15, 1994.

After seven years of protracted negotiations, a new rule-based trading system with a new apex body, the World Trade Organization (WTO), equipped with the authority of enforcing the commitments, rules and norms of discipline came into existence on January 1, 1995. The Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiations – seventh in the series of such negotiations – was unique in several respects. It covered many new areas such as agriculture, textiles, technology, intellectual property rights (IPRs), trade-related investment, services, etc. It included in its scope of liberalisation, non-tariff barriers, along with tariffs, and conceived many new norms and disciplines such as anti-dumping measures, dispute settlement procedures, safeguard measures, etc. with a view to ensuring liberalised effective market access and rule-based trade. Unlike the erstwhile GATT, the new institution – WTO – is equipped with legal authority and provisions for enforcement of the rules and the disciplines of the new trading system.

The WTO has 132 members, two-thirds of whom are developing countries. Many more countries, notably China, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, etc. are waiting to join it. Today there is a greater appreciation of the fact that a truly multilateral trading system requires the full involvement and participation of both developed and developing countries in the rule-making process.

On a broad plane, the canvas of WTO agreement is spread over three compartments: goods, services and intellectual property rights. First, **Trade in goods** of all descriptions is to be governed under GATT re-formulations. Second, **Trade in Services** of all kinds (e.g. business services including professional and computer; communication; construction and engineering; distribution, educational and environmental services; financial services; health services; tourism and travel services; recreational, cultural and sporting services;

transport services, and consultancy) is to be regulated under General Agreement on Trade in Services. Third, Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) would set out the terms and conditions for the international flow of intellectual property.

The Service Agreement requires all governments to publish laws and regulations and to establish “inquiry points” for information, calls upon the member countries to enter into mutual or multilateral arrangements to facilitate mutual acceptance of standards, qualifications, etc., to work for the elimination of monopoly of service providers, through WTO’s intervention, and so on. In particular, it requires that natural persons that are themselves service suppliers or employed by service suppliers shall be governed in terms of the specific commitments given by countries relating to the entry and temporary stay of such persons, and that, with the exception of cable or broadcast distribution of radio and television programming, a country must provide all service suppliers access to any public telecommunication network.

To understand this in a better way below are the given clarification to some of the issues relating to WTO.

4.1.5 NATURE AND IMPLICATIONS OF GLOBALISATION

The establishment of World Trade Organisation led to much larger trade among nations which have been estimated at between \$250 billions and \$600 billions. For the first time the WTO framework brought most of the world into one trading unit/bloc. At a fundamental level GATT, and now the WTO, are no more than frameworks for a mediation of international trade relations, such that conflicts about trade can be avoided and trade can take place in a stable and predictable environment.

Some of the positive achievements of the Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiations, that have been incorporated in the Final Act and the WTO framework need to be explicitly recognised. Over the past several years, many countries, which were vocal advocates of free trade and free play of market forces, had been adopting many market-intervention policies to serve their own national interests. For example, huge subsidies to the agricultural sector given to the farmers in European Union were indeed a source of distortion in agricultural trade. The Agreement on agriculture, as part of WTO, has mandated phased reduction of agricultural subsidies.

Throughout the world, especially in the developing countries, what was hesitatingly pursued earlier was now put through with a rare degree of political resoluteness. Practically, the whole of the old policy fabric came under change. Foreign investment was now invited in a wide range of areas; technology import was no more a forbidden word. The public

sector had started “shedding its unproductive weight” while the private sector, nature enough as it was believed to have grown by then, had started entering into those difficult and strategic areas that were once beyond their investment capability. External trade had opened up in a significant manner and the flow of exports and imports was freed of numerous procedures; a wide range of quantitative restrictions were done away with.

For example, in India, till 1997, Quantitative Restriction on imports, notified to the WTO on Balance of Payment grounds, were operative only for 2714 tariff lines; in March 2000, their number had come down to 1429, including 685 tariff lines under special import license. In compliance with the commitments, QRs on 714 (out of 1429) tariff lines stood withdrawn with effect from April 1, 2000, while those on the remaining lines removed on March 31, 2001. Furthermore, as many as 576 of the 812 items reserved for small scale industry, that were earlier protected through QRs, are already under Open General Licence (OGL).

Similarly, the Union Cabinet on December 15, 1998 approved the introduction of a Bill that would amend the Patents Act, 1970 so as to enable compliance with international obligations contained in the Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) Agreement of the WTO. The Government of India had ratified the WTO agreement which calls for enactment of a law before January 1, 1999 to give effect under the TRIPS agreement with regard to Layout Design (Topographies) of Integrated Circuit.

THE various branches of intellectual property law – patents, trademarks, designs, and copyright – ensure legal exclusivity in the market. In the new world economy, these property rights are invaluable in the fight to achieve and retain market shares. The term intellectual property presupposes an exclusive right to perform some well-defined activity, mainly manufacturing or marketing. The increase in the number of patents granted and trademarks registered indicate that intellectual property rights provide immense commercial returns. The importance of recognising intellectual property rights is understood worldwide, and almost all countries have framed statutes for their protection as these laws safeguard ideas and information of commercial value.

Intellectual property rights have brought to light the increasing advantages of proprietary rights in an age of economic liberalisation and cut-throat trade competition. Possession of a legally-recognised intellectual property helps one maintain an early lead in the business. They recognise the monopoly of the patent grantee or a trademark owner and monitor the activities of market competitors and licenses.

4.1.6 CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON GLOBALISATION

As against the positive aspects of the WTO system mentioned above, there are the negative aspects also which need to be highlighted. Even though the developing countries desired that the nexus between trade, finance and development should be recognised in the new framework of the rules, this nexus does not seem to be prominently incorporated in the provisions of the various Agreements. The responsibility of strengthening the trade and development capabilities of the laggards and thereby ensuring level playing field in a highly competitive environment of the new trading system rests with the powerful actors of the game. Unfortunately, the new trading system seems to favour the relatively more powerful actors and leaves the weaker segments of the world economy to fend for themselves in the emerging competitive globalised market-based world economic environment. The erstwhile approaches of development co-operation, resource transfer, technology transfer, special provisions for the developing countries, adopted under the initiatives of the UN system, have now been given a complete go-by under the presumption that competitive forces unleashed under the new trading system of WTO would improve all around efficiency and human welfare. This presumption is questionable both in terms of its analytical rigour and practical feasibility.

The new trading system of WTO seems to give unduly greater emphasis to private sector and competition and fails to recognise the strategic role which the State has to play in promoting the right kind of development with emphasis on equity and social infrastructure. Over-emphasis on competition and declaration that Intellectual Property Right (IPR) is a private property seem to have created an erosion of the concept of public good and thereby provided a partial view of the development process.

Many argued that there is a conflict between free trade and fair trade. The literature on international trade has categorically argued that free trade does not necessarily imply fair trade. While it is difficult to define clearly as to what is meant by fair trade, its general meaning of fairness in terms of the distribution of the benefits of trade among the different member countries is sufficient enough to bring out this conflict. It is observed that a liberalised trading environment would also imply iniquitous distribution of the benefits of trade as between the stronger players and the weaker players. It appears that relatively more powerful players in the trade space have evolved many new instruments of safeguarding their national interests, while the weaker players have been forced to implement their commitment of liberalisation.

There are some serious differences in perceptions of the developed countries, developing countries and least developed countries. It throws light on the fact that developing countries were disadvantageously placed during Uruguay Round negotiations. The power-oriented

approach adopted by the major trading powers was quite evident. Most issues were first tended to be negotiated between the US and the European Community (EC), and once a tentative trade-off was established, the negotiation process was progressively expanded to include other countries. At times, the US even threatened unilateral action by invoking the provisions of the Super 301 section of the Omnibus Trading Act of 1988 against countries like Brazil, India and Japan for their alleged barriers to US investment.

With the advent of WTO and other international bodies that regulate transnational commerce, intellectual property rights of the Third World are under siege. Transnational big-business interests commercially exploit traditional knowledge and bio-diversity of these countries. Inadequacy of legal coverage and the lethargy in the administration contribute to the crisis and make the Indian inventor, breeder and farmer vulnerable to the onslaught of transnational commercial companies. It may be relevant to recall the comments of Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer on the nuances of intellectual property rights, when he said that free trade – the new mantra – cannot be an alibi for trading India's freedom.

Similarly, India has advocated that the World Health Organisation (WHO) must be strengthened to remove the inequities created by the Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) regime so as to take on board the concerns and care of public health and other needs of the poor in the developing world. While inaugurating the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) Forum on "Intellectual property policy and strategy in the 21st Century", the Union Commerce and Industry Minister, Murasoli Maran said that "Nations are more interested in strengthening the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Instead, WHO must be redesigned and expanded to fill up the gaps and remove the inequities created by IPR and to take care of public health and other needs of the poor. Only this kind of attitude can save humanity and the world". Maran also said that India is of the view that international co-operation on IPR issues and the international development agenda must complement each other. He also stressed the need for a new international treaty under a sui generis system for the protection of traditional system of medicines. The Indian Commerce Minister felt that intellectual property must also address major human problems of food and disease and that its benefits should transcend to all creators and users without distinction or discrimination of any kind. Maran further stated that "The deployment of resources should be directed in such a manner so as to ensure equal opportunity among nations to enjoy the fruits of the knowledge-based progress. Notwithstanding frequent re-affirmation of this self-evident point of view, there is today a mismatch between what is being perceived, specially by developing and least-developed nations".

Similarly the WTO rules on investment measures (TRIMS), which were envisaged to provide guarantee for the foreign investment, also have an adverse affect on Developing countries by increasing income disparity and instability. As David B. H. Denoon pointed

out “Distribution based on market power is worse than arbitrary from the perspective of developing countries; it is inimical. It condemns them to a vicious circle of relative poverty, from which they can emerge only by chance. Their relative poverty requires national spending on the necessities of the day, on penalty of collapse. Little is left over for the accumulation of capital and technology at a faster rate than developed-countries, which would enable them to close the international gap in living standards and end their relative poverty”. [David B. H. Denoon (ed.), *The New International Economic order: A US Response* (London: McMillan, 1977), p. 44.]

The South Commission’s report also echoed similar concerns:

A multilateral investment regime designed to promote the interest of capital exporters in general and the TNCs in particular would clearly have serious adverse effects on development prospects of host countries... In their dealings with TNCs developing countries have to contend with market structures characterised by significant elements of market power and monopoly and a complete lack of transparency in the behaviour of transnational actors. In such a setting, it is a travesty of the facts to describe as trade distortions measures adopted by the host countries to minimise the harmful and maximise the favourable impact of foreign investments on the national economy. In a world of monopolies, transfer pricing and internationalisation of economic processes represented by the TNCs, investment regulatory measures are not trade distorting. Clearly all countries need screening procedures to block unacceptable and counter-productive activities or projects or to modify the terms of their operations to make them consistent with their development objectives... If proper balance is to be observed, preserving the integrity of the development must also be given prime consideration... Equal attention must be paid to those aspects of the behaviour of TNCs – restrictive business practices, restrictions on freer flow of technology, market-sharing arrangements etc... Any equitable multilateral arrangements must then also include acceptance by TNCs and the governments of developed countries of their own responsibilities to curb restrictive practices of TNCs and to facilitate the freer transfer of technology to the Third World”. [*Statement on Uruguay Round*, Mexico, 5-8 August, 1988, paras. 62-68.].

The implications of WTO rules in relation to the Agriculture sector also one of the concerned areas of Developing countries. There are some large economies, with very large populations dependent on agriculture (like China and India), where through government support for increased domestic production, there is now food self-sufficiency and small surpluses. Yet there are large sections of under-nourished people due to low purchasing power. Satisfaction of these needs, provision of employment, the need to generate surpluses in agriculture for investment in industry and ensure availability of domestic wage goods – all this means there is a need for continued domestic support to increase production.

The development dimension of agriculture has been specifically addressed by India in several interventions in the negotiating group. These have emphasised the very large proportion of population dependent on agriculture, and the need to increase production and productivity, and the important role of government, given the imperfect nature of the markets, in providing inputs at reasonable cost, research and development and extension services, provision of cheap credits and assurance of remunerative prices. Such essential measures for development taken by governments cannot be equated with trade restrictive and distortive measures in the Industrialised countries.

For many of the developing countries which were organised around *South Commission*, the introduction of these new areas, like agriculture, within the auspices of WTO could best be described as the concerted efforts on the part of the developed countries to reshape the existing international trading system that would promote maximum freedom of Transnational Corporations (TNCs) to operate world-wide. As the report of South Commission aptly pointed out,

The Uruguay Round...is an attempt to tackle issues of strategic importance for the design and management of the global economy, including the linkages between money, trade and finance. In a number of respects the outcome of the Uruguay Round may vitally affect the domestic development and future options of the developing countries. [South Commission, Statement at Third Meeting at Mexico 5-8 August, 1988.].

Until the mid-1970s, the South's major effort – through appeals, declaratory statements, and political pressure through resolutions in the UN General Assembly or UNCTAD and elsewhere – was to seek benefits through minor reforms of the international economic systems and their rules. In most cases, this amounted to please for special treatment and exceptions favouring the Third World. Some progress was achieved such as in Generalised System of Preferences (GSP), Overseas Development Aid (ODA) targets, and multilateral concessional financing etc. But there were no fundamental challenges to the system.

The countries of the South had begun realise that however hard they strobe, and whatever the “special treatment” given to them in principle, they could not develop without changing the asymmetry in international economic relations and systems. This provided the overall setting for the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the UN General Assembly, and the adoption of the NIEO Declaration and Programme of Action, and the Charter of Rights and Duties of States. Many of the UN agencies brought up their own long-pending issues for negotiations at this time as part of the New International Economic Order (NIEO), and helped to confuse and diffuse the debates. On the other hand the IMF/IBRD and GATT ignored NIEO altogether – even the words not figuring in their literature.

The global negotiations issue dragged on, figuring on the UN General Assembly agenda even in 1986, after the launching of the Uruguay Round negotiations. But for all practical purposes the UN effort for NIEO and restructuring through Global Negotiations came to an end after Reagan said “NO” at the meeting of 22 heads of governments in Cancun, Mexico in November 1981. This is how Julius Nyerere, Chairman of the South Commission and former President of Tanzania, a participant at Cancun, describes what happened there: “When we met at Arusha, at the ministerial meeting (of the Group of 77) in 1979, there was optimism and hope about the thrust for NIEO etc... even at Cancun (1981), there was still some hope. But the hopes were dashed there because Reagan said ‘no’ and that was it. It was all very revealing... What was very revealing, and very depressing, was that after Reagan said ‘no’, the other leaders from the North said that was the end”.

In order to implement radical changes in the framework of world trade and economy, the Northern countries had to find a ‘vehicle’. They decided that the vehicle would be GATT. GATT was designed for, and its rules and principles deal with, issues of market access for products. The new process being set in motion seeks something much deeper. It is not only intended to seek markets, but to change production patterns and the capacity to produce. By granting foreign capital internationally assured privileges in investment, intellectual property, and services, its monopoly of knowledge and technology is sought to be perpetuated. All this will affect the structures of production and constrain the capacity of others to produce and compete. The net outcome is much more sinister for the weaker countries. In economic terms, it will take the Third World back to its colonial days and stifle development.

Against to this attempts to undermine the vital interests of Third World countries a broader coalition of NGOs had come together against moves for a new WTO trade round with new issues to be launched at Seattle. This NGO coalition had campaigned around the slogan “No New Round, But Turn Around.” They had mobilised governments, legislators, enterprises and broad groups of grassroots movements in the South and the North on the real implications to development of the corporate agendas pushed by the U.S. and EC, and had perhaps played an important role in highlighting the negative effects on development of the Uruguay Round agreements. They have called for a change of course and for developing an “alternative, humane, democratically accountable and sustainable system of commerce that benefits all” and that entails “rolling back the power and authority of the WTO.” There were many violent demonstrations in Seattle, Washington, Prague, Quebec and elsewhere.

The demonstrations have called for removal of the WTO’s Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights, and restoring national patent protection schemes, as well as elimination of

the Trade-Related Investment Measures Agreement from the WTO, expanding and operationalising the Special and Differential Treatment for developing countries and for reform of the Dispute Settlement System which was enforcing an illegitimate system of unfair rules.

The governments which dominate the WTO, especially the U.S., the European Union, Japan and Canada, and the transnational corporations which have benefited from the WTO system have refused to recognise and address these problems. They are still intent on further liberalisation, including through the expansion of the WTO, promoting free trade as a goal in itself.

Due to these contradictory interests of Developed countries and Developing countries, the next round of trade negotiations, which were held in Seattle in December 1999, have collapsed. Despite the fact that the Ministers and officials were involved in consultations for close to 36 hours at a stretch, they could not reach an agreement on any issue. The big revelation, however, was the insistence of all countries – small and big – that they be involved in the decision-making process. As the Ambassador to the WTO of one small developing country said, “Seattle was a lesson in humility to a group of developed countries which thinks it owns the WTO”.

4.2 WOMEN'S ISSUES: WELFARE TO EMPOWERMENT

Seema Shikhavat

STRUCTURE

- 4.2.0 Objectives**
- 4.2.1 Introduction**
- 4.2.2 Empowerment of Women**
- 4.2.3 Women Issues**
- 4.2.4 Back Ground and History**
- 4.2.5 Issue Of Suffrage**
- 4.2.6 Contemporary Women's Movements and Issues**
- 4.2.7 The Non Western Context**
- 4.2.8 Let us sum up**
- 4.2.9 Suggested Readings**

4.2.0 OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this lesson is to deal with the nature of women's movements with reference to the concept of women's empowerment and women's issues, diversities both vis-à-vis the nature of women's specific and general problems as well as the nature resistance. After going through this lesson, you should be able to:

- explain the concept of power and empowerment;

- discuss the nature of the women's movements;
- understand various issues raised by women's movement in the different parts of the world,
- know the diversities and differences within the women's movements and politics

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Women's empowerment and women's issues in the contemporary context are a part of the new style of politics of the new social movements that has become the basis of direct participation of the community in public life. It is beyond doubts that women, who constitute almost 50% of the total world population have not been accorded the due place and are rather denied their rights for a long time. A number of studies revealed that despite constitutional provisions and enactment of subsequent legislations in all the countries including India, women's participation in the public undertakings has been at low ebb. The granting of equal rights to women in the constitution has built an illusion of equality that has not been transmitted into reality. In this context it become imperative for women at national and international level to organize themselves and raise their voice for share in power on the one hand and the specific issues concerning them on the other hand.

To discuss women's empowerment and women's issues it is essential to first look at the three parallel processes in societies and situations where women find themselves in adverse conditions compared to men.

Firstly, in the sphere of structural elaboration, sex differentiation evolves in a manner such that societal roles that are linked with production, governance and ecclesiastics become more or less the exclusive domain of the males.

Secondly, the biological capacity of the female to reproduce the human species and ensure its survival has led to her being assigned roles which have withdrawn her from the wider economic, political and religious arena of societal participation and have tied her down to the home.

Paralleling these two processes, there takes place the progressive elaboration of an ideology that rationalizes this shift from differentiation to discrimination and institutionalises by means of customs, rituals and religious prescriptions. The present predicament of women in such societies arises therefore from the major contradiction between structural inequalities between men and women and cultural rationalizations of them.

Thus the gender inequalities since time immemorial at all levels social, economic, political as well as cultural have left women with no option but to raise their voice to get their due place in the society.

4.2.2 EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN

A first glance at the concept of empowerment brings to mind a very positive idea which encapsulates much of what is desirable for one of the most vulnerable, exploited and neglected section of society – women. Yet on closer examination it appears to be a Pandora's box that contains more problems than clear solutions. Empowerment is the concept that has been used in a number of different ways, in different contexts, in different situations and with different meanings. It has become a paradigmatic mantra, repeated in much of the literature on development, but also on poverty, social welfare alternative therapies and so on. Yet there have been relatively few attempts to systematically understand it or to draw out meanings. Its meaning has remained more contextual than universal.

The dictionary meaning of the word empowerment is “to give authority to”. Empowerment is a derivative term in the sense that it is derived from power. Power is usually thought of as a key concept in political discourse. The dictionary meaning of power is “authority or legal ability”. The politics – national as well as international revolves around the concept of power. Power, as a concept, in its broader context not only includes political aspect but social, economic, cultural and psychological as well. Power, thus in broader context means the ability of a person to take decision on its own. This is exactly how the word ‘empowerment’ is related to the concept of power. Empowerment in simple words means to provide a person an opportunity for authority to take decisions on its own.

Empowerment in the context of women is not easy to define. Women all over the world have faced common as well as specific problems – social, economic, political, psychological depending upon their place of living, religion, caste, race etc. Thus empowerment for a woman in general terms, means to have control on the situations, to become aware of their rights, to become active participant in public affairs, to break stereotype, to challenge gender inequality, to raise the issues which confront her, to raise her voice and challenge the patriarchal social order etc. Much of the literature about women in political and social movements stress on the idea of participation as ‘consciousness raising’ which leads to empowerment. Thus Jane Jaquett in her edited book on the women's movement in Latin America traces the ways in which “participation in itself empowered many women activists, sometimes leading them to question gender power imbalances within their marriages, their families, their communities and even their parishes”. This stresses the development and educational role that participation in political and social life can play. Paulo Freire says, “active educational method helps a person to become consciously aware of his context

and his condition as a human being as subject, it will become an instrument of choice. At that point he will become politicised". Gendered dimensions of empowerment focuses on structures of discrimination against women that reduce their opportunities to a large extent. It also involves a focus on the relations of patriarchy and challenges the previous rigid dichotomy of public/private. Gita Sen define empowerment as "changing power relations in favour of those who previously exercised little power over their lives".

In *The Human Conditions* (1958) Arendt distinguishes power from force and strength and does not base her idea of power within market relations. She offers instead on unbounded concept of power that "cannot be stored up and kept in reserve for emergencies like the instruments of violence, but exists only in its actualization. Where power is not actualized it passes away, and history is full of examples that the greatest material riches cannot compensate for this loss". For Arendt, "Power is always ... a power potential and not on unchangeable, measurable, and reliable entity like force or strength, while strength is the natural quality of an individual seen in isolation, power springs up between men when they act together and vanishes the moment they disperse.

Arendt's view thus makes available the idea of power arising from cooperation, not necessarily dependent on sheer force.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. To discuss women's empowerment and women's issues it is essential to first look at the three parallel processes in societies and situations. What are they?
2. How do you understand the meaning of "Empowerment"?
3. How do you define the concept of "Women Empowerment"?
4. How does Arendt distinguish power from force and strength?

4.2.3 WOMEN ISSUES

Women's empowerment is directly related to the women's movements since 1970's which are organised around the issues including those of civil liberties, ecology, identity, ethnicity, education, health etc. These are the issues which directly confront women. The movements for raising women's issues more or less operate outside the party politics and more importantly shift the nature of women's participation from the traditional methods of representation to a direct collective action. These movements, as a part of the new social movements, challenge the traditional methods of representation like elections based on party competition which have not been able to fulfill the democratic requirements of extensive participation. These new social movements, including the women's movement's put forward the fact that even in the most institutionalised democracies of the world, the marginalised

and powerless sections of the society are left out by the system of power. These movements giving voice to these marginalised people, including women create alternative political spaces and fulfill their quest for participation. The women's movements in the form of new social movements not only operates in the public sphere but even in the social and cultural sphere since the roots of their (women's) powerlessness lie in these social and cultural spheres. It not only provides them a basis for direct participation in the political system but it also helps them challenge the dominant social and cultural values which underlie their oppression.

The raising of women's issues in the form of women's movements is universal because it represents the resistance of women all over the globe. All over the world women have been organizing them selves against the conditions of oppression they face beings women there by reflecting the common concerns of women and the need for a common platform across the boundaries of state, nation, race, community and culture. At the same time, it needs to be argued that despite the global nature of women's movements, most of these are located in the local contexts and represent the raising of local issues and responses of women to their specific conditions of oppression. For example, the black women have been more vocal in raising the race related issues while the Indian women have been raising socio-economic issues most of the times.

4.2.4 BACK GROUND AND HISTORY

The women's movements are essentially modern phenomenon yet women's issues are rooted in the history. However the issues have been raised only in the modern times. The contemporary context of women's involvement based upon the issues of their rights and interests was not to be seen in the pre-modern times. The particular political conditions of the Western Europe and North America led to the emergence of earliest of the women's movements in the 18th century demanding women's access to social and political rights. Thus the first issues which had been raised was the demand for equal rights, access to education, equal pay for equal work etc.

The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed the organisation of women all over the world against inequalities based on sex. In the NorthAmerica and European countries the suffrage issues was the foremost while in other regions legal reforms were concentrated on. The demands were related to removing of the sex-based barriers to rights within the family and the society – a response against the patriarchal system of family rights.

The response of women in many other countries was created by the conditions of colonialism, nationalism, socialism, modernisation, etc.

In many colonial countries, the influence of the colonial powers on subject states led to the consciousness among women for their rights, while in many other, it was the result of the liberal constitutionalism that resulted in the movements for the rights of women. Further in some cases the exclusion of women from the revolutionary activities led to women's protest and organization while in other cases it was linked with the political movements organized at the national levels.

Even before the organization of women's movements, women were mobilised in many countries for participation on issues, which did not previously touch their gender interest. Thus, in many colonised countries women participated in large numbers in national liberation struggles. Women participated in movements in many countries against discrimination based on race. Further, in countries like Indonesia women's movements were concerned with the nationalist causes and issues. Women also participated in labour movements organised all over the world to raise the labour issues. Though these movement activities may not have directly led to the organisation of the women's movements to raise the gender specific issues yet it had its impact on the evolution of the gender consciousness. These movements raising the issues of general nature initiated the process of organisation and mobilisation of women and thereby led to the potentiality of their organisation around the gender specific issues later.

4.2.5 ISSUE OF SUFFRAGE

An important issue that became the focus for the organisation and participation of women at political level was the demand of the suffrage. Continued denial of women's right to vote in many countries in the 17th and 18th centuries led to organization of women's group around the issue. For example, the struggle for women's right to suffrage in countries like United Kingdom and United States of America. Consequently 19th century witnessed large-scale mobilisation of women around this issue. In due course of time and especially after the Second World War, the equal right to suffrage was granted to women in most of the countries of the world. Yet there are some countries where women are still denied to voting rights.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 2

1. The movements for raising women's issues more or less operate outside the party politics. Elaborate.
2. The raising of women's issues in the form of women's movements is universal because it represents the resistance of women all over the globe. Explain.
3. The women's movements are essentially modern phenomenon yet women's issues are rooted in the history. How do you understand this?

4. Write the role of women in anti-colonial or national liberation movements.
5. An important issue that became the focus for the organisation and participation of women at political level was the demand of the suffrage.

4.2.6 CONTEMPORARY WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND ISSUES

Contemporary women's movements became visible in the 1960's. The beginning was marked in the USA where many women groups raised the issue of discriminatory norms and laws which had the effect of reproducing women's subordination in society. By the 1970's this phenomenon of the women's activism became apparent in Asian and Latin American countries as well. The establishment of the US AID women in Development office in 1973 served as a focus for the growing lobby for attention to women's issues. This was followed making of the world conferences on women and development starting in 1975 at Mexico City. This conferences, which was held in the International year of women, raised the issues of women's educational opportunities, better employment prospects, equality in political and social participation and increased welfare are services along with the recognition of women's unpaid work and a re-evaluation of women's role. These initiatives were kept alive during the 1976-85 UN decade for women with the help of institutions such as UNIFEM and INSTRAW. The second world conference on women held in 1980 in Copenhagen and the third conference held in 1985 in Nairobi led woman to become more organized and rise gender specific issues. By the time the fourth world women's conference was organized in Beijing in 1995, the women's movements had already become a global reality.

The movements in the west particularly in North America and Europe during the decade of seventies focused on two issues related to women's control over their bodies and the access to economic independence. Some other issues raised were related to the demand for the reproductive right. It was a demand for a right to safe and legal abortion. Similarly there was an impassioned movement around the issue of abortion and contraception in France. In the West Germany women organized movements around the issues of family planning and abortion. The movements in Britain focused upon the issues of body and representation of women.

4.2.7 THE NON WESTERN CONTEXT

The major issue of emancipation of women has been tackled in an altogether different way by the women's movements in many countries beyond Europe and the USA. These movements have located their struggles in their social and economic perspectives rather than strictly following the pattern of the western movements. Hence, these non western

movements in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are at variance with the western feminism in terms of the issues raised and perspectives. The key issues for the women's organization in the western countries have been the reproductive rights, especially the right to the abortion and the contraception, the women of the developing countries have not responded to these issues very enthusiastically for two reasons. Firstly there have been other issues which they considered more important in the context of their poverty and underdevelopment. Secondly the issue of the reproductive rights for the women of the south has been linked with the state controlled family planning programmes. These programmes have been pursued in such a manner that these have harmed the interests of women themselves. Hence, along with the right to control fertility, the issue of reproductive health has emerged as a crucial issue for women of the developing countries. Women in these countries have been campaigning against hazardous contraceptives, irrational drugs, and adverse impact of globalisation on women. They have been emphasizing on the issues of the general health; education, eco-advancement and raising the level of awareness of women. The issues of strengthening of traditional systems of knowledge including the knowledge of the traditional medicine and indigenous health practices have also been emphasized.

Similarly, the issues of the impact of the global political economy and the developmental policies upon women have also been raised by the contemporary women's movements in the developing countries. Here the issues like those of inflation, displacement, deforestation, unemployment, and poverty have been raised. Since all these has affected women. The women's movements have also been raising the demands for sustainable development based on principles of equality and equity. They are also asking for basic rights of survival, right to livelihood, right to common property resources, right to identity and need to regenerate the environment. They have also been raising the issues like those of displacement resulting from the development and consequently, instead of being viewed merely as the recipients of the development programmes, women are now being considered as the key actors of the development process. In this regard mention need to be made of the unique form of movement known as 'Ecofeminism' whereby women are raising the issues of inequality between human and nature as well between men and women.

The issues raised by women's groups in the non-western countries are also influenced by their cultural, social, economic and political specificity. For example: the most crucial issue raised by the Japanese women's movement has been the double burden of work and continued social discrimination against women. These issues were raised by Japanese women in the local social and cultural contexts whereby they had to work with less pay and poor working conditions on the one hand and still have to manage domestic front without the help of men on the other hand.

The women's movements in India were initially organized around the issues of sexual and domestic violence but gradually other gender-specific issues were also raised. During the period of eighties and early nineties the feminist issues related to sexuality of women, right to choice and control over their fertility and bodies, reproductive health, violence on the images of women, sex stereotyping and sex-objectification of women in India etc also assumed importance. Later the issues like amniocentesis, female feticide, and women's reproductive health also emerged as crucial ones. As the women's movements matured in India women's politics was also extended in the context of their 'dalit', 'tribal', 'peasant' or the 'worker' existence. Thus the issues specific to the context of the dalit women or the tribal women or the peasant women were also raised.

The women's movements in Pakistan have been organised against the imposition of the religious restrictions on the women's public behaviour and their occupational choices. In Latin American countries women's movements have reflected the diversity and complexity of these countries. Women's movements of Peru echoing the diverse realities of women represent multiple voices and disparate issues. The feminist organizations raise the issues related to conditions that women face because they are women, their sexuality and sex-objectification, at the same time the women's groups have been also been involved in the movements of the miners, workers and teachers. Women have also been organised around issues of specific nature mainly dealing with problems that they face due to their poverty and deprivation. Women have also used the forums provided by the trade unions and the political parties to raise their voices.

It is thereby imperative to understand that there is plurality and diversity within the women's movements and as such the idea of universal basis of women's movements is resisted on the grounds that women are not undifferentiated mass and do not constitute a monolithic category. They are placed in different socio-economic contexts provided by the categories of class, race caste, community and religion and are implicated in many forms of domination and exploitation. Gender plays an important role in the subordination of women yet it is intervened by these categories. Thus, their exploitation is both 'specific' as well as 'simultaneous'. Thus the dalit women's exploitation is specific to her reality of being a 'dalit' as well as 'woman' and the black woman is simultaneously exploited both as 'black' and as 'woman'. The crucial point is that though both are exploited as women, yet the nature of exploitation of each is located in the specific context of their being 'dalit' or being 'black'. In this regard both women have to emancipate herself by raising the issues that are specific to them besides raising the general ones. Hence there are different 'sites of oppression' and therefore different 'sites of issues' as well as different 'sites of resistance'.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 3

1. Write briefly about growth in women movements from 1960s onwards.
2. The non-Western movements in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are at variance with the Western feminism in terms of the issues raised and perspectives. Explain.
3. The issues of the impact of the global political economy and the developmental policies upon women have also been raised by the contemporary women's movements in the developing countries. Elaborate.
4. What are the issues raised by women's movements in India?
5. The idea of universal basis of women's movements is resisted on the grounds that women are not undifferentiated mass and do not constitute a monolithic category. How do you understand this?

4.2.8 LET US SUM UP

Women's empowerment and women's issues are essentially modern phenomenon. Women's empowerment though is a contextual concept seems to be about women taking control over their own lives, gaining the ability to set their own agendas, and to change events. It involves changes in the process and structures that underpin women's subordination. Women's movements since mid 70's have been remarkable landmarks in raising the gender issues. This movement in different parts of the world impinges on issues that lay in the domestic, cultural, social, economic and ecological spheres of society. The women's movements are organised to challenge the established practices and the dominant discourse that have made women a marginal and vulnerable section of the society. However, there has been a variety in the issues raised by women in different parts of the world. The plural issues raised by women all over the globe indicate that women do not necessarily have identical problems and do not speak in a single voice. On the contrary, the contemporary women's movements have emphasized differences among women. Therefore, the women's issues and their movements are defined by diversity.

4.2.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

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B. A. Semester IV: **Political Science**
Course No.: **PS-401 (Comparative Politics)**
Unit IV: **Emerging Issues in Comparative Politics**

4.3 CLIMATE CHANGE: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE OF NORTH AND SOUTH

Bhawana Khajuria

STRUCTURE

- 4.3.0 Objectives**
- 4.3.1 Introduction**
- 4.3.2 Climate Change and the Current Ecological Crisis**
- 4.3.3 Towards Global Concerns**
- 4.3.4 Eco-Politics- the Third World Scenario**
- 4.3.5 Kyoto-Protocol**
- 4.3.6 North Versus South countries**
- 4.3.5 Environmental Movements**
- 4.3.6 Let us sum up**
- 4.3.7 Suggested Readings**

4.3.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the current ecological crisis, its genesis and development;
- Discuss global environmental issues.
- Understand the North-South controversy on Environment.
- Analyse the Eco-Politics as witnessed in the Third World.

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Human kind relies heavily on the environment for its natural resources in order to secure its survival as well as its comfort. However, the ruthless exploitation of this vast natural resource has caused severe imbalance in the eco-system leading to a crisis of survival. Industrialisation, modernisation, the cash economy of the corporate sector as well as the population growth and economic disparities exert extreme pressure on a fragile environment and its limited resources. The present ecological crisis is basically a result of conflict between greed and need, luxury and survival, growth and development. The governments, particularly those in the developing countries, are caught in the dilemma. They try to reconcile this conflict by enacting more laws, policy resolutions, that deal more with the symptoms, ignoring the root causes.

4.3.2 CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE ECOLOGICAL CRISIS

Until the 1960s, environmental degradation was considered the domain of the industrialised world alone. Countries such as U.S.A., U.K., Japan and Germany, with their chimney fumes and automobile pollution were associated with industrial pollution. These countries regularly used their rivers as sewer pipes to international waters and emitted almost all the petroleum polluting the seas. Moreover nations of the developed world, in their desire to gain military supremacy also severely damaged the environment. Chemical weapons were used in the First as well as the Second World War. Biological weapons, manipulating the environment for military purposes which the U.S.A. restored to the strategic use of Oil Slick (deliberate release of raw petroleum into the ocean to check intrusion of troops) and other such military methods and devices-are totally devoid of any concern for the environment and harm it immensely. Nuclear weapons and radio-active devices possess the potential to totally destroy all traces of life on earth. The environment has already been contaminated due to the testing of nuclear and radioactive devices in deserts and oceans.

The developed world, after having thus reaped the benefits of industrialisation and militarisation, eventually turned to ecological concerns. For the developing world, having set out on the path of development only recently, industrialisation is a panacea for its development problems whereas militarisation offers a means of overcoming its subordinate and weak position in global politics.

4.3.3 TOWARDS GLOBAL CONCERNS

The United Nations Conference on Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972, for the first time, brought countries together from both the developed and developing world together to consider the future of the planet. By the time of the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro in 1992, environmental issues were up front on the international stage and a matter

of global concern. Today the world has more than 200 international environmental laws, about 600 bilateral agreements and more than 150 regional legislations (mostly in the European Union). Institutions like the United Nations and its specialised agencies, international non-governmental organisations like the International Union for Conservation of Nature, Friends of Earth, World Wide Fund for Nature; regional institutions like the European Union and South Asian Association for the Regional Co-operation (SAARC), along with many special purpose institutions such as the International Tribunal on Law of Sea-facilitate implementation of these environmental laws.

The international environmental law making process, however, is highly skewed during preparation of drafts as well as in the lobbying for their acceptance. There is an urgent need for its democratisation in order to ensure more effective participation of developing countries like India.

The developed countries insist that the developing countries are causing immense damage to the global environment and, thus must be held responsible and checked. The developing countries, on the other hand, argue that the former have brought upon them the current ecological crisis and if it has to be resolved, they must provide the monetary resources to clean up the mess they have created. Moreover, they argue that developed countries must also provide environment friendly technology to the developing countries at affordable rates. Whereas, the developed 'North' having already attained an advanced stage of development can now afford to pay attention to environmental issues, the developing 'South' insists on sustainable development where it does not have to pay for the sins of the North. In the international arena, however, it is the North that enjoys a superior position. Even so, the Third World forums such as NAM, G-77 and G-15 provide the platform for articulation of the concerns of these countries in the international arena.

4.3.4 ECO-POLITICS: THE THIRD WORLD SCENARIO

The Stockholm Conference brought about a remarkable change in the thinking and attitudes of the Third World countries in the context of environmental concerns. They no longer perceive environmental protection as antagonistic to their national interest. An environmental concern has been growing in almost every Third World country. Though the magnitude of the problems as well as commitment of the political elite varies from country to country, yet due to the increasing awareness, many governments have established national environmental policies and official agencies to deal with these problems. Latin American countries like Venezuela, Mexico and Brazil have full fledged departments and ministries. Similarly, governments in Asian and African countries have established various departments and official agencies, Pollution Control Boards and National Environmental Commissions vested

with regulatory powers for protecting environment. The government of India has also established a Ministry of Environment.

Judicial activism and public interest litigations have emerged as potent weapons to combat the growing ecological crisis. Besides non-governmental and voluntary organisations are also playing a vital role in mobilisation and articulation of public opinion in favour of environmental concerns.

Legislation is another extremely important tool for environmental protection in the hands of modern state. The Environmental Protection Act (1986) in India, Law of Environment (1976) in Venezuela, legislations in various SAARC countries as well as in various African and Latin American countries form part of the global strategy to preserve the environment.

Governments in the Third World see legislation and policy making as means of combating the ecological crisis confronting humanity. Most such measures are superficial and in the absence of any substantial awareness at the grass root levels, playthings in the hands of the politicians and bureaucrats to be used to secure their self-interest. Policy making as a device for creating and maintaining vote banks, for perpetuating one's power and economic aggrandisement, is common place in most developing countries. Vested interests are given primacy and people's interests are relegated to the background. Moreover, the legislatures, so quick to enact laws regulating most aspects of industrial and development activities are wary of sanctioning the enforcement budget. This along with lax enforcement leads to a unique situation where the gap between enactment and enforcement is immense.

Environmental policies must consider the interest of those who depend on it and are affected by its depletion and degradation. These people have a continuing interest in living in tune with nature and in replenishing its resources. The demands of this, often poor, section of the society, are often articulated by the urban middle class and elite. In the context of a coalition between the affected people and the middle class/elite spokespersons, the real issues tend to get clouded and lost in attempts to draw national and international attention.

4.3.5 KYOTO PROTOCOL

The Kyoto Protocol is an international treaty, which extends the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) that commits State Parties to reduce greenhouse gases emissions, based on the premise that (a) global warming exists and (b) man-made CO₂ emissions have caused it. The Kyoto Protocol was adopted in

Kyoto, Japan, on 11 December 1997 and entered into force on 16 February 2005. There are currently 192 Parties to the Protocol. The Kyoto Protocol implemented the objective of the UNFCCC to fight global warming by reducing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere to 'a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system'. The Protocol is based on the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities". Recognizing that developed countries are principally responsible for the current high levels of GHG emissions in the atmosphere as a result of more than 150 years of industrial activity, the Protocol places a heavier burden on developed nations.

Under this protocol countries that are parties to the UNFCCC are classified into two categories, giving rise to a third category including those countries that do not belong to the first two categories. They have different commitments imposed on them. These three categories are defined as: 1) the industrialised countries that were members of the OECD in 1992 and the countries with Economies in Transition (EIT); 2) The countries consist of the OECD members excluding the EIT parties. They are required to provide financial resources to developing countries to undertake emission reduction activities as also develop and transfer environment-friendly technologies to the developing countries as well as EIT parties. Many countries that were not listed are mostly developing countries, including India. Some of the countries that are least developed and especially vulnerable to the effects of climate change are given special consideration under the UNFCCC.

According to the Kyoto Protocol, first category countries agreed to control the emissions of the following six sets of GHGs, not controlled by the Montreal Protocol: carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), nitrous oxide (N₂O), hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs), perfluorocarbons (PFCs) and sulphur hexafluoride (SF₆).

In 2009, the United Nations climate change conference was held in Copenhagen, Denmark. There was a widespread hope to the world community about the conference that it would bring a significant policy and commitment to reduce the emission of greenhouse gases. But, the conference couldn't make a consensus decision and thus the accord of the conference was not passed unanimously.

4.3.6 NORTH VERSUS SOUTH COUNTRIES

The Kyoto Protocol has also become a debate between developed and developing countries. According to some scholars (mainly from developing countries), there are a few concerns related to the direction the global climate regime is taking, which can be categorized into three sections:

- Although the principle of equity was central to the discussions of global climate change and even until the adoption of the UNFCCC, it has not been part of most the discussions ever since, and more specifically since the Kyoto agreement.
- The focus of the regime is heavily weighted on minimizing the burden of implementation of Kyoto reductions on polluting countries (industries), rather than on the vulnerabilities of the communities and countries at greater risk and disadvantage because of climate change.
- The limelight is now on the global carbon trade and how to manage it, rather than on the reduction of GHGs (which is the main objective of Kyoto Protocol).
- Although the United States was a leader in drafting and implementing the Montreal Protocol, such is not the case with the Kyoto Protocol. For key countries, including the United States, the payoff structure is fundamentally different for the two agreements. For most of the key countries,

4.3.6.1 PERSPECTIVE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Developing countries, taken as a group, have contributed much less in terms of historical emissions, including greenhouse gases (GHGs), than developed countries. Since the beginning of the debate on global climate change and global warming and necessary actions to reduce emissions to limit the rise in temperature, developing countries have argued their case on the principles of equity and common but differentiated responsibility (CBDR). Under the principle of equity, developing nations argue that each person in the world has equal rights in the atmosphere, which is a global commons. Hence, they argue that the developed nations, which have contributed most in terms of emissions, with lesser populations, should reduce their emissions before asking developing nations to reduce theirs. Invoking the principle of CBDR, developing nations argue that as the developed nations have more capacity and capability to undertake the task of reducing emissions, they should contribute more to that task and also help developing nations in terms of financial assistance, technology transfer, and capacity building. Thus, developing nations argue that they will undertake measures to cut emissions, but not at the cost of their socioeconomic development.

4.3.7 ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

The recent environmental awareness and concern in the developing countries is not sufficiently visible at the grass roots level. Consequently, environmental aspects have remained, more or less, peripheral in these countries. Social movements in these countries aim at fulfilment of the basic survival needs and hence cannot devote their attention to other issues. It is only with time that they acquire the status of ecological or environmental movements. Such movements, unlike in the west, are not necessarily for saving humankind's heritage and

endangered species or for a clean and green earth. Rather their primary concern is the survival of the poor. In the case of India, for instance, the initiative for environmental protection comes not so much from the people concerned as from spokespersons who seek to attract wider support such as non-governmental organisations. The present trend indicates that environmental movements that are linked to immediate livelihood and human rights issues rather than environmental concerns as such can only arouse popular support. Getting people's support on pure ecological grounds is rather difficult at the present level of socio-economic development of India.

The origin of modern environmentalism and environmental movements in India can be ascribed to the Chipko movement in the Central Himalayan region in the 1970s. The movement has its roots in the pre-independence era. Many struggles were organised to protest against the colonial forest policy in the early twentieth century. People's many demands centered around benefits of the forest especially that the right to fodder should go to the people. These struggles have continued in the post-independence period against the forest policies. The Chipko flash point came in 1973 when a small co-operative in Chamoli district was denied the right to ash trees which it required to make light weight yokes for small hill bullocks. The Forest department allotted the same ash trees to a private sports goods manufacturer in Allahabad to make cricket bats. The angry villagers decided to prevent the transaction. In order to protect the trees, they embraced them. The protest sufficed and the company withdrew. The people's movement got its name 'ANGWALTHA' the Garwahi term for embrace. This was later translated into more direct Hindi exhortation, 'Chipko'.

The movement had its origin in the people's desire to have greater control of natural resources. Because they felt that their survival as Himalayan forest-dwellers was being threatened by outsiders. It was only subsequently that the movement acquired the colour of an environmental movement standing for afforestation, prevention of soil erosion and landslides - basically understanding 'what the forest wants.'

No other forest-based movement could attract such public support or influence over public policy. This is so because of its linkages with the local people's livelihood. It involved large-scale participation not only of men but of women as well. Moreover, it sought to integrate multiple objectives without losing track of the initial objective.

The most popular movement in the environmental history of India, however is the movement against the Narmada River Valley Project. The movement started in the late seventies but gained momentum only in the eighties. To begin with, it centred around the issue of human rights. Some of its leaders at present such as Medha Patkar were working towards proper rehabilitation programmes for the 'dam displaced' people. Their demands

included stopping the construction of the dam and resettlement and rehabilitation of the dam ousted. The movement organised and mobilised the ousted, mostly the tribal; thus gaining wider public attention. The movement captured the attention and drew support at not only national but the international level as well. Eventually environmental issues and demands for rethinking the strategy of development through big dams were raised.

The Narmada movement like the Chipko movement, started with addressing the problems of livelihood of the local people, traversed into human rights issues and eventually focussed on environmental concerns. While suggesting an alternative developmental paradigm. The leadership has been able to address all these issues simultaneously in an effective manner. Moreover, the activists are actually involved in the socio-economic developments of the tribal communities and are building schools and dispensaries etc. Moreover the movement has been able to attract the international attention at a time when protesting the environment in the South has become a major agenda of the international policy of the North.

Other ecological movements, such as opposition to Tehri Dam, however, could not garner as much support due to their single objective-seismic impact and submergence of forestlands.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. How has the developed world contributed towards the creation of the current ecological crisis?
2. Why did developed and developing world come together in 1972 over the issue of environmental crisis?
3. What are the shortcomings in the international environmental law making process?
4. Mention some of the steps taken by the third World Countries to counter and control environmental pollution?
5. Mention some reasons for the wide gap between enactment and enforcement in the context of environmental issues in the third World?
6. Write a short note on environmental awareness in the Third World?
7. What were the initial concerns of the Chipko Movement? How did it get its name?
8. Why is the Narmada Bachao Andolan so popular?

4.3.8 LET US SUM UP

Unplanned and short-sighted industrialisation and mindless militarisation have created an ecological crisis of catastrophic dimensions. Awareness regarding this aspect increased at the international level especially in the developed world around the 1970s. Today, however there exists numerous treaties and legislations at the international, regional and national levels, to save the planet. A number of people's movements have come up in various parts of the world. There continues, however, a clash of interests between the North and the South on both allocations of blame as global movement to secure the environment. The Third World is also a part of the global movement to secure the environment. There exists however, a lack of awareness of such issues at the grass root level. Movements that have only environmental goal often fizzle out, Whereas movements that address basic survival issues enjoy massive support and attention. Clearly, under the prevailing socio-economic conditions, environment is not on the priority list of the majority of the people.

4.3.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

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Krishna, Sumi, *Environmental Politics : People's Lives and Development Choices*, New Delhi, Sage, 1992.

Chand, Attar, *Environment Pollution and Protection*, New Delhi, H. K. Publishers, 1989.

4.4 HUMAN RIGHTS: MEANING, SIGNIFICANCE AND TRENDS

Rainoo Bhai

STRUCTURE

4.4.0 Objectives

4.4.1 Introduction

4.4.2 Meaning of Human Rights

4.4.3 The United Nations and Human Rights

4.4.4 Significance of Human Rights

(a) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

(b) Important International Conventions on Human Rights

4.4.5 Let Us Sum Up

4.4.6 Suggested Readings

4.4.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit enables you to understand the following with regard to Human Rights:

- An understanding of Human Rights
- Role of United Nations
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Significance of Key International Conventions of Human Rights

4.4.1. INTRODUCTION

Human Rights is a topic of global concern that cuts across major ideological, political and cultural boundaries. Knowledge and awareness of human rights is essential as a tool for the observance and protection of human rights and for creation of a climate of public opinion in which gross abuses of human rights can be checked. Education of human rights can create moral and mental inhibitions and a sense of shame on the part of violators and political violators of human rights. It also acts not only as negative obligations for creating an environment in which man can live with dignity and honour. Most of the states have granted to their citizens these rights in one way or the other. Thus, Human Rights belong to a person and affirm his dignity.

4.4.2. MEANING OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Human Rights have been described as those minimal rights that every individual must have by virtue of his being “a member of human family” irrespective of any considerations. They are based on mankind’s demand for a life in which the inherent dignity of a human being will receive respect and protection. According to western political and philosophical thinking human rights are innate in individuals and are intrinsic factors in the “equality of the human persons.” They are, to quote the words of president Jefferson, “inherent and inalienable rights of man” and hence a state that violates them in its laws and its actions breaches one of the very prerequisites of civil co-existence between states and may legitimately be brought to account.

Although there is no such universally acceptable definition of the term “Human Rights” but it can be understood as the ‘right to life, liberty, dignity and security of a person’. Human Rights are sometimes called fundamental rights or basic rights or natural rights. As fundamental or basic rights, they are those which must not be taken away by any legislature or any act of government and which are often set out in a constitution. As natural rights, they are seen as belonging to man and women by their very nature. Therefore, Human Rights are the inalienable rights of a man and are common to all regardless of caste, colour, religion, race etc.

Every country, whether developed or developing expresses concern for the promotion of Human Rights. This concern was translated for the first time in the ‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ adopted by United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948 and the subsequent adoption of the international covenant of Civil and political rights (1966) and the Covenant of Social, economic and Cultural rights (1966).

In India, the protection of Human Rights Act of 1953 defined Human Rights as the rights relating to liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Indian constitution as embodied in the Fundamental Rights and the International Covenants.

Human Rights, being dynamic, inalienable and indivisible, and the fundamental to the dignified existence of individuals. They are neither utopian nor legal dicta to be of concern to jurists and academics. They have a direct impact on the quality of life in society.

4.4.3. THE UNITED NATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The United Nations, since its establishment has been continuously concerned with the advancement of human rights. Its founder members realized that the international peace and security depend on the recognition and observance of human rights along with other things. In fact, the purpose of maintaining international peace and security was nothing but to preserve the life, liberty and happiness of the individual. Since the UN members could not aspire to create a just world order by disregarding human rights, they agreed to lay the foundation of the organization on the pledge to promote and protect them.

The preamble of the UN Charter states, “the peoples of the United Nations express their determination to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of human person, in the equal rights of man and women and of nations large or small.” One of the four purposes of the UN is the promotion and encouragement of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion (Article 10). The charter also vests responsibility for the realization of human rights and freedom in the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and the Trusteeship Council. In sum, the charter can be regarded as a instrument for human rights and freedoms.

4.4.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The significance of Human Rights can be understood by having an insight into the following :

(A) UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The task of elaborating and spelling out human rights norm was assigned to the commission of Human Rights which drafted an “International Bill of Rights,” consisting of a declaration, a covenant and measures of implementation, which was subsequently transmitted to the General Assembly and on 10 December 1948, the Assembly proclaimed in a resolution the first part of this bill of rights as the universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since that day 10, December is observed as the Human Rights Day throughout the world. The Declaration was adopted “as a common standard of all people and all nations.” The UDHR can be considered as a Magna Carta for all mankind. It has a great influence on the emerging world order, as it is not only inspired many domestic legal systems of newly

emerging Afro-Asian states to include a Bill of Rights in their constitutional law, but also inspired three regional human rights instruments, the European Convention on Human Rights, the inter-American Convention on Human Rights, the African charter of Human and People's Rights.

Besides drafting the International Bill of Rights, UN has over the years promulgated a large number of treaties dealing with specific types of human rights violations including genocide, racial discrimination, slavery, apartheid, discrimination against women, torture etc. In November 1989, the UN adopted yet another convention that is on the Rights of the Child. Thus, it can be said that with the signing of the Charter of the drafting of the rights, under the UN auspices, the matter of human rights has been internationalised and universalised. Moreover, how the individual is no longer an object of internal law but has become its subjects.

(b) Some Important International Conventions on Human Rights

Following are some key international conventions on Human Rights :

- (i) The 1951 Convention on the Preservation and Punishment of Crime of Genocide : It provides for prosecution of any one charged with commissioning acts intended to destroy, in whole or the part a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.
- (ii) The 1969 International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination : It prohibits discrimination and dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred.
- (iii) The 1981 Convention of Elimination of all forms of discrimination against Women : It prohibits discrimination in public life, education, employment, health, marriage and the family.
- (iv) The 1987 Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, inhuman Degrading treatment or punishment : It holds state parties responsible for preventing torture and punishing torture, even those acting under orders.
- (v) The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child : It defines primary health care and education, among others, as rights of all children.

The Human Rights ensure prosperity in society by having a satisfied and productive people. Social and economic rights take care of the weaker and less privileged sections of

the society by providing them equality of opportunity in the matters of education, employment and mobility. Equality in enjoyment of public facilities and in access to public employment enables upward mobility of the down-trodden. Economic opportunities and equality enables the citizens to strive hard and become more productive, which in turn adds to the overall prosperity of the society.

The most important feature of the contemporary international human rights, that it is based on the principle of non-discrimination. Every individual irrespective of his origin, religion, race sex etc. can claim himself as a member of human society. More significant is the fact that all states and nations despite their historical, economic, social and cultural differences on ideological diversities have universally accepted these 'rights.' More over, these rights have not been drafted by any philosopher or jurist or by any single nation state but by a truly international consultative body that is the United Nations, representing mankind.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISE 1

1. What is the meaning of human rights?
2. How do understand the role of UN in promoting Human Rights?
3. Describe the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
4. What are the International Conventions on Human Rights?

4.4.5 LET US SUM UP

In spite of all such efforts by the international organisations to promote respect and observance of human rights there are situations of human rights violation throughout the world especially in those states which have inter-state conflicts intra-state conflicts. Therefore, there is a strong need for faith in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and courage to implement the basic inalienable rights of all human beings and thereby discourage human rights violations.

4.4.6 SUGGESTED READINGS

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