

Semester-II

Course Code: POLS 202

Comparative Political Analysis: Concepts and Recent Theories

Objectives: The course content is related to major concepts and recent theories of comparative politics. After going through it students will be able to comprehend various concepts and theories of modernization and development as well as the elite culture that has shaped the present day political regimes. The focus of the course is to highlight the development of state, the debate on its current status and the working of processes of democratization and constitutionalism in contemporary times.

Outcome: The course will enable the students to achieve a comprehensive knowledge about comparative politics and to acquire skills and methods of analyzing different political systems and processes keeping in view factors like culture, society, political institutions and constitutional features.

UNIT-I: CONCEPTS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS

1. Political Culture and Political Socialization
2. Political Development, Political Modernization and Political Decay
3. Classical Political Elite Theory, Concept of Power Elite and Democratic Elitism (Mosca, Pareto, Michels, C. Wright Mills and Schumpeter)

UNIT-II: DEVELOPMENT THEORIES AND PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION

1. Theories of Modernization and Post colonial Concept of Underdevelopment
2. Dependency, World System Theory and Theory of Unequal Exchange (with Special Reference to A.G. Frank, Wallerstein, Samir Amin)
3. Process of Democratization and Waves of Democratization (Samuel P. Huntington) and Present Debate on Development and Democracy

UNIT-III: CONSTITUTIONALISM

1. Evolution of the Concept of Constitutionalism, its meaning and Characteristics
2. Elements and Foundations of Constitutionalism, Crisis and Prospects of Constitutionalism
3. Concept of Constitutionalism: Western and Marxist

(ii)

UNIT-IV: THE STATE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

1. Defining the Concept of State and Recent Development in State Theory
2. The Advanced Capitalist State and the Socialist State
3. Globalization and the State

Suggested Readings:

1. Almond, G. and Powell, B. Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach. Boston: Little rown, 1966.
2. Amin, Samir, Unequal Development, Haddocks: Harvester Press, 1976.

Unit-I
Lesson-1
POLITICAL CULTURE

Structure

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Learning Objectives
- 1.2 Political Culture as a New Concept
- 1.3 Meaning and Definitions of Political Culture
- 1.4 Components of Political Culture
 - 1.4.1 Cognitive Orientation
 - 1.4.2 Affective Orientation
 - 1.4.3 Evaluative Orientations
- 1.5 Types of Political Culture
 - 1.5.1 Parochial Political Culture
 - 1.5.2 Subject Political Culture
 - 1.5.3 Participant Political Culture
- 1.6 Mixed Political Culture
- 1.7 Determinants of Political Culture
- 1.8 Utility of the Concept of Political Culture
- 1.9 Let us Sumup
- 1.10 Check Your Progress Exercise
- 1.11 Glossary
- 1.12 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 1.13 Suggested Readings
- 1.14 Terminal Questions

1.0 Introduction

Politics is one of the unavoidable fact of human existence. Everyone is involved in some fashion, at some time, in some kind of Political system. The participation of each one of us in The political system is always influenced by values, beliefs, attitudes and orientations about politics and political objects. In other words, the sociological – psychological environment always influences the working of the political system. While analysing politics, particularly human behaviour in politics, one has to analyse this environment. The concept of Political Culture has been formulated for this purpose.

Each political system is embedded in a sociological and psychological environment—the set of values, beliefs, orientation and attitudes of the people towards politics, i.e., the political culture, or as *Davies and Lewis* write: “Political Systems operate within the framework of a set of meanings and purposes - the political culture of the society.”

The study of politics can never be complete and real without studying it in relation with its political culture. This necessity has given rise to efforts aimed at conceptualization of Political Culture. A pioneering contribution in this direction has been made by *Gabriel Almond* to whom goes the credit of introducing this concept.

1.1 Learning Objectives

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

- Understand the concept of Political culture
- Know the components of Political Culture
- Explain the types of Political Culture

1.2 Political Culture as a New Concept

In traditional political science, some attempts were always made to Study the human environment of political institutions. Such concepts as National Morale, National Character, National Psychology and some others were used for this purpose. However, little effort was directed towards a comprehensive and systematic analysis of all aspects of the environment of politics. This weakness of the traditional political science has been eliminated by the development of the concept of Political Culture which enables [the political scientists to analyse and classify political systems on the basis of their political cultures. *Lucian Pye* and *Sidney Verba* have rightly observed. “Political Culture is a recent term which seeks to make more explicit and systematic, much of the understanding associated with long-standing concepts as political ideology, national ethos and spirit, national psychology and the fundamental values of a people.”

1.3 Definitions of Political Culture

- Explaining The meaning of the term. *Rose and Dogan* have observed: ‘The concept of Political Culture is a convenient shorthand way of referring to the values, beliefs and emotions that give meaning to political life.’ The sum total of individual beliefs, values and emotions constitutes the political culture of a country.
- In the words of *Almond and Powell*, “Political Culture is the pattern of Individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a Political system.” Political Culture consists of those attitudes, values and skills, which are current in an entire population as well as those special propensities and patterns which may be formed within separable parts of the population,
- **Roy Macridis observes** : “Political Culture means commonly shared goals and commonly accepted rules.”

- According to *A.R. Ball*, “Political Culture is composed of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society related to Political System and to political issues.”
- *Pye and Sidney Verba* observe, “Political Culture consists of the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values which define the situation in which political action takes place,”
- According to *Samuel Beer*. “The components of Political Culture are values, beliefs and emotional attitudes about how government ought to be conducted and what should it do.”
- According to *Dennis Kavanagh*, “Political Culture is an expression to denote the emotional and attitudinal environment within which the political system works.”
- *Eric Row* observes: “A Political Culture is a pattern of individual values, beliefs and emotional attitudes.” (Modern Politics - An introduction to Behaviour and institutional).
- *R Rose* offers a comprehensive definition when he writes. “The Political Culture of a nation consists of the characteristic attitudes of its population towards basic features of the political system - the community to be included within its boundaries, the nature of the regime, the definition of what government is expected to *do* and refrain from doing and the role of individuals as participants and passive subjects of government.”

From these definitions, it becomes clear that just as culture is an accumulation of thoughts, values and objects - the social heritage acquired by us from preceding generations through informal as well as formal learning likewise, Political Culture is the sum total of values, beliefs, orientations and attitudes of the people which they learn or acquire from the system and which influences their behaviour as actors of the political system, it is the psychological environment that surrounds the political system and affects its working.

1.4 Component of Political Culture

For analysing the political culture of a political system, we can adopt the conceptualization of Almond. He observes, “Political Culture can be analysed and measured in terms of its two components - orientations and political objects, because political culture is basically a sum total of the orientations of the people towards political objects..” This acceptance gives rise to the need for defining these two terms : (i) Orientation and (ii) Political Object.

What is Orientation?

Wasby offers a very simple and comprehensive definition of orientation. He defines it as “an outlook, either generalism nature or focussed on a limited aspect of one’s surroundings. These outlooks, which cover more than Individual attitudes or opinions, help the individual sort out, emphasize and evaluate the stimuli coming from the world around him A particular pattern or aggregate of political orientations becomes a political culture.” Orientations have three dimensions or components :

1.4.1 Cognitive Orientation

These refer to the orientations resulting from the knowledge and beliefs about political objects, e.g., knowledge about how the whole political system works, who are the leaders and what are the current problems of polity?

1.4.2 Affective Orientation

These involve orientations resulting from feelings of attachment, involvement, rejection, and the like, about political objects, e.g., feelings of alienation or rejection towards the political system or positive identification with the system as a whole, etc.

1.4.3 Evaluative Orientation

These include judgements and opinions about political objects, which usually involve applying of value standards to political objects and events. These three dimensions of orientations are inter-related and may be combined in a variety of ways, even within the same individual as he considers various aspects of political system. These significantly influence the working of the political system. The demands and supports which flow into the Political System, and consequently the authoritative values made by the political system, are greatly determined by the orientations of the people.

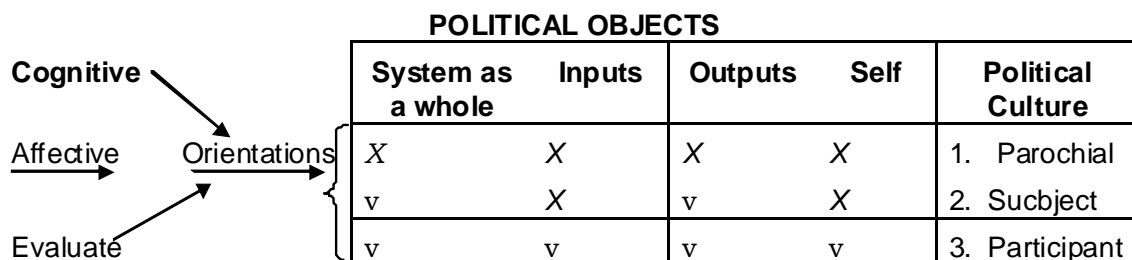
In order to establish the nature of general orientation of the people towards politics, information must be gathered about the three dimensions of orientations – Cognitive (Knowledge of), Affective (Feelings for) and Evaluative (Judgement about) political objects

What is Political Object?

Orientations of the people are directed towards political objects. A political objects is an object which acts as a stimulus for generating orientations. Explaining objects of political orientation. Almond and Powell observe, “Objects of political orientation included the political system as a whole, particular political roles or structures (political parties, Interest groups, Legislature, Executive, Judiciary, Rights, etc.) individual or group incumbents of such roles (president, Prime Minister, Cabinet, Ministry, etc.) and specific public policies and issues. They also include other political actors and the self as political actors.

1.5 Types of Political Culture

By relating orientations of the people towards the four categories of political objects, *Almond* specifies three distinct types of Political Cultures-Parochial, Subject and Participant Political Cultures. These are as under :



1.5.1 Parochial Political Culture

It characterises traditional societies in which the people are backward and ignorant about their political systems. In such systems, there is very little specialisation of functions and there is combination of economic, political and religious roles. Individual orientations towards the four categories of political objects is negatives. He is ignorant of the agencies at government. He is aware to only his local community. He is not oriented to political action.

1.5.2 Subject Political Culture

Such political culture is found in a society where people are oriented to the system as a whole and to its specifically output aspects. Orientations towards the other two objects, *i.e.*, inputs and the self as political actor are absent Individual; accept the system and its outputs passively, even negatively. They accept the values created by the system uncritically and passively. They do not attempt to participate and change the system. This type of Political Culture is found in developing societies.

1.5.3 Participant Political Culture

In this kind of political culture, the individuals are fully aware of the four objects. They are active members of the polity, are conscious of their rights and duties, and are aware of the things which are happening as well as of the ways in which these are happening. Individuals have knowledge of, feelings for and judgement about the four categories of political objects. They participate in the activities of the political system and are continuously engaged in evaluation and criticism of the system. This type of political culture is found in developed societies.

1.6 Mixed Political Cultures

However, these three types of political cultures are extreme types. No society is characterised by a single variety of political culture. In fact, as *Almond* himself states that all political systems are of culturally mixed character, The decision about the type of political culture is made on the basis of predominant patterns of orientation to political action within that society. No political culture exists in a pure form. In every society, a mixture of these varieties is found. Almond refers to four mixed types of political cultures. These are : (1) The Parochial-Subject Culture, (2) The Subject-Participant Culture. (3) The Parochial-Participant Culture, and and (4) The Civic Culture, which combines ail characteristics of all three 'pure' types-Parochial-Subject-Participant Political Cultures.

Political Cultures have been classified by several other political scientists-into several other kinds or types :

- (1) **Civic Culture** : It characterises developed societies like the American society, in which people though governed through their elected representatives, keep on taking active pan in various processes ot politics.

- (2) **Secular Political Culture** : It characterises a society in which people are secular in their outlook and all of them participate in decision-making process, which is worked as a rational process. The traditional and oriental altitudes are voluntarily changed through dynamic decisions,
- (3) **Ideological Political Culture** : In this type of political culture, people are guided and controlled in favour of political orientations which are determined, encouraged and based on a particular ideology. Through controlled political socialization, propaganda and educational system, the desired orientations are sought to be developed among the people of the political system.
- (4) **Homogeneous Political Culture** : Such a political culture exists where people have been living under a political system which has been continuously characterised by the same set of values, beliefs, orientations and altitudes towards political action. There are different political parties and groups but they share common long-cherished values, ideas and ideologies.
- (5) **Fragmented Political Culture** : It characterises a political system in which different people and their groups share different types of values or ideologies. In this type, different sections of society have different patterns of cultural development.

Some Political Scientists make a distinction between elite Political Culture and Mass (general people) Political Culture.

The political systems operating in different societies of the globe can be classified in terms of their political cultures.

1.7 Determinants of Political Culture

Or

Factors responsible for development of political culture

The following can be described as the key determinants or factors of Political Culture :

1. **The Historical Factor** : History plays an important role in the making and evolution of Political Culture. Historical events always influence the shaping of political culture in a big way. French political culture has had a deep impact on the French Revolution and the “Declaration of Rights of Man and of Citizen.” Likewise, the American Declaration of independence, the War of Independence and the Civil War of mid – 19th century exercised a big influence upon the American Political Culture. In the case of British Political Culture, the signing of the Magna Carta 1215, Petition of Rights 1628, the 17th century struggle between the King and the Parliament over the issue of supremacy, the Glorious Revolution of 1688, etc. have all played a deterministic role. Soviet Political Culture (1917-1991) was determined by the Socialist Revolution of 1917. The Indian Political Culture bears the influence of events of the freedom struggle and the contact with western civilization and culture. As such, the Political Culture of each society is greatly influenced by the Historical events.

2. Political Continuity or Discontinuity : The continuity or discontinuity of a political system determine the nature of its political culture. Continuity of political process helps the evolution of a participant political culture and secures the linkage between the Past and the present. "The importance of political continuity in a country like Britain, " writes A.R. Ball, "lies in the fact that their older values have been allowed to merge with modern attitudes undisturbed by violent internal strife or domination by foreign power." British Monarchy stands merged with Democracy, Conservatism stands supplemented by liberalism. In the U.S.A., too, the continuity of political tradition has helped the evolution of a developed and participant political culture.

Pakistan's stunts with democracy between two long periods of military dictatorships have hindered the process of development of a uniform and clear political culture. People of Pakistan struggle for democracy while living under a military dictatorship but fail to manage the political system when it becomes democratic. As against this, continuity of political development in a uniform democratic way is gradually helping India to develop a democratic political culture.

3. Geographical Factor : Geography plays a big role in determining the political culture of the society. Favourable location has helped Britain to meet successfully foreign invasions. Small size has helped Britain to maintain the continuity of its political traditions. The vast size and diversities have helped the Americans to accept the values of equality and freedom for all. Geography did play a role in the spread of socialism to Eastern European countries. The Swiss political culture clearly reflects the impact of the geographical features, of Switzerland. Acceptance of 'Neutrality' as a national value has been secured, and it stands determined by the geographical location of Switzerland as a small country surrounded by four big neighbours.

4. Socio-Economic Factors : Socio-economic factors always play a deterministic role in laying down the foundations of the political culture and in securing a change in the orientations of the people towards political objects and actions. Levels of poverty, employment, urbanization, literacy, etc., play a leading role in shaping the political culture of a society. In this age of science and technology, the development of agriculture and industry always influences the political culture. The development developments in the field of science and technology have their impact on the process of transportation and communication migrations and immigrations, inputs and exports, revolutions and wars. All these factors, in turn, lead to changes in political values and beliefs of the people. Increasing urbanisation and the rise of big metropolitan cities always lead to a mixing of the people with different values and orientations. These mixtures always play a big role in introducing changes in the political culture.

5. **Ethnic Factor** : The existence of ethnic differences and ethnic conflicts among several ethnic groups or minorities which live in the society always determine the nature of political culture. Ethnic pluralism as manifested in linguistic, cultural, religious and social diversities play a deterministic role in the evolution of the political culture and the regional sub-political cultures. Ethnic differences and conflicts give rise to the emergence of strong sub-political cultures within the national political culture.
6. **Ideological Factor** : The concept of political culture refers to orientations - cognitive, affective and evaluative, towards political objects and actions. These orientations are greatly influenced by the ideology or ideologies that are popular with the people. As a set of principles offering an explanation of a given phenomenon or even life in society an ideology plays an important role in forming and changing people's values, commitments and orientations. It influences the cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations of the people towards political objects and actions. Ideology of Marxism determined the nature of political cultures of several states which later on adopted socialism as the value. Influence of ideology of Liberalism has now been instrumental in changing the orientations of the people of socialist states towards their political system. Indian Political Culture bears the impact of the ideology of Liberal Democratic Socialism. All these factors are, in the main the determinants of political culture. Together, these provide the foundations to political culture. A study of the political culture of a political system must involve a study of these determinants.

1.8 Utility of the Concept of Political Culture

The concept of Political Culture has definitely enhanced the ability of the political scientists to analyse the psychological environment of the political system comprehensively and systematically. It has codified and synthesised into a style, a well-developed concept, all that was studied in an abstract and crude fashion through such traditional concept as National Morale, National Character, National Psychology and the like.

The Concept of Political Culture has been instrumental in helping realistic and actual behaviour comparative studies, both micro and macro, in respect of the political systems working in different societies.

Accepting the value of this concept, *Lucian Pye* observe ; 'The concept of political culture can-be of great value in helping the political analyst relate the psychological dimensions of cultural change to the larger issues of political development. Political Culture provides a means of linking micro analysis and macro analysis.'

Political Culture Approach to the study of politics has made several important contributions to politics and comparative politics studies, which can be described as under:

1. Political Culture Approach has helped political scientists to systematically and comprehensively analyse the social and psychological environment of the political system.

2. Political Culture has helped the political scientists to conduct both micro and macro studies of political systems as well as to explain the gap between micro macro politics.
3. With the help of this concept, political scientists can systematically explain the differences in the behaviour of various political systems, particularly the differences in the behaviour of similar political institutions working in different societies.
4. Political Culture Approach has encouraged political scientist to conduct studies in the process through which the political culture of a society passes from one generation to the next generation, *i.e.*, the process of political socialization.
5. Political Culture Approach can be used for analysing the path of political development of a political system.
6. This concept has been used by several political scientists to analyse the nature of possible political changes, violent changes- revolutions and coups, in various political systems.
7. Political Culture offers a good basis for classifying political systems.
8. Political Culture enables us to study the rational as well as irrational factors of politics.
9. It has helped the conducting of empirical studies into the working of political systems,”

1.9 Let us Sum Up

We can conclude that the concept of Political Culture has definitely enriched the study of political science, It has enhanced the ability of political scienlisis to empirically analyse, explain and compare the phenomena of politics. It has helped the attainment of the goals of comprehensiveness and realism in comparative politics. Dr. S.P. Verma has listed the following five major contributions of this concept :

Firstly, it has made Political Science a more complete social science through its insistence on a combined micro-macro approach.

Secondly, it has focussed our attention on the study of political community or society as a dynamic collective entity as distinct from the individual and, thus, on the total political system.

Thirdly, 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.

Fourthly, it has helped us in combining the study of the rational factors, which shape the actions of individuals, to a large extent with the more talent, the irrational determinates of behavior that may be subjected to empirical research to a quite considerable extent.

Lastly, it is the Political Culture Approach which can 'help us to understand why different political societies inevitably moved in different directions of political developments, or may be, find themselves suffering from serve constraints, socio-economic as well as political which force them to move towards political decay.

However, despite the above listed merits it has to be stated that it is just one concept which can enable us to analyse and explain some aspects of politics and not the whole of it, and that this concept has yet to be developed further. It has to be used carefully because it contains the germs of inducing conservatism and reaction. It can be used as one of the tools or approaches and not as the only tool or the approach to the study of politics. The realisation of the distinction between cultural and political cultural factors of politics is bound to be a problematic exercise. Finally the collection of objective data regarding orientations towards political actions is bound to be problematic and this imposes a serious limitation upon the utility of this concept as a tool of political analysis.

1.10 Check Your Progress Exercise

1. Define Political Culture ?
2. Explain any two component of Political Culture ?
3. What is civic culture ?
4. Discuss any three factors responsible for the development of Political culture ?

1.11 Glossary

- **Orientation** : A person's basic attitude, beliefs, or feelings in relation to particular subject or issues.
- **Cognitive** : Relating to the mental process of perception, memory, Judgement and realizing as contrasted with emotional and violational processes.

1.12 Answer to Self Check Exercise

1. See section 1.3
2. See section 1.4
3. See section 1.6
4. See section 1.7

1.13 Suggested Readings

- Vidya Bhushan, *Comparative Politics* (New Delhi) Atlantic Publishers, 1997.
- N. Jayapalan, *Comparative Government*, (New Delhi : Atlantic Publishers), 2000.
- Tapan Biswal eds., *Comparative Politics: Institutions and Processes* (New Delhi: Triaty Press), 2016.

- J.C. Johari, *New Comparative Government* (New Delhi: Locus Press), 2011.
- U.R. Ghai, *Comparative Politics and Government* (Jalandhar: New Academic Publishing Co.), 2016.
- Dr. Bhawana Jharta, *Comparative Politics and Political Analysis*, M.A. IIInd Sem., Course-VII, Political Science, Study Material ICDEOL.

1.14 Terminal Questions

1. What is Political Culture ? How we can analyse Political culture ?
2. What is Political Culture ? Discuss its components.
3. What is Political Culture ? Discuss its kinds. Explain its importance.

Lesson-2

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Structure

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Learning Objectives
- 2.2 Meaning and Definitions of the Political Socialization
 - 2.2.1 What is Political Socialization
 - 2.2.2 Definitions of Political Socialization
- 2.3 Features of Political Socialization
- 2.4 Kinds of Political Socialization
- 2.5 Agencies/Agents of Political Socialization
 - 2.5.1 Family
 - 2.5.2 Educational Structure
 - 2.5.3 Peer Groups
 - 2.5.4 Work Experience
 - 2.5.5 Means of Mass Media
 - 2.5.6 Direct Contact with Political System
 - 2.5.7 Other Agents of Political Socialization
 - 2.5.7.1 Religion
 - 2.5.7.2 Caste
 - 2.5.7.3 Politics
- 2.6 Importance of the Concept of Political Socialization
- 2.7 Let us Sum up
- 2.8 Check Your Progress Exercise
- 2.9 Glossary
- 2.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 2.11 Suggested Readings
- 2.12 Terminal Questions

2.0 Introduction

Like Political Culture the term 'political Socialization is also one of the key concept in contemporary Political analysis. It is primarily a psychological concept which deals with orientation of Individuals towards political objectives. Political Socialisation is the process by which the people as a political system learn their values, beliefs and orientations to open to politics and political' objects. The people of a state get inducted into their political culture through this process. It is a universal process and is at work in each political system. According to Almond it is the first function of a political system.

2.1 Learning Objectives

After going through this lesson you will be able to :

- know the meaning and definitions of Political Socialization.
- Understand the nature of Political Socialization.
- Explain the forms and utility of Political Socialization

2.2 Meaning and Definitions of Political Socialization

The concept of Political Socialisation is very closely related to the concept of Political Culture. The sum total of orientations of the people to political objects and actions constitutes the Political Culture. The process by which people get their orientations toward political objects, i.e., their Political Culture is called Political Socialization.

The study of political socialisation involves the study of the process by which people acquire political values, not simply during active political participation, but also in the period before they engage in any explicitly political participation. It is through this process that political culture passes from one generation to the next. It is through the performance of this function, as Almond and Powell observe, : "Individuals are inducted into their Political Culture; their orientations towards political objects are formed. Changes in the patterns of political culture also come about through political socialization.

Political Elites (Power Holder's) : Political Socialisation as a means for securing a desired change in the attitudes and perceptions of the people as well as for securing more and more support for its policies. When a totalitarian regime revises the account of history in school textbooks, or when a state uses means of Mass media for making the people aware of its goals, policies and programmes or when the nation expands the school system, political elites are attempting to shape and control this process (Political Socialisation) of creating political orientations. The goal of Political Socialisation is, as Robert Sigel writes. "to so train or develop individuals that they may become well-functioning members of the political society."

Formulation of the Concept of Political Socialisation.: The credit for introducing this concept belongs to *Herbert H. Hyman*. Following *Hyman*, several political scientists, prominent among them being *Lasswell, Easton, Hass, Almond* and *Verba*, came forward to use this concept for studying various phenomena of politics. In contemporary' political studies, it is increasingly being used for studying such phenomena as political change, political development, political modernisation and changes in Political Culture.

2.2.1 What is Political Socialisation ?

By socialisation, we mean, the process by which people of a society learn values, beliefs, norms and goals of their culture. It is the process by which the people are inducted into their culture. Likewise, Political Socialisation means the process by which the people of a political system learn or pick up their orientation towards political objects and actions. It is the process by which the political culture gets transmitted from the generation to the next. *Almond* has rightly described it as the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed.

Political Socialisation is a part of socialisation in general. It represents the political dimension of the socialisation process. If we use *Almond's* approach to the political system, we can describe it as the first input process from where the political system actually begins.

2.2.2 Definitions

- According to *Herbert H. Hyman*, the Godfather of this concept. Political Socialism is “a continuous learning process involving both emotional learning and manifest political indoctrination and as being mediated by all of the participations and experiences of the individual and not simply by early family experiences. It is the process of induction into political culture,”
- *Robert Lenin* defines Political Socialisation as “the means by which individuals acquire motives, habits and values relevant to participation in a political system.
- *David Easton* Political Socialisation as “those develop mental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behaviour.”
- According to *Almond* and *Powell*, “Political Socialisation is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed.”
- *Dennis Kavanagh* defines “the term (Political Socialisation) used to describe the process whereby individual learns and develops orientations to politics.”
- In the words of *Allan R. Ball*, “Political Socialisation is “the establishment and development of attitudes and beliefs about the political system.”
- *Geoffrey K. Roberts* says “Political Socialisation is the process whereby, on the one hand, an individual acquires attitudes and orientations towards political phenomena and on the other hand, the society transmits political norms and beliefs from one generation to the next.”
- *Eric Rowe* writes Political Socialisation “as the process by which the values, beliefs and emotions of a political culture are passed on to the succeeding generations,”

“Political Socialisation is the process of inculcation of political values among younger generations by family, school and peer groups; more specifically, the transmission of political attitudes and preferences from one generation to the next.” It is basically a learning process the process of learning political values, beliefs, symbols and orientations.

2.3 Features of Political Socialisation : Nature (Features)

Political Socialisation is the process of learning through which people of a political system learn their values, beliefs, orientations and attitudes towards politics.

Fred I. Greenstein has described the nature of political socialisation as “all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned at every stage of life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning that affects political behaviour, such as learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics. It is the process by which an individual becomes acquainted with the political system and which determines his reactions to political phenomena.”

The following can be described as the features of political socialisation :

- (1) Political Socialisation is a process of learning.
- (2) It involves both formal as well as informal and both deliberate and unplanned learning.
- (3) It is through Political Socialisation 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 socialisation. The values, beliefs and orientations towards political objects and actions are transmitted as well as changed by this process.
- (6) Political Socialisation is a life long learning process but its pace and role keeps on changing from time to time. The process goes on continuously throughout the life of the individual.
- (7) Political Socialisation is a source, both of Stability and change.
- (8) Political Socialisation provides the necessary knowledge and incentive for individual's participation in politics. Politically socialised individuals come forward to accept different roles in the political system.
- (9) In nature, Political Socialisation is similar to, in fact, a part of the process of socialisation which is always at work in every society.
- (10) Finally, Political Socialisation is an extremely important process by which individuals become involved in the activities of the political system. The nature and level of political participation of the individuals depend to a large extent upon the nature and efficiency of the process of political socialisation.

Joseph B. Manheim lists four fundamentals of Political Socialisation :

- (i) Political Socialisation is basically a sub-set of general teaching-learning process and as such, abstracts from that process only those elements which have relevance **in** politics;

- (ii) the fruits of political Socialisation **are** aggregation and interaction and it is an on-going process;
- (iii) the process of Political Socialisation is comprehensive, it encompasses all phenomena which are even remotely associated with political learning; and
- (iv) every individual represents a more or less unique combination of socializing experiences.

2.4 KINDS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Political Scientists make a distinction between Manifest Political Socialisation and Latent Political Socialisation and also between Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Political Socialisation.

(1) Manifest Political Socialisation.

Manifest Political Socialisation 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 socialisation. We can also call it Direct Political Socialisation.

(2) Latent Political Socialisation.

Latent Political Socialisation is the transmission of non-political attitudes which affect attitudes towards political roles, objects and the political system, "It involves." as Almond and Powell observe, "many of the fundamental characteristics of the general culture which may, in turn, have great effect on the political sphere," Such latent political socialization may occur with particular force in early experiences. For example, the general attitudes acquired by a child - accommodation or aggression, are bound to affect his attitude towards other citizens and leaders. Such a political socialization can also be termed as indirect political socialisation.

On the basis of nature of the process of political socialisation in terms of continuity and discontinuity, political socialisation can be further classified into two types : Homogeneous Political Socialisation and Heterogeneous Political Socialization.

(1) Homogeneous Political Socialisation.

When the process of political socialization is continuous and consistent, it is called Homogeneous Political Socialisation 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 one another or with his adult political activities and expectations." People support one another and their political institutions and values.

(2) Heterogeneous Political Socialisation.

It is the opposite of Homogeneous Political Socialisation. 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 socialisation. Sometimes, they find themselves living with a democratic process of politics, at other times, they are forced to live with military dictatorship. Such a political socialisation hinders the development of a political culture and constitutes a danger to the stability of the political system.

2.5 AGENCIES OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

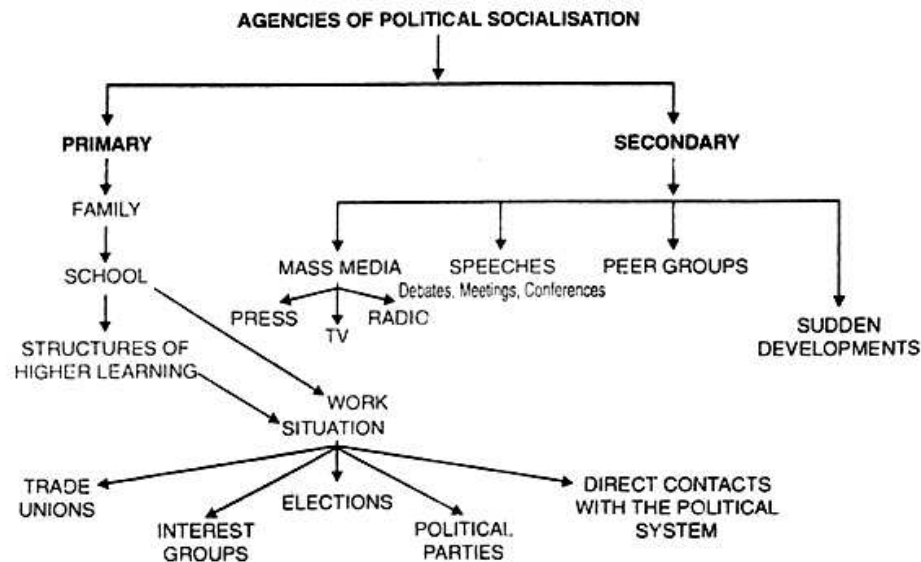
In the process of Political Socialisation, several agencies or institutions play an important part. These are called agencies or agents of political socialisation. Some, like family, school, college, work (employment) institutions are sometimes called primary agencies because they are the first to provide/guide orientations to the people in the initial years of their lives. Such Socialisation resulting from the activities of primary agencies is also called primary socialisation. The orientations influenced or determined by some agencies, like mass media, peer groups. eic. are a source of secondary political socialisation. However, the difference between the primary and the secondary socialization is not organic. The role of the following six main agents of Political Socialisation deserve a social description :

1. The Family.
2. The Educational Structures/Schools.
3. Reference Groups or Peer Groups.
4. Work or Employment Experience,
5. Means of Mass Media,
6. Direct contact with Political System.

2.5.1 Family as a Primary Agency of political Socialism : The family has been considered by *Almond* and *Powell* as the first socialisation structure countered by an individual. The latent and manifest influence inculcated at the early stages in life have a powerful and lasting influence. *Almond* and *Verba* write that “an early experience in participation and decision-making can increase the child’s sense of political competence, provide him with skills for political interactions and thus enhance the probability of his active participation in the political system when he becomes an adult.” The child tends to identify with his parents and to adopt their outlook towards the political system, “The family” , as *Davies* and *Lewis* say, “provides the major means of transforming the mentally naked, infant organism into adult, fully clothed in its own personality.’ And most of the individual’s political personality - his tendencies to think and act politically in particular ways – gets determined at home, several years before he can take part in politics as an ordinary adult citizen.

Man’s political socialisation by the family has an enduring and very important effect. General attitudes towards the political system usually make a great impression on children and thereby affect their subsequent behaviour in 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.



2.5.2 The Educational Structures

The educational structure constitute the second powerful agent of political socialization. *Allen R. Barce* says that the educational system has important effects on the process of socialisation. The values imparted by schools and universities may not be the result of direct political indoctrination, but are nonetheless important. The five national Studies conducted by *Almond and Verba* found, without exception, that “the educated persons were more aware of the impact of government on their lives, paid more attention to politics, had more information about political processes and manifested a higher degree of political competence.” *Almond and Powell* say, “Schools can also play an important role in shaping attitudes about the unwritten rules of the political game.” They can bring an awareness of values and circumstances, providing a basis for new political aspirations.

Like family, educational structures also the initial lessons of authoritative decision-making to the students. This experience influences the subsequent attitudes towards, authorities and roles.

2.5.3 Reference Groups or Peer Groups

Reference groups or Peer groups, like family and educational structures, act as important sources of attitude formation. The relatively decreased role of family in the contemporary industrial society has tended to increase the role of peer groups - friendship associations and the like, in the process of political socialisation.

Austin Ranney says that in addition to parents and teachers, most people spend a great deal of their lives in the company of peer groups of people outside their families who are approximately of the same age and share similar statuses, problems and concerns. School-mates are one obvious peer group, work associates another, and friendship, “cliques” yet another. *James S. Coleman* writes that in developed societies like the United States and Sweden, the socializing influence of parents and teachers begins to wane in early adolescence and from then on peer groups become increasingly important influences on political attitudes and behaviour.

2.5.4 Work or Employment Experience

Experience in employment also shapes political orientations. The Job and the formal and non-formal organizations built around it, viz., the union, the social club and the like, may be channels for the explicit communication of political information and beliefs. Participation in trade unions, bargaining with the employers, organising and participating in strikes can exercise powerful socialization experience both for the employers and the employees. The role in the activities of interest groups can affect political participation.

2.5.5 S. Mass Media

The role of mass media”, as Almond and Powell observe, “in political socialization must not be overlooked. In fact, after the communication revolution of the 20th century, means of mass media, particularly Press, T.V... Radio and Internet, have started acting as very powerful agents of manifest political socialisation.” A controlled system of mass media is a powerful force in shaping political beliefs of the people. It is particularly so used in authoritarian, totalitarian or dictatorial systems. In addition to providing information about specific and immediate political events, the mass media act, in the long-run to shape the individual’s basic “cognitive map.”

2.5.6 Direct Contact with the Political System

Direct formal and informal relationship with specific elites a 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 individual 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 the 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.

2.5.7 OTHER AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

2.5.7.1 RELIGION.

Some of the writers are of the view that religion is also an agent of political socialization. The Roman Catholic Church, for instance, has been influential in imparting certain political attitudes to its followers especially to women.

2.5.7.2 CASTE

The role of caste as an agent of socialization is also regarded as potent particularly in the third world nations. Voters are seen to vote on caste lines and the candidates also reflect caste allegiance in their political behaviour. The ideology underlying the system of reservation for scheduled castes and tribes is that their members are so socialized as to be sympathetic to the cause of these disadvantaged communities.

2.5.7.3 POLITICS

Politics itself is a powerful agent of political socialization. The ways in which the politics of a country is conducted is a deep learning experience for the citizens. Citizens are exposed to the method of selection of candidates in elections, mode of election campaign, behavior of political activists, nature of electoral competition gives the most significant political experiences to the individuals. That is why Peter H. Merriam rightly observed "One of the most immediate and effective agents of the political socialization of children and adults is the spectacle of politics itself. As the group and sports help to socialize, so the game of politics, especially its competition, may get adolescents and adults involved.

2.6 Importance of the Concept of Political Socialisation,

The study of the process by which people acquire political values not simply during active political participation, but also in the period before they engage in any explicit political activity, constitutes the subject-matter of political socialisation studies. It also involves the study of the process by which political values, not only political party preferences, but also such other items as political interests and opinions were transferred from one generation to the next. In other words, it seeks to focus attention on the process by which the political culture of a society is maintained, transmitted to the new generation and changed.

A researcher conducting research in the area of political socialisation seeks to analyse the nature of the role played by such institutions as family, education, peer groups, religion, etc., in determining the orientations of the people towards authority and to various aspects of the political system. Almond identifies political socialisation as the first input of the political system which forms the primary process of transmission of values to the new generation and which serves as the foundation for the process of political recruitment. The study of the concept of political socialization constitutes an important area of study in comparative politics. Almond and Powell have rightly observed that the study of political socialisation "seems to be one of the most promising approaches to understand political stability and development." It can be of great help in the study of the psychological and sociological roots of politics.

The above discussion clearly brings out that :

- (1) Political Socialisation is basically a sub-set of a general teaching-learning process and it involves abstracting from the general process of socialisation only those elements which have relevance with political objects, values and activities;

- (2) The fruits of political socialisation are aggregative and interactive. It is continuous learning process. It is an on-going process ;
- (3) The process of political socialisation is comprehensive. It encompasses all phenomena which are directly or indirectly or even remotely associated with political learning;
- (4) Every individual represents a more or less unique combination of socializing experience;
- (5) It is through Political Socialisation that Political Cultures are maintained & changed; and
- (6) The concept of Political Socialisation is very useful in the study of Political Change or Development; and
- (7) Changes in Political Socialisation always act as a source of change in the behavior of the people in politics.

2.7 Let us Sum Up

Political Socialization is, thus, a relatively new area of study, but it performs functions which are vital to the political system no less than to the individuals. This is when even a totalitarian regime is keen to monopolise the socialisation process so that people develop positive attitudes towards it however, deplorable it may be from the larger humanistic standpoint.

But the study of political socialization, like political culture, has special and vital significance for the third world countries where the political culture is in flux and change and is yet to take a definite shape. The great issues of politics in the emerging nations such as political stability, political development and change can be much more meaningfully studied and discussed with the help of the concepts like political culture and political socialization.

2.8 Check Your Progress

1. What is Political Socialization ?
2. Discuss any two kinds of Political Socialization ?
3. Discuss the features of Political Socialization ?

2.9 Glossary

- **Socialization** : The Adoption of the behavior patterns of th surrounding culture.
- **Homogeneous** : of the same or similar kinds or Nature of Uniform Structure.
- **Dictatorship** : Dictatorship it is a form of government in which one person or s small group possesses absolute power without effective constitutional limitations.

2.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

1. See section 2.2.1
2. See section 2.4
3. See section 2.3

2.11 Suggested Readings

- Û% Tapan Biswal eds, *Comparative Politics Institutions and Processes* (New Delhi: Trnity Press) 2016.
- Û% Vidya Bhushan, *Comparative Politics* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers) 1997.
- Û% N.Jayapalan, *Comparative Government* (New Delhi:Atlantic Publishers), 2016.
- Û% U.R. Ghai, *Comparative Politics* (Jalandhar: New Academic Publishing Co.), 2016
- Û% Dr. Bhawana Jharta, *Comparative Politics ad Political Analysis*, M.A. 2nd Semester, Study Material, ICDEOL, Course Code-VII.
- Û% J.C. Johari, *Comparative Politics*.
- Û% Almond Gabriel, A Powell, G. Bintham, *Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach*.

2.12 Terminal Questions

1. What is Political Socialization ? Explain its nature.
2. Define Political Socialization ? Discuss its features ?
3. Explain the forms of Political Socialization and discuss its utility ?
4. Describe the agencies of Political Socialization ?

Lesson-3

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL DECAY

Structure

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Learning Objectives
- 3.2 Meaning and Definitions of Political Development
- 3.3 Lucian W. Pye Views on Political Development
- 3.4 Essentials of Political Development : The Development Syndrome
 - 3.4.1 Equality
 - 3.4.2 Capacity
 - 3.4.3 Differentiations and Specialisation
- 3.5 Rigg's Concept of Development
- 3.6 Samuel P. Huntington's Views on Political Development
- 3.7 Eisenstadt's Concept of Political Break Down
- 3.8 David E. Apter's Views
- 3.9 J.P. Neltl's Views
- 3.10 Leonard Binder's Crises and Sequences in Political Development
- 3.11 Alfred Diamant's Views
- 3.12 Illchman and Uphoff's views on Political Development
- 3.13 Marxist views on Political Development
- 3.14 Indicators of Political Development
 - 3.14.1 Positive Indices (Development)
 - 3.14.2 Negative Indices (Decay)
- 3.15 Models of Political Development
 - 3.15.1 Continuum Model
 - 3.15.2 Stages Model
- 3.16 Various Affecting Political Development
- 3.17 Political Decay
- 3.18 Let us Sum Up
- 3.19 Check Your Progress Exercise

- 3.20 Glossary
- 3.21 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 3.22 Suggested Readings
- 3.23 Terminal Questions

3.0 Introduction

Each Political System is subject to political development. In order to analyse this process, we have to understand the meaning of Political Development, This is the object of this chapter.

Davis and Lewis have rightly observed that “Political Institutions change and political values change.” In some societies, big changes take place through revolutions, while in others these come through evolutionary processes. “Between these two extremes lie many gradations of political and social stability and instability. To measure such gradations is a major goal of social and political research. “For analysing the nature of changes that inevitably come in various political systems, the concept of Political Development has been formulated and operationalised by a large number of political scientists.

The names of *Lucian W. Pye, G.A. Almond James C. Coleman, Edward A. Shils, Myron Weiner, David Apter, S.P. Huntington, Robert T. Hold, S.M. Lipsel, S.N. Eisensdat, Harold Lasswell, Karl Deutsch, A. Rustow, Sidney Verba and Daniel Lerner* are worth mentioning. All of them have done pioneering work in the conceptualisation and operationalisation of The concept of Political Development in Politics and Comparative Politics.’

3.1 Learning Objectives

After going through this lesson, the student will be able to :

- understand the meaning and definitions of Political Development
- know that what is Political Development
- understand how far can Political Development be useful in the study of Politics.
- understand the concept of Political Decay.

3.2 Meaning of Political Development

It is indeed quite a problematic task to select and offer a single universally accepted definition of Political Development, As *S.P. Nettie* has observed, “There is still considerable ambiguity and imprecision in the use of this term.” There *persist* several differences among political scientists regarding the nature of change that can be identified as political development and the variables of political development. There is no standard an agreed list of elements which can guide our way in determining the nature and levels of political development in various societies. However, despite the presence of difficulties and ambiguities several political scientists have tried to define Political Development.

Definition of Political Development : In the words of *Coleman*, “Political Development means acquisition by a political system or a consciously sought and a qualitative new and enhanced political capacity as manifested In the successful institutionalisation of (1) new pattern of integration and penetration regulating and containing the tensions and conflict produced by increased differentiation, and (2) new patterns of participation and distribution adequately responsive to the demands generated by the imperatives of equality. The acquisition of such a performance capacity is, in turn, a decisive factor in the resolution of the problems of identity and legitimacy. This definition, however, is regarded by many as a definition of political modernisation and not of political development.

3.3 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Lucian W. Pye views : Lucian W. Pye's was, however, among the first batch of scholars who has made an depth analysis of the concept Political Development.

In his work ‘Aspects of Political Development Lucian Pye *has* very systematically explained the different ways in which Political Development has been defined by various political scientists.

(1) Political Development as the Political Pre-requisite of Economic Development

This view of political development seeks to conceptualise it in terms of economic growth. Political development is regarded as “that state of the polity which might facilitate economic growth”. *Paul A. Baron, Norman S. Buchanan, Howard S. Ellis, Benzamin Higgins, Albert Hirschman, Barbaran Ward* and several other social scientists have advocated this view of Political Development.

Lucian Pye, however, notes several limitations of this view. *Firstly*, it is a negative view because, in practice, we can study better the hindrances which a political system can pose to economic growth than the facilities that it can provide. *Secondly*, since economic growths in different societies have been registered under different set of public policies this approach to political development cannot offer an agreed and acceptable theoretical framework.

Thirdly, in several societies, political development has come at a more rapid pace than the pace of economic growth.

Finally, in most underdeveloped countries, people clearly are concerned with far more than just material development, they are anxious about political development quite independent of effect on the rate of economic growth.

Thus, it is not a fully acceptable view of Political Development.

(2) Political Development as the Politics Typical of Industrial Societies

This view of development is based on the assumption that industrial life produces a more or less common and generic type of political life which any society can seek to approximate whether it is in fact industrialised or not. Industrial societies set certain standards of political behaviour and performance that constitute the state of political development as social scientists like Walt W. Rostow opine and represent the appropriate goals of development for all other systems.

This view, as such, holds that political development involves certain patterns of presumably “rational” and “responsible” governmental behaviour, an avoidance of reckless action, some sense of limitations on politics, a appreciation of the values of orderly administrative and legal procedures, an acknowledgement that politics is rightly a mechanism for solving problems and not an end in itself, a stress on welfare programmes, and finally, an acceptance of some form of mass participation.

(3) Political Development as Political Modernisation

Social scientists like *James S. Coleman*, *Karl Dewesch*, *S.M. Lipset* and some others regard political development as the typical or idealised politics of industrial societies and that political development is synonymous with political modernisation. Just as advanced nations are Pace-setters for others, likewise, modernisation is the pace-setter for political development. Political development takes the form of Westernisation in politics.

It is again a parochial view of development which cannot be operationalised because almost all political institutions of the world bear the influence of Western institutions and consequently, it becomes difficult, on the basis of this view, to classify political system on the basis of the nature and levels of their political development.

(4) Political Development as the Operation of the Nation State,

This approach, as *Pye* observes, has been followed by *K.B. Silver*, *Edward Shills* and *William McCord*. This view holds that political development consists of the organization of political life and the performance of political functions in accordance with the standards expected of a modern nation-state. The emergence of nation-state has brought into existence a specific set of requirements, which together constitute political development. It involves the transformation of nation-state in theory into a nation-state in reality - which requires the development of a capacity to maintain a certain level of public order, to mobilize resources for a specific range of collective enterprises and to make and effectively uphold international commitments.

The test of political development is, first the establishment of a particular set of public institutions that constitute the necessary infrastructure of nation-state and, secondly, the

controlled expression in political life of the phenomenon of nationalism, Political Development, according to this view is : “the politics of nationalism within the context of state institutions”, or that “political development is nation-building.”

(5) Political Development as Administrative and Legal Development.

The fifth view of political development, as discussed by Lucian Pye, is the view which interprets political development as the process of institution-building and citizenship development. This view has amongst its supporters such scholars as *Max Weber* and *Joseph La Palombara*. This view associates political development, with the development of a legal order followed by an administrative order. In this view, administrative development is associated with the spread of rationally the strengthening of secular, legal concepts and the elevation of technical and specialised knowledge in the direction of human affairs.

No one can deny that political development involves legal and administrative development, however, no one can equate the former with the latter.

(6) Political Development as Mass Mobilisation and Participation

This view links political development with political awakening of the people. The bigger the mass mobilisation and participation in politics, the greater is the degree of political development of the political system. This is again a narrow and even dangerous view of political development because it can lead to the acceptance of a political system characterised by many demonstrations, mass responses to elite manipulation, populist movements, etc., as a politically developed system.

(7) Political Development as the Building of Democracy

This view places political development as synonymous with the establishment of democratic institutions and practices. Building of democracy is the process political development, According to this view, development has meaning only in terms of the strengthening of some set of values. “It, thus, presents an ideological and value-laden view of political development. Development is fundamentally different from democracy and that the very attempt to introduce democracy can be a positive liability to development,”

(8) Political Development as Stability and Orderly Change

This view seeks to define political development in terms of the ability of the political system to remain stable and possess the capacity for purposeful and orderly change, A political system which can't refrain from becoming a helpless victim of social and economic forces and which, on the other hand regulates the process of social change by making it purposeful and orderly, is a politically developed system. However, a major weakness of this approach is its failure to define the level of stability and capacity for orderly change that may be regarded as the Standard for analysing political development.

(9) Political Development as Mobilisation and Power

This view links political development with the capabilities of a political system, i.e., the ability of the political system to mobilise the resources, exercise power and to use the resources to the fullest advantage. *Coleman, Powell* and *Talcot Parsons* have analysed political development in terms of these variables. This view involves the concept that political system can be evaluated in terms of the level or degree of absolute power which the system is able to mobilise. "It is a useful premise, however, it cannot be regarded as the standard for measuring political development. It fails to take into account the fact that some political systems deliberately avoid full mobilisation of resources and exercise of power."

(10) Political Development as one aspect of a Multi-dimensional Process of Social Change

This view of political development holds that 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 processes of social change just as changes in different aspects of a society - the economy, the polity and the social order - all impinge on one another.

This approach has been advocated by *Mar F. Millikan* and *Donald L.M. Blackmer*. They advocate that political development is somehow intimately associated with other aspects of social and economic change. This view merits attention, but it again fails to identify what really is the nature of political development which comes as part of the all-embracing process or social change.

Besides these ten different approaches to the conceptualisation of political development there are other possible interpretations. As *Lucian Pye* holds, it can be taken to mean commonly a sense of national self-respect and dignity in international affairs or the view that political development should refer to a post-nationalism era when nation-state will no longer be the basic unit of political life.

All these views of political development highlight fully the difficulty in offering a definition of this concept. The way out lies in analysing the common characteristics of political development on the basis of an analysis of all these views. This task has been successfully undertaken by *Lucian Pye*.

3.4 THE DEVELOPMENT SYNDROME: ESSENTIALS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

After analysing all the above views, *Lucian Pye* isolates the following characteristics of political development, which seem to be most widely held features of political development - the Development Syndrome.

3.4.1 Equality

Various approaches accept that spirit or attitude of equalities is an aspect of political development. Equal and popular participation in politics, active citizenship and popular rule constitute the variables of political development. It also involves the concept of equal and objective application of laws to all the citizens - *i.e.*, rule of law involving application of all laws to all the citizens, rich and poor, strong and weak. It also includes the concept of political recruitment based on merit and performance, and not on ascriptive consideration.

3.4.2 Capacity

Capacity of a political system is again a theme held by most of the above approaches and it refers to the capacity of a political system to affect the social and economic life of the society through its outputs. This aspect of development includes the idea of political development analysed in terms of governmental capacity and the conditions that affect such performance. It also means political development in terms of effectiveness and efficiency in the execution of public policy, rationality in administration and a secular orientation towards policy.

3.4.3 Differentiation and Specialisation

This theme conceptualises political development in terms of structural differentiation and specialization. "This aspect of development involves, first of all, the differentiation and specialisation of structures. 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." Along with differentiation, there is increased functional specialisation of various roles within the system and it also involves the integration of complex structures and processes. The last aspect is very important because it clarifies that differentiation is not fragmentation, on the other hand. It means specialization based on an ultimate sense of integration,

Among these three dimensions, there can be present several acute tensions between the demands for equality, the requirements of capacity and the process of greater differentiation and accordingly there are different patterns to political development. However, these three constitute the agreed variables for analysing the nature and level of political development. It also means that "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,"

Besides these three dimensions of equality, capacity and differentiation, the analysis of Political Development requires the study of three other related factors. As *Pye* observes, "the problems of equality are generally related to the political culture and sentiments about legitimacy and commitment to the system, the problems of capacity are generally related to

the performance of the authoritative structures of government, and the question of differentiation touches mainly on the performance of non-authoritative structures and the general process in the society at large.”

“All this suggests that in the last analysis, the problems of development revolve around the relationships between the political culture, the authoritative structures of government, and the general political process.”

3.5 RIGG’S CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENTAL TRAP

Fred W. Riggs in his essay ‘Contemporary Political Analysis’ has given his doctrine of his ‘Development Trap’. While discussing it he points out that many scholars believe that the three dimensions of equality, capacity and differentiation given by Pye may not necessarily fit easily together. In fact there have been great differences between the demands for equality, the requirements for capacity and the process of greater differentiation.

The demand for greater equality may challenge the capacity of the system. Similarly greater differentiation shall affect equality. Riggs, therefore, points out that a balance must be secured between equality, capacity and differentiation. If balance is not secured, there will occur a developmental Trap. He further adds that when a Political system gets caught in a developmental Trap, it will fall into the condition of Political decay or break down.

He does not agree with Samuel P. Huntington’s that institutionalisation could serve as a safe guard against his trap. On the other hand he held that institutionalisation itself could serve as a developmental trap. Greek, Chinese, Indian models of Political system, where there were too much of institution building, have broken down.

3.6 SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON’S VIEWS

Samuel P. Huntington’s paper on “Political Development And Political Decay” published in World Politics XVII ‘Oct. 1965 has been further landmark in the field of Political Development. He regarded Political Development process independent of although affected by modernisation. He defined Political Development as “the institutionalisation of Political organisation and Procedures.” He further adds that Political Development can occur only if Political Procedures and organisations are given the shape of institutions According to him the Political Development of a Society can be measured only by the degree of institutionalisation. He then defines the term institutionalization as the process by which organisation and procedures acquire value and stability. The level of institutionalisation of any Political system can be defined by the adaptability, flexibility and coherence of its organization and procedures. In other words the level of institutionalisation of any particular organisation or procedures can be measured by its adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence. Complexity here means differentiations, adaptability means flexibility and capacity of institutions is to cope with the changing circumstances.

He argues that what is going on in the Third world today is not Political Development but Political Decay. It is because of the fact that the speed of modernisation in these countries is so fast that the process of institutionalising of values Lags far behind. That is the modernization brings about social and economic mobilisation. Social mobilization and Political participation are rapidly increasing in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These processes are in turn directly responsible for the deterioration of Political institutions in these nations. Because the institutions for the operation of their relationship are not established. He further argues that mobilisation refers to change of residence of occupation, of social setting, of face of face association, of institutions role and way of acting of experiences and expectations and personal memories, habits and needs. Thus, there occurs a direct conflict between mobilisation and institutionalisation. For example with the spread of education, revenues for employment should also be created. But it is not being done. Similarly if universal adult franchise is introduced there should also be creation of institutions for giving new elites a chance to participate in decision making process. Whereas there may be a few positions and roles which are already dominated by traditional elites. New positions are not created with the result that aspirations of the new enfranchised people are not Fulfilled, In many developing states even the decline of Party organisations is reflected with the emergence of charismatic leaders who personalized power and weaken institutions which might limit that power. In Turkey, Pakistan and Burma, the Republican People's Party, Muslim League and AFPFL respectively deteriorated and military intervention eventually ensured. In party organisations and bureaucracies, marked increases in corruptions often accompanied significant declines in effectiveness of government services. Particularistic groups — Tribal, ethnic- religions — frequently reassessed themselves and further undermined the authority and coherence of Political institutions.”

The Political system, therefore, loses its legitimacy. The newly mobilised, educated and enfranchised people when lose their trust in the impartiality of the institutions and justice of the system, they try to regulate the system in their own way. All this led to the emergence of mass politics. Moreover, a Political System whose level of institutionalisation is low, cannot survive in the face of growing urge for the political participation. This also results in Political instability the alround frustration of the people ultimately paves the way to military coup. Coups d'etat and military interventions in politics are one index of low level of political insitutionalization. They occur where Political institutions lack autonomy and coherence. Huntington pointed out that eleven of twelve modernizing states outside Latin America which became independent before World War II experienced Coups d'etat or attempted Coups after World War II, Of twenty states which got independence between World War II and 1959, Fourteen had Coups or Coup attempts by 1963, Of twenty-four states which became independent between 1960 and 1963, seven experienced coups or attempted coups before the end of 1963.

In short the developing nations which do not allow institutions to grow proportionately with the pace of modernisation are not going for Political development but for Political decay.

He further argues that even the increase of literacy rate and education do bring more Political instability. For example Burma, Cylone. Republic of Korea etc., are highly literate but no one of them is a model of Political stability.

Although literacy stimulates democracy yet with 75% literacy rate, Cuba was the first Country in Latin America to establish Communist government. Same was the case in Kerala state of India. Institutional decay has, therefore, become a common phenomenon of the modernizing or developing Countries.

In some developing nations like Pakistan and the Sudan, institutional evolution has been unbalanced. The Civil and military bureaucracies are more highly developed than the political parties and the military has strong incentives to move into the institutional vacuum on the input side of the political system and to attempt lo perform interest aggregations functions. This pattern is also common in Latin America.'

In short Huntington is of the view that the third world countries are heading towards Political Decay,

3.7 EISENSTADT'S CONCEPT OF POLITICAL BREAK DOWN

Eisenstadt in his essay on 'Breakdown of Modernisation' differs from Huntington, He is of the view that the developing Countries alongwith the start of process of modernisation also set up Western type of institutions and refined procedures of work. This has been done with the belief that these institutions would help in ihe process of modernisation. Modernisation according to him involves "major cluster of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people would be come available for new patterns of socialisation and behaviour." Thus, in this process old loyalties, old groups, old values, old ways of living and thinking change to new ones.

But most of the developing societies are incapable of providing Institutional framework that could absorb these changes. It, therefore, leads to political breakdown.

By breakdown he means that the institutions copied from the West failed to cope with the changing environment. As a result there arose stagnant situation, which invited revolution or military coup But the political breakdown does not necessarily mean a stop of ihe process of economic or social development. These processes actually continued or are made to continue to consolidate the position of the military regime.

3.8 DAVID E. APTER'S VIEWS

Political Development has several stages and needs and problem of each stage are unique. The nature and degree of Political control naturally vary. Following Apter's view we can broadly distinguish between two stages of developmental process. These are Pre-industrial and Post-industrial stages. In a developing society, where a broad-based industrial infrastructure does not exist the political problem of controlling and integrating the process becomes increasingly crucial. The passage to industrialisation, therefore, needs an extraordinarily organised Political system with in-built capacity of maintaining a high-degree control and cohesion. Apter, therefore, suggests the adoption of high control system for a successful transition to industrialization.

Once the industrial phase of development is completed, the perspective is bound to change. In the industrialised societies there is need of increasing generation and use of new knowledge. Moreover the need in post-industrial societies is for wider devolution of authority, great decentralisation of high-control systems, reducing direct government control, a noncoercive, and high information situation and a government playing a mediating and coordinating role.'

3.9 J.P. NETIL'S VIEWS

J.P. Netil is one of the view that Political Development has four implications such as set of definitional priorities, a set of values, interconnection between developed and developing countries, recognition of an implicit rank order of development.

Set of definitional priorities constituted development as a process and in the concept of political development. There is hesitant and discordant division of political theories into social, economic and Political Priorities and the see saw battle between historical analogy and abstract models of utilitarian or rational emphasis. So far as set of values he says that in political development so many value loaded terms had been used that utter confusion being created. But Political Development should be made as value free. He pointed out that whole concept and all terms used in Political Development referred to the Western type of development. But the weaknesses in the Western systems have also been felt. This has some time created hatred in the minds of the people of developing countries against that of American. He is also of the view that there should also be interconnection between developed and developing Countries. The Concept of Political Development should be such that it should suit both the developed and developing nations. The recognition of an implicit rank order of Political Development means that in Political Development due stress should be laid on capabilities of Political system.

3.10 LEONARD BINDER'S CRISES AND SEQUENCES IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Leonard Binder in his book 'Crises and Sequences in Political Development' has referred to 'Political Development' as "Changes" in the type and style of politics. He also regards the three concepts of equality, capacity and differentiation as a shorthand description of the syndrome of modernity. He gives the following five characteristics" of' Political Development ;

1. Change of identity from the religious to the ethnic and from the parochial to the social;
2. Change in legitimacy from transcendental to immanent sources;
3. Change in Political participation from elite to mass and from family to group.
4. Change of distribution from status and privilege to achievement.
5. Change in the degree of administrative and legal penetration into social structure and out of the remote regions of Country.

The difficulty is that even the recent writers have not succeeded in freeing themselves from the earlier conceptual framework, The Political realities of the developing societies still continue to elude the western scholarships. As a result the Concept of Political Development continued to be vague, faint, foggy and fuzzy,"

Bul one should not forget that development is a total concept **and** Political development is to be viewed as but a part of the more encompassing process such as economic development, social development etc.* Thus, economic development, social development and political development are closely interrelated, characterised by constant buying and selling" between them. As everywhere in developing society the **system** comes face to **face with the** politics of scarcity, it happens **to** embody and reflect the deeper economic pressures Political Development, there emerges as a dependent variable in the social system."

3.11 ALFRED DIAMENTS'S VIEWS

He defines 'Political development' as a process by which a political system acquires an increasing capacity to sustain successfully and continuously, new types of goals and demands and the creation of new types of organisation. The definition emphasis that Political Development is a process and whatever characteristics may appear to be acceptable must refer to the viability of a political system in effectively responding to the tentions, challenges and demands of its own framework as well as the environment."

3.12 ILLCHMAN AND UPHOFF'S VIEW

Illchman and Uphoffs view in their book "The Political Economy of Change" pointed out that the new approach of Political economy has premitted a number of definitions of the term "Political Development." It may be defined as :

- (a) Increasing level of political solvency;
- (b) Increasing capacity to meet and induce changing and expanding demands;
- (c) Increasing capacity of both generating and processing demands of
- (d) increasing capacity to cover an increase in the number of Political entrepreneurs.

They maintain that political development is a function of Political and administrative infrastructure. Political infrastructure consists of Political parties, elections, ideologies and development plans and is used in the mobilization of support and resources for acquiring and maintaining authority. Its primary functions are, therefore, to provide inputs for policy allocations. Whereas administrative infrastructure is necessary for the exercise of authority. It is responsible for the implementation of policy allocations that is for handling regime's outputs."

3.13 MARXIST VIEW ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

There is, however, an altogether different view point that can be inferred from Marxist social thought. From this perspective Political Development is an integral part of stages of social development." Keeping in mind historical facts, Marx held that successive socio-economic formations emerged at different stages. Each formation is quantitatively different from its preceding one, Political Development ultimately would mean replacement of the exploitative state structure by a participative and equalitarian social formation of the highest order."

3.14 INDICATORS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

In order to measure and analyse the nature of the political development that characterises a system, we have to gather information regarding several factors which are popularly called the indicators or indices of political development. The World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators enumerates the following such indicators: (i) Age of national institutions, (ii) Education expenditure. (iii) Defence expenditure, (iv) Military power. (v) Internal security forces, (vi) Press freedom, (vii) Party factionalisation, (viii) Voter turnout, (ix) Electoral irregularity, (x) Protest demonstrations, (xi) Riots, (xii) Armed attacks, (xiii) Deaths from domestic violence, (xiv) Governmental sanctions, (xv) External intervention, (xvi) Renewals of executive tenure, (xvii) Executive adjustments and (xviii) Irregular executive transfers. *Dr. J.C, John* gives a list of 22 positive indices which can help us to analyse political development and 15 negative indices which can be used to analyse political decay or hindrances/limitations to political development.

3.14.1 POSITIVE INDICES (DEVELOPMENT)

The tentative indicators are as under :

- (1) State-building or territorial Integration.

- (2) Nation-building or national integration.
- (3) Increasing franchise and free and fair elections with large voter turn-out.
- (4) Politicisation or participation of more and more people in political process.
- (5) Popular participation in decision-making.
- (6) Growing interest articulation by autonomous bodies.
- (7) Growing interest aggregation by stable and democratic political parties.
- (8) Freedom of press and growth of mass media agencies.
- (9) Political and administrative decentralization.
- (10) Autonomy of the units of local government.
- (11) Expansion of educational facilities,
- (12) Effective role of legislative bodies and constituency service by the representative.
- (13) Effective role of quasi-governmental agencies like public undertakings,
- (14) Role of powerful organisations to oversee the working of public servants (like ombudsman) and redressal of public grievances.
- (15) Tolerance of dissent and control over Avomic movements.
- (16) Broadening of the social base of political elites,
- (17) Oppenness in the working of government and accountability of the rulers to the ruled.
- (18) Independence of judiciary and existence of rule of law.
- (19) A political character of armed forces.
- (20) Consensual politics implying use of constitutional methods.
- (21) Neutrality and independence of public services,
- (22) Secularisation of political culture.

3.14.2 NEGATIVE INDICES (DECAY) — Some negative indicators of Political development are as under :

- (1) Election Rigging and irregularities.
- (2) Violent protest demonstrations,
- (3) Anomic disturbances, underground activities and armed attacks.
- (4) Political defections for selfish gains,

- (5) Fragmentation of political parties.
- (6) Suppression of dissent,
- (7) Idolisation of the rulers.
- (8) Glorification of the official ideology.
- (9) Political assassinations.
- (10) Politicisation of armed forces.
- (11) Commitment of public services to the line of ruling party.
- (12) Widespread corruption and mal-administration.
- (13) Concentration of powers.
- (14) Mass arrests.
- (15) Foreign interference in domestic matters.

In this list, we can include (a) coups (b) riots, and (c) the number of political prisoners and (d) Bad records of Human Rights Proicclion held by the state.

The study of political development can be conducted by analysing and evaluating these factors.

The concept of political development offers a useful means for analysing social change in general, and political change, in particular. Political development approach has been fruitfully used by a number of contemporary political scientists. These efforts have produced valuable studies in politics and comparative politics. Comparing of political systems in terms of political development is indeed an interesting and potentially useful field of investigation.

3.15 MODELS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Study of political development involves a study of several political and extra-political phenomena. The researcher has to gather information regarding a number of general and particular variables. For example, he has to gather data regarding equality, capacity, structural differentiation and specialisation, political participation, socio-economic changes, political culture, sub-cultures, political decay, crises and the like. This makes political development studies very complex and even technical. For this purpose two broad schemes have been advanced by the political scientists. These have been labelled by *Wasby* as (1) Continuum Model and (2) The Stages Model.

3.15.1 Continuum Model

Continuum models of political development tend to view the developmental process in terms of a series of discrete variables, each identified by a range of possible stages that

national entities may be in at various times with respect to some specific criterion. In such a model, political development is analysed in terms of several socio-economic, cultural and political factors. For examples. G.N.P, G.N.P. per capita, percentage of literacy, percentage of adult literacy ratio of hospital beds to population, percentage of government employees, percentage of educated unemployed, percentage of popular participation in elections and the like are used as variables for classifying nations. Data about such factors can be quantified. This is supplemented by less quantifiable and more judgemental criteria such as degree of bargaining which takes place between autonomous political groups, or the extent to which merit criterion are employed in the recruitment and promotion of government employees or the extent to which charismatic leaders tend to prevail at the national level. Variables of both quantitative and judgemental nature can be subjected to multi-variate analysis or factor analysis for testing hypothesis as to relationships between variables.

This model can be used by researchers who want to analyse a functional relationship between social, economic, psychological and political indicators of political development and examine the pattern of development from one stage to the other.

However, this model has a limitation. As *Wasby* observes. "Its drawback is the danger of fragmentation of concern, especially in the absence of any over-arching theory." It is useful only when the researcher selects a small number of inter-connected factors for analysing political development.

3.15.2 The Stages Model

The second popular model for the study of political development is the Stages model. It posts several developmental stages, each with several ascribed characteristics, and analyses a political system to determine the developmental stage at which it is currently there, and the next Stage it is heading for or is likely to head for. Here, as *Wasby* writes, "there is either a Marxian-like confinement to one explanatory factor as the key to the transition from one stage to another, or an attempt to bring together a configuration of inter-related factors which are expected to alter in unison from forms appropriate to a given stage of development to those appropriate to the succeeding stage.

Marxian model of development lists five development stages three of which have already taken place, the fourth is currently in existence and the fifth is certainly going to come. Each new stage comes into existence through a revolution against the existing stage. The five stages are : (i) Communal Stage (ii) Slave Stage, (iii) Feudal Stage (iv) Capitalist Stage and (v) Socialist Stage,

In the development of a stages model, Western political scientists usually suggest three stages of political development: (i) the traditional stage, characterised by an overwhelmingly rural society, and agrarian economy with appropriate political forms; (ii) [he

transitional stage, still with a rural society but characterised by an economy embarking upon the early stages of industrialisation and a political system which is accordingly undergoing transformation; and (iii) the modern stage, characterised by a largely urban, society and a mature industrial-economy, with the appropriate political forms. In a general sense, a political system moves from traditional transitional to modern.

The variables of development are the nature and level of power structure, sub-system autonomy, secularisation of culture, centrally engineered economy, structural differentiation and functional specialisation. In the traditional stage of political development, there are local concentrations of power with little articulation between the centre and the periphery. It heads towards a transitional stage. The transitional stage is characterised by trends involving increasing participation of the masses in the political system and towards an improvement in the technical means of expanding the power of the centre and the periphery. From transitional stage, the political system tends to become a modern system, with a centrally engineered economy with developed institutional means involving the whole society into the national efforts.

The political culture of the political system also keeps on developing, along with these three stages; from parochial (Traditional) to subject (Developing) to participant (Developed) Stage.

The Stage models for the study of political development have been criticized by the critics on the ground that these over-simplify highly complex phenomena. Further. These models try to impose the "ideas" developed in the Western countries over the Third World countries by defining a developed political system and its political culture in terms of the developments taking place in the countries like the USA. In several extreme Stage models, the scholars have been guilty of offering a single factor explanation of political development.

Discussing both types of models - The Continuum and The Stages, *Wasby* –writes. "Both types of models are based upon an image of a largely dependent political realm and a largely independent extra political realm with movement in economic, social, psychological and political realms highly inter-correlated. All tend to look to the same general factors to explain why different countries have political institutions with different capabilities and why the capabilities of political institutions in a given country change over time.

All these models and theories of political development have virtually failed to provide a uniformly accepted theory of political development. This failure has been largely due to disagreement regarding the meaning and definition of political development. Some political scientists stress the role of extra-political factors in political change while many others emphasise the role of political factors over the extra-political factors in political development. Difference of opinion over this issue continues to leave political scientists still grappling with the problem of theorising political development.

The changes that came in the (erstwhile) USSR in the era of perestroika and Glasnost and its impact on the political systems of Eastern European countries gave a rude shock to the traditional interpretations of Marxian concept of political development. These developments, in a way, strengthened faith in the deterministic role of economic factors in political change, but, in another way, it involved a virtual rejection of Marxian view of the transitional and the highest stage of socialistic development. Likewise, in Western liberal democratic countries also the nature of political changes has been undergoing several new unorthodox type of changes. As against these two models, Marxian and Western liberal democratic models of political development, in several Third World countries like India, political development has been taking place in a synthetic way - Democratic-Socialistic-Capitalistic Development. Now western scholars have been talking Post-modernist model of development in place of the existing Modernism Model.

Thus, there is still to be developed a universal model of political development, and the chances of its development do not appear to be bright. The prevailing diversities in the world are bound to keep limited the progress towards the development of a universal and accepted model of political development.

3.16 Variables Affecting Political Development : The Variables affecting the process of modernization in general and that of Political development and modernization in particular are :

- (1) **Tradition** :— The institutions and values rooted in the traditions of a society have an extra-ordinary resilience and persistence, and therefore, the form, a modern polity takes is the result of the interaction of its historically formed traditions with the universal effects of modernization. In fact, cultures never give way completely to the new, no matter how ruthless the impact of innovation. The varied responses of tradition to modernization account for many of the differences in the political forms among new nations. Quite often modernizing societies, under some indigenous brand of nationalism or socialism, will disguise a deep connection with traditional practices. In Mali, for example, underneath a rather puritanical brand of Marxism (with its bold claims to renovated social life under a single political party, the Union Soudanaise), can be seen subtle but significant connections to the centralized politics of the ancient Bambara kingdom. The President of Mali, a descendent of the old Keita royal clans, is a president who walks like a king. The Union 'Soundanaise accepted Marxism as the overall form within which modernization should occur, meanwhile preserving a link with the past, I am sure you can think of many links with past in respect of claims of Socialism as in India as a form within which modernization should occur. Nor are such situations exclusive to non-European systems- in Tsarist Russia, the state was confronted with the problem of how to deal with Westernization

as particular form of modernization. The immensely difficult task of adjusting tradition to innovation had to be undertaken so that Western practices and technologies could be adapted to Russia.

- (ii) **Timing** :— The timing of modernizing “take off” is also important as it determines the extent to of many other variables, such as the international environment and the range of modernizing models available for emulation. For instance, it is the Swiss model of modernization which the modernizing leadership of Himachal Pradesh wishes to emulate. The Indian leadership wishes to emulate a mix of Western and Communist model, of political development. The degree of social and **political** mobilization of the population and the resultant demand load upon the polity and the opportunities for modernizing short-cuts available to late starters also play an important role.
- (iii) **Leadership** :— The nature of a modernizing politics, leadership largely determines the extent to which tradition, if is supportive, is harnessed to the process of modernization. In case the tradition obstructs the process of modernization, the extent of its neutralization will be determined by its political leadership. Leadership determines the degree to which disadvantages of timing are minimized and opportunities exploited. Individual political leaders, in particular and political elites in general have been the Prime movers in political modernization. For instance. Dr. Y.S. Parmar has been not only a prime mover of the political, economic and social modernization of ‘PAHARI” society of Himachal Pradesh but has emerged as the symbol of Modernity. His deep understanding of the tradition of ‘Pahari’ society has helped him in harnessing the same of the processes of modernization. Further, the rate and the direction of the process as also the political structures and **culture, the** emergence reflect in large measure the values and goal orientation of the leadership, adaptive and creative capacities and its reaction to the modernizing crises it confronts.

Dear Student, every modernizing polity encounters, at least once- and must cope with or surmount if it is to continue the modernize what is known as system development problems’ or ‘crisis’. The experience of the most highly developed contemporary politics has led to the identification of several “crises” of political development’ and modernization, According to Lucian Pye, these are Indentify, Legitimacy, Political Participation; Penetration; Integration, Distribution and conflict Reconciliation.

3.17 Letus Sum Up

Although a host of political scientists have studied and written about the Political Development, yet there is no Universally accepted theory of Political Development or any pre-determined law of development. No society in the world can claim to be its model to

which others may move. The theorists, however, helped in drawing attention of the world to the problem of political Development of the third world nations. Moreover, the scope of empirical political investigations has also considerably widened and made more broad based. Thus, the study of political Development has helped considerably in orientation of several new theories in the field of Political investigations.

3.18 POLITICAL DECAY

One of the views of political development suggests that it means development toward a single pattern and single direction, generally referred to as Western democracy, stability achievement patterns, and national integration. If this be so, it is natural to assume that any movement away from this pattern of direction will be considered as political decay. The processes of political development and political modernization, as you know, involves the processes of social mobilization as well as economic development. Further, it involves the rationalization of authority, the differentiation of new political functions and the development of specialized structures to perform those functions, and increased participation in politics by social groups throughout society. However, in practice it may not mean all this. A basic and frequently over looked distinction exists between political modernization defined as movement from a traditional to a modern developed polity and political modernization defined as the political aspects and political effects of social, cultural and economic modernization or development. The gap between the two is often vast. The gap remains unfilled and this leads to political decay. Thus instead of a trend towards competitiveness and democracy, there is an 'erosion of democracy', and a tendency to autocratic military regimes, and non-party regimes. (Burma, Ghana, Pakistan and recently Chile are the examples). Instead of stability, there have been repeated coups and revolts. Instead of a unifying nationalism and nation- building, there have been repeated ethnic conflicts and civil wars. Instead of institutional rationalization and differentiation, there had been frequently a decay of the administrative organization inherited from colonial era and weakening and disruption of the political organizations developed during the struggle for independence.

The developed/modern political system is distinguished from the traditional one by the broadened extent to which people participate in politics and are affected by politics in large scale political units. In traditional societies political participation may be widespread at village level, but at any level beyond the village it is limited to a very small group. Large-scale traditional social societies may also achieve high level of rationalized authority and of structural differentiation, but again political participation will be limited to the relatively small aristocratic and bureaucratic elites. The most fundamental aspect of political development/modernization, consequently, is the participation in politics beyond the village or town level by social groups throughout the society and the development of new institutions such as political parties to Organise the participation. But, you must realize that political development may either cause

or be caused by economic and social development, modernization which have disruptive effect too, social and economic changes necessarily disrupt traditional social and political groupings and undermine loyalty to traditional authorities. The leaders, secular and religious, of the village are challenged by a new elite of civil servants and School teachers who represent the authority of the distant central government and who possess skills, resources, and aspirations with which the traditional village or tribal leader cannot compete. The extended family begins to disintegrate and is replaced by nuclear family which is too small, too isolated, and too weak to perform the political, economic, security, religious and other social functions. A broader form of social organization is replaced by a narrower one, and the tendencies toward distrust and hostility—the war of one against all—are intensified. Thus, there is alienation and normlessness generated by the conflict of old values and new. The new values undermine the old basis of association and of authority before new skills, motivations and resources can be brought into existence to create new groupings.

This process of break up traditional institutions may lead psychological disintegration but these very conditions create need for new identifications and loyalties. The latter may take form of re-identifications with a group which existed in latent actual form in traditional society or they may lead to identification with new sets of symbols or new group which has itself evolved in the process of modernization. Further, modernization/development produces increased consciousness, coherence, organization in many social forces which existed on a much lower level of conscious identity and organization in traditional society. The early phases are often marked by the emergence of fundamentalist religious movements as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Buddhist movement in Ceylon, Burma and Hindu revivalist movement in India. Also, a traditional society may possess many potential sources of identity and association. Some of these may be undermined and destroyed by the process of modernization. Others, however, may achieve a new consciousness and become the basis for new organization because they are capable—as for instance caste associations in India of meeting the needs for Personal identity, social welfare etc. The growth of group consciousness thus has both integrating and disintegrating effect on social system. The same group consciousness, however, can also become a major obstacle to the creation of political institution encompassing a broader spectrum of social forces. Along with group consciousness, group prejudice also develops when there is intensive contact between different groups, such as has accompanied the movement toward more centralized political and social organization. Along with group prejudice comes group conflict and this might lead to Political decay if not controlled and kept within reasonable limits.

Political participation and political institutionalization distinguishes a developed Political system from the underdeveloped ones. On the basis of the distinction S.P. Huntington has proposed six fold typology of political system, which is shown below in table 1':

Table 1: Types of Political System

<i>Political Participation</i>			<i>Ratio of Institutionalization to participation</i>		
			<i>High: Civic</i>		<i>Low : praetorian</i>
Low	:	Traditional	Organic	:	Oligarchical
Medium	:	Transitional	Whig	:	Radical
High	:	Modern	Participant	:	Mass

On the basis of this classification of political system, he explores the possibilities of political decay amongst the political systems undergoing political development. He opines that if a society is to maintain a high level of community, the expansion of political participation must be accompanied by the development of longer, more complex and more autonomous political institutions—or by the process of political institutionalization. The effect of the expansion of political participation, however is usually to undermine the traditional political institutions and to obstruct the development of modern ones. Development and social mobilization in particular, thus tend to produce political decay unless steps are taken to moderate or to restrict its impact on political consciousness and political involvement. Most societies, even those with fairly complex and adaptable traditional political institutions, suffer a loss of political community and decay of political institution during the most intense phases of modernization/development.

The concept of political decay is not entirely new one. The theory of political decay or a model of a corrupt political order had been advanced by ancient philosophers. Perhaps the most relevant ideas are contained in Platonic model in the “Republic.” The evaluation of many contemporary new political systems, once the colonial “guardians” have departed, has not deviated extensively from his model. Independence has been followed by military coups, as the “auxiliaries” take over. Corruption by the oligarchy inflames the envy of rising groups. Conflict between oligarchy and masses erupts into civil strife. Demagogues and street mobs pave the way for the despot. Plato’s description of the means by which the despot appeals to the people, isolates and eliminates his enemies and builds up high personal strength is a far less misleading guide to what has taken place in Africa and elsewhere than many things written yesterday.

According to Huntington ‘political decay’ in large part is the product of rapid social and political change, the rapid mobilization* of the new groups into politics coupled with the slow development of political institutions. He approvingly quotes de Tocqueville who observed, “Among the laws that rule human societies, there is one which seems to be more precise and clear than all others. If men are to remain civilized or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which the equality”. The political decay and instability in Asia, Africa and Latin America drives from the failure to meet this condition; equality of political participation is growing much more rapidly than the “the art of associating together’.

Social and economic change—urbanization, increase in literacy and education, industrialization, mass media expansion—extend political consciousness, multiply political demands, broaden political participation. These changes undermine traditional sources of political authority and traditional political institutions; they enormously complicate the problems of creating new bases of political associations and political institutions combining legitimacy and effectiveness. *The rates of social Mobilization and the expansion of political participation are high; the rates of political organization and institutionalization are low.* The result is political decay. So if political decay has been more rampant in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, it is also because economic development and political development may not go hand in hand. The progress toward one has no necessary connection with progress toward the other. In some instances, programmes of economic development may promote political stability and hence political development; in other instances they may seriously undermine such stability and therefore, political development. For instance, India was one of the poorest countries in the world in 1950s and had only a modest rate of economic growth yet through Congress party organization it achieved a higher degree of political development. Whereas in Argentina and Venezuela per capita income were perhaps ten times higher than that of India yet for both countries, stability, and therefore, political development remained an elusive goal.

3.19 Check Your Self Progress Exercise

- (1) Define Political Development ?
- (2) What are the indicators of Political Development ?
- (3) Explain Lucian Pye's Development Syndrome?

3.20 Glossary

- **Resilience** : the capacity to recover from difficulties.
- **Nationalism** ; loyalty and devotion to a nation; a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups.
- **Elites** : a group or class of persons enjoying superior intellectual, social, political or economic status.
- **Transcendental** : relating to spiritual realm.
- **Immanent** : inherent,
- **Sub-national** : a region or group within a nation.
- **Coup d'etat** ; forcible removal of an **existing government** from power through **violent means**.
- **Auxiliaries** : a group of volunteers **giving** supplementary support to an organization or institution.

* According to Karl W. Deutsch Social mobilization is the process by which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour. "Social Mobilization and Political Development" *American Political Science Review*, 55 (September, 1961).

- **Demagogues** : a political leader who seeks support by appealing to the desires, emotions and prejudices of ordinary people rather than by using rational argument.
- **Praetorian Society**: excessive or abusive political influence of the armed forces in a society.

3.21 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise

- 1, See Section 3.2
- 2, See Section 3.4 and 3.14.1, 3.14.2
- 1, See Section 3.3

3.22 Suggested Readings

- GA. Almond and Coleman, *Politics of Developing Areas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).
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- U.R. Ghai, *Comparative Politics and Government.*
- Bidya Bhushan, *Comparative Politics.*

3.23 Terminal Questions

1. What is Political Development ? What are the indicators of Political Development.
2. Define Political Development ? Discuss Lucion Pye's analysis of the concept of Political Development.
3. What is Political Development ? How far can this concept be useful in the study of Politics ?
4. Critically examine Lucian Pye's Contribution to the concept of Political Development?
5. What do you mean by Political Decay ? What are the factors responsible for it.

Lesson-4

POLITICAL MODERNIZATION

Structure

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Learning Objectives
- 4.2 Meaning and Definition of Political Modernisation
- 4.3 S.P. Huntington's View on Political Modernisation
- 4.4 Nature of Political Modernisation
- 4.5 Relation Between Political Modernisation and Political Development
 - 4.5.1 Close Relations between Political Modernisation and Political Development
 - 4.5.2 Points of Difference between Modernisation and Development
- 4.6 Problems of Modernizing Societies, Paths taken by them and the Models of Political Modernisation.
- 4.7 Approaches to Modernisation
 - 4.7.1 Fascism
 - 4.7.2 Nazism
 - 4.7.3 Apocalyptic
 - 4.7.4 Cyclical
 - 4.7.5 Evolutionary
 - 4.7.6 Revolutionary/Dialectical
 - 4.7.7 Liberal or Laissez-Faire Approach
- 4.8 Let us Sum up
- 4.9 Check Your Progress Exercise
- 4.10 Glossary
- 4.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 4.12 Suggested Readings
- 4.13 Terminal Questions

4.0 Introduction

The concepts of Political Modernisation and Political Development are very closely related to each other. The one cannot be really separated from the other and yet we must understand the distinction between the two. The concept of Political Modernisation is intimately related to the concept of Political Development. Many scholars conceptualise political development as synonymous with political modernization. This view is not fully correct because there exists a subtle difference between the two. Political modernization is an aspect of political development; we can also admit that it constitutes the initial stage of political development in which a nation tries to become industrialized, urbanized and technologically developed. As such, the two (Political Development and Political Modernisation) are related but have different aspects. We will first try to define Political Modernisation and then differentiating it from Political Development.

4.1 Learning Objectives

After going through this lesson you will be able to :

- Understand the concept of Political Modernisation.
- Discuss S.P. Huntington's view on Political Modernisation
- Explain the Relation between Political Modernisation and Political Development.

4.2 Meaning and Definition of Political Modernisation

It is indeed a problematic exercise to attempt a selection of a precise definition of Political Modernisation. Different scholars have defined it differently. Some conceptualise it as the process by which non-industrialised nations (New and underdeveloped nations) try to become industrialized, whereas others define it as a process by which new Nations try to become "Westernised", and there are still others who define it as a general process of change by which various societies respond to changes in social and physical environments. However, all the scholars accept that political modernization involve "changes" from old to modern.

Definitions of Political Modernisation

- *Clauden E. Welch Jr.* defines Political Modernisation as "the process based upon the rational utilisation of resources and aimed at the establishment of a modern society."
- *Karl Deutsch* has sought to define it in terms of participation or mobilisation, It is the process by which there emerges mass political participation by the people and increased political decentralisation.

- *Benjamin Schwartz* describes Political Modernisation as the systematic, sustained and powerful application of human energies to the rational control of man's physical and social environment for various human purposes."
- *Edward Shills*, while defining the view of the developing nations towards modernisation, writes, "It postulates a desire to be free of dependence on the West." As *Davies* and *Lewis* explain more positively. "The goal is to be modern, that is dynamic, concerned with the people, democratic and equalitarian, scientific, economically advanced sovereign and influential." The model of modernity adopted by newly emerged states is that of 'the West detached in some way from its geographical origins and locus'. In other words, when underdeveloped nations try to be industrialized, urbanized and economically developed, the process is called modernization. In the context of political process. It involves the attempt to transform the political culture, as Dr. J.C. Johri writes, "in response to the changes in social and physical environments in view of the essential fact that political change is intricately related to a wide spectrum of social and economic factors."
- *Robert Ward* has defined Political Modernisation as the movement towards a modern society characterized by its far-reaching ability to control or influence the physical and social circumstances of its environment and by a value system which is fundamentally optimistic about the desirability and consequences of this ability.

4.3 S.P. Huntington Views on Political Modernisation

S.P. Huntington has made a pioneering contribution towards the development of the concepts of Political Modernisation and Political Development. He describes political modernization as "a multi-faceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity." The principal aspects of modernization are urbanization, industrialization, secularization, democratization, education and media participation...."

Political Modernisation postulates changes in five key aspects of human activity and relations :

- (1) At the psychological level, modernization involves a fundamental shift in values, attitudes and expectations.
- (2) At the intellectual level, it involves tremendous expansion of man's knowledge about his environment and the diffusion of knowledge through increase in literacy, mass communication and education.
- (3) Demographically, it implies a change in the pattern of life, a marked increase in health and life expectancy, greater occupational and geographical mobility and a shift of population from rural to urban areas.

- (4) At the social level, modernization has a tendency to replace the focus of individual's loyalty from family and other primary groups to voluntarily organized secondary associations.
- (5) Finally, in the sphere of economics, subsistence agriculture is replaced by market agriculture, agriculture itself declines in comparison to commerce, industry and other non-agricultural activities, and the scope of economic activity is widened as this activity gets more and more centralized at the national level.

4.4 NATURE OF POLITICAL MODERNISATION

After analysing the views of these scholars, it becomes possible for us to define the nature of political modernisation "as the process by which traditional societies try to become modern, i.e., industrialised, urbanised, educated and actively participating societies. It involves the transformation of their political cultures in response to the changes in physical and social environments." *Dr. S.P. Verma*, quoting *S.P. Huntington* has well summarised modernisation as "a comprehensive phenomenon which brings about radical changes in the field of economic development, mainly in the direction of industrialization and material advancement, changes in the nature and content of the political systems and also changes in the social and psychological spheres of life."

Characteristics of Modernisation

Political modernization results from (1) social mobilization, (2) economic development, (3) rationalization of authority, (4) differentiation of structures, and (5) the expansion of political participation. In fact, these are the five key features of political modernization. It is the process by which a traditional society seeks to become a modern society. A modern society is, as *I.R. Sinai* observes, "A society based on advanced technology and the spirit of science, on a rational view of life, a secular approach to social relations, a feeling for justice in public affairs, and all else, on the acceptance in the political realm of the belief that the prime unit of the policy should be the nation-state." The nature of Political Modernisation can be analysed more clearly by understanding its relation with Political Development.

4.5 RELATION BETWEEN POLITICAL MODERNISATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

4.5.1 Close Relations between Political Modernisation and Political Development

Political Modernisation and Political Development are two intimately related processes which together constitute the political dimension of social change that continuously characterises every society. As already stated, the two are so near to each other that many scholars prefer to treat these as same processes. However, in reality the two are not same but similar and are intimately related. Political modernisation takes place within the goals of political development as perceived, defined and accepted by the people of the political system.

Samuel P. Huntington has tried to clarify the relations between the two. He is of the view that political development is a process independent of, although affected by him as “the process of modernisation. Political development is conceptualised by him as the institutionalization of political organisations and procedures, whereas political modernization is conceptualised by him basically in terms of social mobilisation, economic development, rationalisation of authority, differentiation of structures and expansion of political participation. The latter contributes to political development and the former conditions political modernisation,”

4.5.2 Points of Difference between Modernisation and Development

We can specify the following points of difference between Political Modernisation and Political Development :

- (1) Political Development refers to upward change in the political system, where is Political Modernisation refers to every type of change, upward or downward development or decay, in the political system.
- (2) Political Modernisation is open-ended and value free. It stands for all changes involving the match from tradition to modernity. Political Development involves changes based on accepted values and goals.
- (3) Political Modernisation is a factor of Political Development, the latter conditions the former.
- (4) Political Modernisation refers to the acquisition of developed tools and technologies, political development refers to the planned and systematic change in the political system.
- (5) Whereas Political Modernization involves the attempts to change. Political Development refers to the changes that result in the system.

4.6 PROBLEMS OF MODERNIZING SOCIETIES, PATHS BY THEM AND THE MODELS OF POLITICAL MODERNIZATIONS

C.E, Black has identified the following four critical problems that all modernizing societies must face:”

- (a) A challenge to modernity;
- (b) The consolidation of modernising leadership;
- (c) Economic and social transformation; and
- (d) Integration of society.

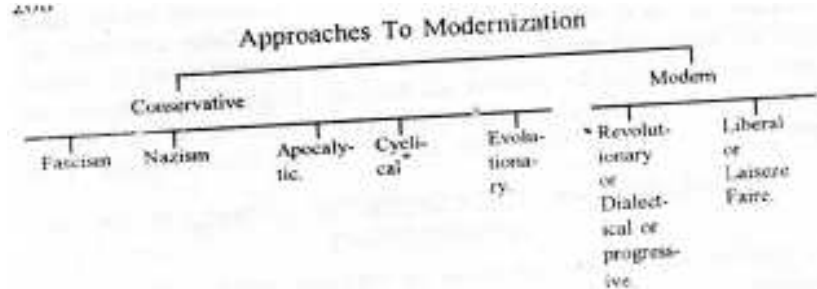
Barrington Moore has, on the other hand suggested the following three different patterns taken by societies on the road of modernity :

- (a) A bourgeois revolution resulting in Western democracy.
- (b) A conservative reaction leading to fascism.
- (c) A peasant revolution leading to Communism.

As a result the models of Political Modernisation are Liberal; Democratic, Communistic and authoritarian-particularly military regimes.

4.7 APPROACHES TO MODERNIZATION

The approaches to Modernization can be classified as Conservative and Modern. Conservative approaches are further classified as Fascism, Nazism, Apocalyptic, Cyclical and Evolutionary. Whereas Modern approaches are classified into Revolutionary or Dialectical or progressive and Liberal or Laissez faire. The approaches of modernization are, therefore, presented in the following table.



4.7.1 FASCISM

The term 'Fascism' or word 'Fascist', which was overused and misused, has been taken from the ancient Roman symbol of authority, a bundle of sticks bound around an ax (the fasces) most of all hated disorder and wanted strong leadership to end it.³¹ Being reaction to the democracy, socialism and communism it not only opposes the rationalist traditions of the west, international organisations, rejects equality, repudiates individualism but also substitutes the principle of hierarchy culminating in a supreme leader or dictator whose will is law and who asserts that all the values derive from the state, which is an end itself and man as an instrument, and relied upon military solution. "Fascism' believes the true liberty found only in subjugation to the state authority, peace lo be corrosive and a cause of decadence, complete conformity, rigid discipline, unquestioned obedience, legitimate use of force, and reason and logic to be substituted by emotions and faith. No organization is allowed to complete the state for loyalty of individual, legislatures will be ratifying bodies. Courts lose independence, local governments controlled by the central authority, political power in the hands of dictator and single political party, which monopolised political power. It strives to engender mass enthusiasm for its regime and policies. According to Fascists such a state will rapidly bring modernization. For example in Fascist. Italy Fascism looked impressive There was little crime, much monumental construction, stable prices. no unemployment and even trains ran on time. Fascism was, therefore, said to be wave of the future,

4.7.2 NAZISM

Nazism is a variety of Fascism which became wide-spread in Germany during Hitler. Nazism, therefore, means all the characteristics of Fascism plus superiority of race. All the Political Powers were monopolised by a single party, which is controlled by a dictator. For example in Germany under Hitler, The Nazis — members of the National Socialist German Workers Party — believed the Germans as a distinct and superior race. Though they were of a special branch of the white race yet Aryans — the bearers of all civilization, In Germany, under Nazism, the economy and unemployment improved, production increased and a kind of prosperity appeared. Many working people felt that they were getting a good deal with the Jobs, vacations and welfare. Its economic policies were designed to build a powerful military machine.

4.7.3 APOCALYPTIC

Apocalyptic approach refers to the religious or divine revolution like the last book of the New Testament, a revelation of the end of the world. A revelation about the path followed by society moving forward. For example Christianity believes that society is moving towards a final judgement resulting in just social order. Hinduism, on the other hand, refers to the wheel of time i.e., Satayuga — 4000 years: Thratayuga 3000 years. Dwaperyuga — 2000 years and Kalyuga for 1000 years. The society, therefore, moves from one stage to another.

4.7.4 CYCLICAL

Cyclical approach refers to the evolution of a society from imperfection towards perfection. In other words the evolution of a society follows a well marked stages of progress and towards increasing perfection. Just like the Dasawan Theory of evolution of man.

4.7.5 EVOLUTIONARY

Evolutionary approach refers that all societies have period of rise and fall, growth and decline. For example Petrie's revolution of civilization, spengler's Decline of the West, Nixon's Rise of the Third World in 21st Century.

4.7.6 REVOLUTIONARY/DIALECTICAL/PROGRESSIVE

Modern approaches, are, however, Revolutionary or Dialectical or Progressive and Liberal or Laissez-faire. The Revolutionary or Dialectical or Progressive approach is a radical break from the past. It is future oriented. It believes in progress in a planned way i.e., not to allow changes in haphazard manner. For example the interaction between capitalism and proleterates leads lo communism. This happened in Russia, China, Vietnam, and other socialist countries.

4.7.7 LIBERAL OR LAISSEZE-FAIRE

Liberal or Laissez-Faire approach supports individualism. It lays stress on the freedom of individuals in all spheres of life in general and in economic sphere in particular. This approach does not support radical or revolutionary ways for a change in society but pleads for step by step change. For this approach the freedom of individuals is paramount and the democratic way of life is the only way for the progress of a society towards true or perfect social order.

4.8 Let us Sum Up

Thus, we can say that there exist several subtle differences between the processes of political modernisation and political development. Despite these differences, it must be clearly emphasised that both are complementary and supplementary processes and are not opposed to each other. Both are simultaneously at work. Both are important and valuable new concepts in modern political science. Both have been used by a large number of political scientists for analysing and classifying political systems and comparing these in terms of their actual working as well as in respect of the changes that come in these.

4.9 Check Your Progress Exercise

1. What do you understand by the term 'Political Modernization' ?
2. Explain the relation between Political Modernizations and Political Development?
3. Describe the characteristics of modernization ?

4.10 Glossary

- Modernisation - is the process of updating something or making it work in a contemporary setting.
- Individualism – the quality of being different from other people and doing any times in your own way.
- Civilization – A society which has its own highly developed culture and way of life.
- Laissez Fair – The policy of allowing private businesses to develop without governmental control.

4.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise

1. See Section 4.2
2. See Section 4.6.1, 4.6.2
3. See Section 4.5

4.12 Suggested Readings

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- J.C. Johari, New Comparative Government.
- A.S. Narang, Indian Government and Politics; (New Delhi : Gitanjali Publishing House), 2013.
- Apter David, Politics of Modernisation (Chicago : University of Chicago Press), 1965.

4.13 Terminal Questions

1. What do you understand by the term of Political Modernisation ? How does it differ from Political Development ?
2. What do you mean by Modernisation ? Briefly discuss its basic Characteristics ?
3. Define Political Modernisation ? Describe the differences between Political Modernisation and Political Development.

Lesson-5

CLASSICAL POLITICAL ELITE THEORY

Structure

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Learning Objectives
- 5.2 Meaning of Political Elite
- 5.3 Difference between Elite Rule, Oligarchy and Aristocracy
- 5.4 Nature of Political Elites
- 5.5 Kinds of Political Elites
 - 5.5.1 Traditional Elites
 - 5.5.2 Aristocratic Elites
 - 5.5.3 The New Elite / Modern Elites
- 5.6 Different Approaches :Kroese's Theory of Fulfillment
- 5.7 Theories of Political Elites
 - 5.7.1 Elite Theory of Vilfredo Pareto
 - 5.7.2 Elite Theory of Mosca
 - 5.7.3 Elite Theory of Michels
 - 5.7.4 Elite Theory of Ortega Y. Gasset
 - 5.7.5 Elite Theory of Bumham
 - 5.7.6 Elite Theory of C. Wright Mill
 - 5.7.7 Milovan Djilas's Theory of Elite
 - 5.7.8 Harold D. Lasswell's Theory of Elite
- 5.8 Central Themes of Elites Theories
- 5.9 Elite Theory and Different-Political Systems
- 5.10 Features of the Elitist Theories
- 5.11 Limitations of Elite Theories
- 5.12 Let Us Sum Up
- 5.13 Check Your Progress Exercise

- 5.14 Glossary
- 5.15 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 5.16 Suggested Reading
- 5.17 Terminal Questions

5.0 Introduction

The political power of each State, whether democratic or otherwise, is always in the hands of a small group of people-the leaders or leading minorities". In a representative democracy, the political power is always exercised by a group of elected top leaders of majority party or parties. In a totalitarian system also the ruling power is in the hands of a small group of persons. The real power holders in a state are always in a minority and they exercise power on behalf of the majority. The most crucial difference between a democracy system and a totalitarian rate is that whereas in the former, the Governing Elite (Power holders) is chosen by the people, in the latter, it emerges and gets imposed upon the people by force.

In all societies - from societies that are very meagerly developed and have barely attained the drawings of civilization, down to the most advanced and powerful societies - two classes of people appear - a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent and supplies the first, in appearance at least, with material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism.

The group of power holder is designated differently by different scholars and some of the popular terms are: Elites, Political Class, Ruling Elite, Governing Elite, Power Elite, Top Leadership and so forth. The ruling elite is present in every system of government, though its organization, style of functioning and nature of rule is different in different political system.

5.1 Learning Objectives

After going through this lesson you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of Political elite.
- Discuss the kinds of Political Elites.
- Know the features of Elite Theory.

5.2 Meaning and Definitions of Political Elite

The dictionary meaning of the word 'Elite' is "the chosen element in the population." As such, groups of chosen elements in society are referred to as the 'elites'. An elite is a minority of population but it is the centre of power. "The chosen element" consists of those persons who sit at the top of the society over others.

In fact, Elites are present in every field of life. There is intellectual elite, the elite of the city, elite of the lawyers etc. They are the selected successful persons in different walks of life. In the context of politics, an elite is called a political elite and it consists of the persons who wield political power in the political system. Despite being a minority group, it effectively controls all the effective centres of political power.

Definitions

- *Vilferdo Pareto*, to whom goes the credit of popularizing the concept of the elite, gives two definitions of the elite, a broad one that covers the whole social elite and a narrow one that refers to the governing elite:
 - (i) In the broad sense, he defines elite as "a small number of individuals who in each sphere of activity have succeeded and arrived at a higher echelon in the professional hierarchy."
 - (ii) In the narrow sense, *Pareto* defines the ruling elite or the governing elite as that "small number of individuals who have succeeded and who exercise ruling functions politically and socially."
- According to *Suzanne Kellar*, "Elites are those minorities which are set apart from the rest of society by their pre-eminence in one or more of these various distributions."
- *C. Wright Mills* uses the term 'power elite' for "elite" and defines it as "those who occupy the command posts."
- *Prethus* defines elites as "minorities of specialised leaders who enjoy disproportionate amounts of power "in community affairs".
- *Lass-well* is of the-view that: "the political elite comprises the power holders of a body politic. The power-holders include the leadership and the social formations, from which leaders typically come, and to which accountability is maintained during a given period.

On the basis of these definitions, we can say that political elite is the minority group which exercises power in a society. It enjoys different names in different societies - Power Elite, Political Elite, Governing Elite, Ruling Elite, etc.

5.3 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ELITE RULE, OLIGARCHY AND ARISTOCRACY

Is there something like iron law of oligarchy?’

In order to be clear about the nature of contemporary Political Elites, we must distinguish between the rule of the Elite, the rule of the ‘Oligarchs’ and the rule of the Aristocracy’. All the three terms refer to the rule of a minority over the society. In each of them, the rulers are conceptualised as superior elements or chosen elements.

However, along with these similarities, there are fundamental differences between the rule of the elite on the one hand and rule of the oligarchs on the other, “The point of similarity is the rule of the few’, while the element of difference lies in the way in which the few come to hold and exercise power. The Elite rule depends upon the appreciation of the masses, while the rule of the oligarchs depends upon the apathy, ignorance or weak and meek altitude of the down-trodden people.”

Analysing the difference between Elite rule, Oligarchy and Aristocracy, *Douglas V. Verney* observes. “An elite appear to combine some of the characteristics of both an Oligarchy and an Aristocracy but it is not to be confused with either. It is a minority, like an oligarchy, and consists of superior people, like an aristocracy, but there is neither the sense of self-perpetuation and selfishness which surrounds the former nor the pomp and grandeur which often is associated with the latter.”

In other words, elite rule is the rule of the minority but it is neither self-perpetuating nor selfish. Nevertheless, it, like Oligarchy and Aristocracy, does involve the promotion of vested interests.

Further, a political elite in modern democratic systems emerges out of the masses. It rule with the tacit and general approval of the masses. The masses, in fact, elect their ruling elites and recognise their power and ability to rule over them. In Oligarchy and Aristocracy, the elite rule is based on kinship or family superiority or the thesis of ‘celebrities and royal family.’ Oligarchs rule by establishing their right to govern either because of their inherent right or family status or even physical ability to rule. In an aristocracy, the few rule because they are regarded as ‘the persons fit to rule,’ In Oligarchy and Aristocracy, the rule of the few over the masses is imposed and it always tries to perpetuate itself. In the elite rule, the chosen minority rules with the consent of the masses and is accountable for its rule.

“The **line** of demarcation” writes *Dr. J.C. Johri*. “is traceable to the fact that elite rule lacks both traditional grandeur and the tendency of self-perpetuation which are **the** hallmarks of the rule of the few known by the names of aristocracy or oligarchy.”

The concept of Elite rule in a democracy is, as such, different from the traditional concepts of Oligarchy and Aristocracy. Elite rule is a minority rule, backed by the tacit and general consent of the masses. Oligarchy and Aristocracy involve the rule of the minority which thrives either on the interest of the masses in their doings, or on the apathy, ignorance, weaknesses and meekness of the masses.

5.4 Nature of Political Elite

The followings can be described as the essential features of a political elite :

1. A Political elite consists of a minority of people-the chosen element of the society.
2. Political elites of a democratic system are backed by the general support and consent of the masses.
3. It is mostly through elections that political elites establish their popularity and the right to exercise power in society.
4. Political Elites occupy big positions and control the decision-making mechanism.
5. Elites exercise power and influence because they possess some superior qualities – intellectual ability, administrative capacity, higher positions, military power, popular legitimacy and credibility or moral authority.
6. A society consists of many kinds of elites. There may be governing elite, power elite, a national elite, an elite occupying high status, etc. Further, there may be social elites, political elites, and economic elites and so on. These various categories of elites represent the highest indices in their own branches of activity.
7. There is a continuous alternation or movement of elites in a democratic system.
8. In a democracy the political elite consist of persons who are duly elected by the people. Political power is exercised by political elites in the name of the people. In actual practice, democracy is an elitist system.
9. The concept of the elite postulates that behind every talk or ideal of equality, there is inequality in actual practice. The elites rule the masses. The elites exercise power over the masses in the name of “Popular Will”. “General Will” and “Consent of the governed.”
10. Elite grow and develop in every society and compete for power.
11. In democratic system the membership of the political elites is open to all the people. There is an ever present circulation or attention of the political elite.

5.5 Kinds/Types of Political Elites

Elites can be classified on the basis of the areas of their operation, viz, political elites, social elites, economic elites, intellectual elite- etc. The political elites are popularly classified into three forms;

5.5.1 Traditional Elites : The elites who enjoy power, influence and authority on the basis of traditions and traditional values are called Traditional Elites - Customs, religion, land, and family were the bases of their power and authority in the past. Wealth, property and family status are usually the important sources of power of the traditional elites in the modern times

as well. Princes, *Zamindars*, religious leaders are examples of traditional elites. Even in contemporary times, when secularism has come to be universally accepted as a value, religious leaders continue to act as elite groups in almost all the societies., e.g., *Buddhist monks* have been playing a key role in the ethnic crises of Sri Lanka, ruling crises in Myanmar and demand for autonomy for Tibet. In Islamic States, the religious leaders, '*Mullahs*', '*Ayoatullas*', *Shia Leaders* and *Sunni Leaders* have been playing an important role in the political process. The constitution and working of such religious groups in a theocratic state are similar to the organisation and working of traditional elites.

5.5.2 Aristocratic or Noble Elites ; In almost all such societies as were in the past governed by kings, aristocratic elites or royal elites continue to wield power and influence even after the transformation of monarchical regimes into democratic regimes. The House of Lords in England is an example of an aristocratic elite house within a democratic political system. British Royal Family is also a ruling elite family. This is also true of some European States, Japan, Malaysia and many other such states. Even in our own country, the ex-maharajas, their sons and daughters, continue to be influential in the Indian politics. The former maharajas do not wear the 'Taaj' but they do try to sit on 'power chairs' and influence the corridors of power. After the loss of their 'kingdoms and privy purses', most of them have willingly replenished these with social prestige carved through the support of the masses. As such, even in this age of democracy, aristocratic or noble elites continue to be actively present in almost all the states.

5.5.3 The New Elite or Modern Elite : The new elite or the modern elite is a product of the industrial society and represents the forces of modernisation and development. The progress of the industrial revolution has been accompanied by the rise of big business houses and industrial concerns. The owners of such concerns, by virtue of being very rich, have started acting as elite groups capable of exercising a big influence, sometimes deterministic influence on the political process. The transformation of the police state into a welfare state has resulted into a manifold increase in the functions of the state. It has come to be the biggest instrument for the promotion of socio-economic welfare through the formulation, adoption and implementation of welfare policies. This has tremendously increased the role and importance of public administration. The bureaucracy as the main instruments of public administration has come to be a very powerful group - an elite group - in all the states. Bureaucracy is new elite, a powerful elite at work in every state.

Likewise, with the rise of the democracy and systems, new elites have come to wield and exercise power in every society. The leaders of the political parties are the modern or new elites. In fact, the technological revolution of the professional machine age as well as the developments in the field of research have brought into existence such elites, new elites as Engineers, Doctors, Scientists and Intellectuals. All such elites play a vigorous and important role in the political systems. In Marxist and other totalitarian political systems, the top party leaders- the custodians of party ideology, have been working as new elite committed to secure modernization and development in their social system.

5.6 Different Approaches

Kroese's Theory of Fulfillment of a Specific Mission by the Elites if elites are so important in the decision-making process because of their influence and if they are the real controlling forces in a political community, 'we may refer to the following important approaches adopted by leading social theorists to make an empirical study of the subject':

1. **Positional Approach** : It signifies that the persons holding position of authority actually make key decisions. Lynds and Mills hold that the position of influence is gained by virtue of economic power, while Stauffer finds its source in top civil and political status of the person. Schuiz and Blumberg spread their canvas to include all economic as well as non-economic factors. Subscribing to the same view, Jennings gives importance to government officials, civic staff as well as economic dominance. Thus, different writers have found the source of a person's high position in the decision-making process in different factors—economic, social and political.
2. **Representational Approach** : Basing their conclusions of Weber and Lassell, writers like Warner, Hollingshed, Hunter and Angell pinpoint the role of very influential persons of the community who may be treated as its representatives by virtue of their understanding of the power structure and their role in it. In a way, it looks like another variant of the 'positional approach'.

However, a point of difference between the two may be discovered in that while the former lays emphasis on the objective factors, the latter hits at the subjective aspect of the same. For this reason, while the former may be appreciated for being determinate, the latter is criticized for being indeterminate. Members of an elite have power, influence, authority and the like, but there may be some persons of repute in a community having no power or influence.

3. **Issue-Participant Approach** : Also known by the names of decision-making and event-analysis approaches, it lays emphasis on the role of real decision-makers for the reason they enjoy influence in the real life situations.

However, **Kroese** has sought-to Justify the elite system **in his** own way. He defines elite **as** a separate group which "has a specific mission to fulfill in society. In terms of historical development, it means a division of its emergence into three stages—the announcement of message, the carrying out of the plan set forth **in** the message, and the conservation of the order achieved by carrying out the plan. It may be asked as to what sort of circumstances are favourable to the development of an elite notion on the part of a group burdened with the preservation of the existing order. Four generalizations seem possible :

1. The fact of having been an elite in a previous phase; If the ruling party has become an elite during the message-announcing phase or during the phase 'when the plan was being carried out, when the third phase is reached, the characteristics of the difficult, or heroic, phase often linger on for a longtime.
2. The state of tension between what is and what ought to be: It is true that the order- preserving group likes to take the view that this order is the outcome of a natural order. Therefore, the tension between what is and what ought to be is, in theory, done away with, yet they recognise that this is only so in theory. They are well aware that, as things are, certain groups are subjected to an order which has nothing to do with them. They claim emphatically that if they were to abdicate, the result would be that other groups, unemancipated or capable of being emancipated, would drift bade to an earlier lower state, or indeed to a complete Chaos.
3. The logical deduction from the statement is that the social situation is marked by a certain degree of alienation. There are sub-groups subjected to the order of things which the elite has designated as the obligatory form of society and which are, in one way or another, tainted with a different system of belief.
4. Even so, it all might happen that the group which has taken up the task of interpreting and preserving the mission entrusted to it, will not explicitly style itself an elite. They can be a set of representatives, elected by the-majority exercising a tolerant attitude towards groups who think differently from them. However, this cannot be so...if the leading group should be a slender minority. For in that case, tolerance would lead to the overthrow of the established order by the dissident majority. So this final condition is, at the same time, the primary distinguishing feature of elite which stands as a preserver of the existing order.

5.7 THEORIES OF THE POLITICAL ELITES

The theories of the elites have been a dominant theme in the history of Western thought since the turn of the last century¹⁸ in general and in the united states in the years following the world war second¹⁹ in particular. They have attracted the attention of the political scientists and the sociologists all over the world, especially those who are interested in the studies of distribution of power, influence and decision-making authority in the society.

No single universally accepted elite theory has emerged as yet. These are therefore elite theories. Some studies mention that there is a single power elite drawn from economic class which provides leadership to other elements in the political community. Other reject this view and favour a pluralist model where power is diffused among many interest groups competing for it. Many other theories based on a fusion of the elitist and pluralist theories.

Classical texts on the elite though believe that in each society there is a single cohesive Elite group which dominate the affairs of the society and not controlled by any other group or groups. This group comprised politicians plus civil servants plus economists. In other words classical writers believed in the monistic view of Elitism i.e. a single Elite group.

Contemporary writers of Elite theory, on the other hand, believe that there exist many elite groups in a society and leadership emerges because of competition among them. That is there exists a competition among members of Elite groups. In simple words they believe in the pluralistic version of Elite theory.

But the common points in both of the views is that there exists a minority of people who influence decisions and control powers. It has however, been argued that these theories are not only relevant but vital for understanding of power structure and power processes in any country of whatever variety it might be.

The core of the elitism is that in any society there is and must be a minority of the population which makes the major decisions in the society and rule over the majority. This minority, called political class or governing elite includes the wider circle of those who influence governmental decisions as well as those who formally decide politics. This minority gains its dominant position by means beyond ordinary elections. Its influence may be due to its embodying certain social or religious values hereditary or certain personal qualities.

These who get on the top are always the best. They are known as the elite. The elites consist of those successful persons who rise to the top in every occupation and startum of society ; there is an elite of lawyers, and elite of machines, and even an elite of thieves and an elite of prostitutes. Let us briefly discuss the ideas of leading elite theorists in the light of the central theme of their contributions.

5.7.1 THE ELITE THEORY OF VILFERDO PARETO (1848-1923)

Pareto's Elite Theory is based on the view that individuals invariably differ from one another in their basic abilities thus making inequality inevitable in the society. In every society, there is a minority which effectively rules and exercises power and influence. It does so because it possesses some extraordinary characteristics - intellectual ability, administrative acumen, military power or moral authority. It, therefore, forms the elite of a given society.

Analysing his concept of the elite- *Pareto* observes : "Let us assume that in every branch of human activity, each individual is given an index, which stands as a sign of his capacity, very much the way grades are given in the various subjects of examinations in schools. The highest type of lawyer, for instance, will be given 10 and the man who does not get a client will be given 1, reserving zero for the man who is out and out an idiot. Or to the man who has made his millions - honestly or dishonestly as the case may be we will give to

the man who has earned his thousands we will give 6; to such as just manage to keep out of the poor house 1, keeping zero for those who get nil, and so on for all the branches of activity, and to that class, which is at the top, the name of elite,” In other words, Pareto advocates that some persons are superior in their attributes while others possess inferior abilities, The class having superior ability constitutes the elite.

(a) Social Elite and Governing Elite

Pareto categories elites into the Social Elite and the Governing Elite. The Social Elite is broadly the class of persons with superior abilities. He, in this broad sense, defines the elite as ; “a small number of individuals, who in each sphere of activity have succeeded and arrived at a higher echelon in the professional hierarchy.” Social Elites include successful businessmen, artists. Politicians, lawyers, engineers, and so on. The Governing Elite is that small number of individuals who have succeeded and who exercise ruling functions politically and socially.

(b) Pareto’s Division of Society into Two Stratum”;

Pareto maintains that the population of a society stands divided into two stratum : (1) the lower stratum (the masses and the non-elite), and (2) the higher stratum - the elite of the ruling elite. He further sub-divides the higher stratum into two parts : (i) the governing elite’ and (ii) the non-governing elite, the former wields power and latter is the group of all able successful persons.

(c) Attributes of the Governing Elite

The governing elite has ideal qualities of head and muscles - an ideal combination of the qualities of a lion and a fox. They use force to rule and reason to justify their rule. Force over the lower stratum and propaganda for winning support are together employed by the governing elite to rule their societies,

(d) Pareto’s Concept of the Circulation of the Elite

“History”, observed *Pareto*, “is a graveyard of aristocracies.” Old elites always give place to new elites. Elites are always in a flux. They are dynamic and not static. In every society, there is an unceasing movement of individuals and elites from higher to lower levels and from lower to higher levels resulting in a “considerable increase of the degenerate elements in the Classes which still hold power, and on the other hand, in an increase of elements of superior quality in the subject classes.” This leads to the ultimate **extinction of** every elite group in society. The dissolution of the elite group makes **the social** equilibrium unstable.

Pareto goes on to discuss various kinds of circulation among the elite : of circulation (i) between different categories of the governing elite itself, and (ii) between the elite **and** the rest of the population. The latter may involve, (a) individuals in the lower strata entering

the existing elite, and/or (b) individuals in the lower strata forming new elite groups and entering into a struggle for power with the existing elite. *Pareto* further **explains the** degeneration of the governing elite in terms of changes taking place in the characteristics of the different categories of the elite.

Pareto's Concept of Residues

He develops his concept of "residues" by drawing a distinction between the logical (rational) and non-logical (non-rational) actions of the individuals in **social life; logical** actions are termed as those actions which are directed to attainable ends the reverse type of actions are called non-logical actions. By 'residues', *Pareto* means the superior qualities through which a person can rise in life. He discusses six types of residues but gives primary importance to two residues : the residue of combination (cleverness) and the residue of aggregates (Force). Accordingly, ruling elites are of two types : One which rules by "virtue of the residue of combination", and the second that rules by "virtue of residue of aggregates," A governing elite which has both these "virtues" is the best. The governing elites use "derivations" (Myths) for maintaining themselves in power.

Elite Circulation - A source of Social Mobility and Change

The circulation of the Elite, believes *Pareto*, is very helpful in preventing revolutions and in maintaining social mobility and change. "Revolutions come about through accumulations in higher strata of society - either because of a slowing down in a class circulation or from other causes of decadent elements no longer possessing the residue suitable for keeping them in power, or shrinking from the use of force; while in the mean time, in the lower strata of society, elements of superior quality are coming to the force, possessing residues suitable for exercising the functions of governing and willing enough to use Force,"

Pareto, thus, presents a theory of the elite - the natural division based upon the unequal abilities of the members of society. He conceives of elites in terms of social elites **and** governing elites as well as explains the process of changes in the elites on **the** basis of his concept of 'circulation of elites.

5.7.2 THE ELITE THEORY OF GAETANO MOSCA [1856-1941]

Gaetano Mosca like *Pareto*, also offers a theory of elite and circulation of elite. His analysis is, in several important ways, similar to the one given by *Pareto*. He begins his theory by rejecting the Aristotelian thesis of three-fold typology of governments Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. He asserts that there was only one kind of government Oligarchy,

Universality of Elite Rule : *Mosca* declares, "in all societies, from meagerly developed to fully developed, two classes of people appear - a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolises power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous

class, is directed and controlled by the first in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent and supplies the first, in appearance at least, with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism.” “The larger the political community.” *Mosca* Further observes, “the smaller will be the proportion of the governing minority to the majority to be governed by and the more difficult it will be for the majority to organise for reaction against the minority.”

Elite - an Able Minority. In other words, *Mosca* clearly advocates the belief that the domination of an organised minority over the unorganised majority is inevitable. He is of the view that the majority of human beings, in a condition of eternal tutelage, are predestined by tragic necessity to submit to the domination of a small minority, and must **be** content to constitute the pedestal of an oligarchy. An active and organised minority (elite) governs the passive and unorganised majority (the masses). The most distinguishing characteristic of the elite is “the aptitude to command and to exercise political control.”

Mosca’s concept of Circulation of Elites. Like *Pareto*, *Mosca* also believes in the Circulation of the Elite. The elite is not a static closed group. It is dynamic in nature and is subject to the principle of the “circulation of elites.” New members keep on coming into it as old members keep on going out of it. Sometimes, the whole set gets replaced by another through a revolution. The give and take between elites and non-elites goes on. When the ruling elite loses its aptitude to command and to exercise political control, and the people outside the ruling class cultivate it in large numbers, there is every possibility that the old ruling class will be deposed and replaced by the new one. *Mosca* believes that circulation of the elite is an eternal law. The governing elite, in course of time, becomes incapable of providing the necessary and valuable services to the masses and thus gets replaced by another elite. Sometimes, the changes in the social system, like the birth of a new religion, also make it inevitable for the governing elite to yield place to another new organised and active elite. Thus, *Mosca*, like *Pareto*, believes in the circulation of the elite as an inevitable process. In this connection, he gives his concept of ‘Political Formula’ which is similar to *Pareto’s* concept of ‘Derivations’.

5.7.3 ELITE THEORY OF ROBERT MICHELS (1876-1936)

Advocacy of Iron Law or Oligarchy : *Michels* also believes in the principle of the “Iron law of oligarchy” according to which every society is ruled by a minority, i.e., by an elite group. This law is “one of the iron laws of history, from which the most democratic modern societies and within those societies, **the** most advanced parties, have been unable to escape.”

In each Democracy, Party Rule is really an Elite Rule. According to *Michels*, every democratic system in actuality is a party system. In it, a party rules and the party organisation is controlled by a group of leaders who, because of the organisational and psychological factors, in reality do not remain accountable to the electorate or the people

who elect them. The leaders are together the ruling elite, and their rule is, as such an oligarchy. What is true of party organisation is also true of all other organisations. "No organisation can be anything except being an 'oligarchy'". The machinery of the organization completely inverts the position of the leader in respect to the masses.

Thus, in every society, the active minority (the elite) governs the passive majority - (the masses) and democracy, in fact is a competition between oligarchies. The rule of Law is basically the rule of the leaders, if laws are passed to control the dominion of leaders, it is the laws which gradually weaken and not the leaders.

To sum up, we can say that *Michel* also advocates the view that the rule of minority (governing elite) over the masses is a natural phenomenon in all societies. All systems of government are oligarchic in the ultimate reality.

5.7.4 ELITE THEORY OF ORTEGA Y. GASSET (1883-1955)

Theory of Masses and Theory of Elite : Ortega Y. Gasset places his theory of the elite upon his theory of the masses. According to him, "a nation's greatness depends on the capacity of the 'people', 'the public', 'the crowds', 'the masses' to find their 'symbol' in certain chosen people, on whom it pours out the vast store of its vital enthusiasm." A nation is an organised human heap, given structure by a minority of select individuals ~ the Elite, "The legal form which a nation may adopt can be as democratic or as communistic as you choose, but its living and extra-legal constitution will always consist in the dynamic influence of the minority acting on the mass. This is a natural law and as important in the biology of social bodies as the law of densities in physics."

Division of Each Society into Chosen People and Ruled Masses. "The primary social fact is the organisation of the human heap in the leaders and the led. This supposes in some a certain capacity to lead; in others a certain capacity to be led," The leaders are the "selected people" or "the chosen people". They are the chosen people by virtue of the fact of their being 'outstanding people', with the ability (derived from the masses) to lead the masses who are not chosen. "A man is effective in society as a whole", writes *Onega* "not so much because of his individual qualities as because of his social energies which have been reposed in him by the mass." The rise of the chosen people in a society is a natural and universal phenomenon "Where there is not a minority acting over a collective mass, and a mass that knows how to accept the influx of a minority, there is no society, or very nearly so." As such, a society is really a society only when it is given structure **by** a group of chosen people (the elite). A nation without such a group always suffers a decline.

Thus for *Pareto*, *Mosca*, *Michels*, *Mills*, *Buruham* and *Onega*. Elite **rule** is a natural and universal system. The term Elite is taken to mean a group of persons who commands power, i.e., rule a society. It has been termed by them as 'the elite' or 'chosen people' or 'the governing elite' or 'the power elite' or the 'managerial elite'.

5.7.5 ELITE THEORY OF BURUHAM

Buruham's Elite-theory constitutes an attempt to combine the theory of Elitism with the principles of Marxism. He advocates the view that the present capitalist system would ultimately be replaced by a society in which the income and political institutions will be controlled by a few persons only. He designates these persons as the Managerial Elite. In a capitalist society whole business is controlled by the professional managers, the basis of elite power is control over production, i.e.. income. "The easiest way to discover the ruling elite in any society is usually to see what group gets the biggest income."

Buruham – accepts like *Marx*. the importance of the means of production in a society. However, the similarity between his views and Marxism ends here. Whereas Marxism believes that after the revolution, the means of production will come into the hands of the proletariat. *Buruham* advocates that the means of production are destined to be in the hands of the elite, the group of persons controlling the means of production and the income of the society.

5.7.6 ELITE THEORY OF C. WRIGHT MILLS

C. Wright Mills uses the term "Power Elite" instead of the term 'Elite' or Ruling **Class**. He uses the term 'Power Elite' to refer to all those persons in a society who occupy command posts. The basis of the power of the elite is socio-economic. In contemporary societies, power is with those institutions which occupy the pivotal position in the society. In turn, each such institution is controlled by a small group of people at the top - the power elite. To quote *C. Wright Mills*, "**The** elite is the product of the 'institutional landscape' of the society. Power in modern **society** is institutionalised with the result that **certain** institutions constitute the strategic command posts of the social structure. Power is **an** attribute of the institutions. The **power** elite consists of those in position to make **decisions** having major consequences...in **command** of the major hierarchies and organisations of modern society."

An important feature of *C. Wright Mills's* concept of the power elite is his advocacy that it is endowed with the central quality of cohesiveness because of the similarity of background, attitudes, skills etc.. that, the history-making power of the elite is sufficient to overturn the status-quo, call into question the existing social relationship and establish a new structure. The inner core of the elite is the ability, potentially, to determine the role both it and the others will play in society."

5.7.7 MILOVAN DJILAS' THEORY OF ELITE

Milovan Djilas' Yugoslav critic of totalitarian communism —developed his opinion about elite in his book "The New Class". He describes how after the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, a new class previously unknown to history has been formed,

This new class consisted of the leaders of the Communist Party, who controlled the party organisation and enjoyed complete power and special privileges and economic preference because of administrative monopoly they hold.

The communist party leaders made up the Elite, and used the party as an instrument of their own power and privilege. This class grew stronger, while the party grew weaker. This was the inescapable fate of every communist party in power. The new class arose from the proletariat and worked as the champion of that class. This class obtained its power, privileges, ideology and its customs from one specific form of ownership i.e. collective ownership which this class administered and distributed in the name of nation and society. Its chief weapons were industrialization and development of production.

All changes initiated by the communist chiefs were dictated primarily by the interests and aspirations of the new class which like every social group lived, reacted and defended itself and advanced with the aim of increasing its power.

Having achieved industrialization- the new class could do nothing more than strengthened its brute force, political as well as administrative hegemony.

He, however, bitterly predicted that “when the new class leaves the historical scene — and that must happen — there will be less sorrow over its passing than there was for any other class before it.

5.7.8 HAROLD D. LASSWELL’S THEORY OF ELITES

H.D. Lasswell too points out that a society can be divided into two categories of persons namely the masses and the political Elites. For him the study of politics is the study of “Influence and influential” and the influentials are those who get the most of what there is to get.

What people want to get is described by him as ‘Values’ and he lists the basic values as deference, income and safety. Those who get the most of these values are called Elites. The rest are the masses. He further points out that Elites differ as they command different values. That is Elite of deference is not necessarily an Elite of safety. He also analyses the methods by which the Elites are protected or superseded.

He argues that the fate of the Elite is profoundly affected by the ways in which it manipulated the environment. This is to say by the use of violence, goods, symbols and practices.”

As the time passed he felt that political Elitism was not based on ability, but on power. Those who wielded power, irrespective of ability were really elite.”

He stresses that an elite defends and asserts itself in the name of the symbols of the common destiny. Such symbols are the ideology of the established order and the Utopia of counter elites. By the use of sanctioned words and gestures the Elite elicits blood, work, taxes and applause from the masses. He Finds the various forms of violence to be a major means of elite attack and defence.

According to him the society can be divided into three categories namely most powerful, less powerful and least powerful. In the first category falls political bosses in the elite group', in second those fall who are in the middle of political group whereas in the third category comes the masses who are the least powerful and have no voice in political policies and decision making process.

He stresses that an Elite is subject to domestic attack when it fails to bring in prosperity. The security of elite is, therefore, bound up with shifts in goods and prices, Lasswell. however, felt that insecurities of the contemporary world, sharpened by the vicissitudes of a rapidly expanding and rapidly contracting economy, foster the conditions of perpetual crisis which favour the seizure of power by the agitator, and the retention of power by the man of ruthless violence."

Thus, in any society there is and must be a minority of the population which takes the major decision and rule over the majority. This minority is comprised political elites. They not only influence governmental decisions but also formally decide policies. The elites gain their dominant position by means beyond election. Their influence is due to their embodying certain social or religious values or heredity or certain personal qualities. James Meisel calls these qualities are three Cs (i.e. C³) — group consciousness, coherence and conspiracy, which help them to maintain their power. The power itself is cumulative by its nature. It also gives access to more and more power as it becomes a means to obtain other social goods such as economic influence, social Status, wealth, educational advantages for children and so on. All these too are in themselves powers and, therefore, help to maintain the elite's domination in subsequent generations also. The elitists have also described variously the qualities and social opportunities a group is needed to possess in order to gain an elite position. The Elitist doctrine also believes that this dominant minority cannot be controlled by the majority whatever democratic mechanism it may use. The elitist writers also believe that there is circulation between different categories of the governing elite in itself as well as between elite and the rest of the population. The Elite is, therefore, not a permanent group that rules rather its membership changes over a period of time.

5.8 Central Themes of Elites Themes

Let us briefly discuss the ideas of leading elite theorists in the light of the central theme of their contributions :

Political Elite Theorists

<i>Theorists</i>	<i>Approaches</i>	<i>Contentions</i>
Gaetano Mosca	Organisational	In every society two classes of people exist—the rulers and the ruled—the former always less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys advantages that follow, tries to find out a legal and moral basis for being in the citadels of powers.

Robert Michels	“	Who says organization, say oligarchy, the fact of technical indispensability of leadership is always at work.
Wilfredo Pareto	“	History is the graveyard of aristocracies, elites remain in circulation, they rise and fall in spite of having special qualities (residues) which help a powerful position.
James Burnham	Economic	The power of elites has its source in the ownership of the means of production and distribution of goods, the privileged few manage to receive preferential treatment from the society and thereby prevent others from being in power.
C.W. Mills	Institutional	The elites are a product of the institutional landscape of society, power is an attribute, not of classes but of institutions, all elites cannot be of equal significance as few may have access to the seats of power.

5.9 Elite Theory and Different Political Systems

The critics of Elite theories are of the view that the Elite’s doctrine is opposed to, or critical of Modern Democracy. The political theory of elites, as discussed above, contradicts the basic assumption of democracy that government is in the hands of the people. To bring about reconciliation between the two thus becomes a matter of serious enquiry. The name of Karl Mannheim (1893-1947) is important in this direction who “could evolve a conception of democracy as a political system in which political parties compete for the votes of a mass electorate, the elites are relatively ‘open’ and recruited on the basis of merit, and the mass of population is able to participate in ruling the society at least in the sense that it may exercise a choice between the rival elites.

Mannheim asserts that though the actual shaping of policy is in the hands of the elites, it does not mean that the society is not democratic. It “is sufficient for democracy that the individual citizens though prevented from taking a direct part in the government all the time, have at least the possibility of making their aspirations felt at certain intervals... in a democracy the governed can always act to remove their leaders, or to force them to take decisions in the interests of the many,”

Schumpeter and Anthony Downs

A similar attempt has been made by two economists Schumpeter and Anthony Downs. Schumpeter has desired to have a new theory of democracy' in which the political theory of elites and classical theory of democracy have their reconciliation. Downs has likened political parties in a democracy with the entrepreneurs in a profit-seeking economy. The approach of these two important writers is thus summed up by an Indian writer "As different groups of men look for different ways of obtaining support from the masses, different political parties are formed and enter into a competition with each other. This leads to a plurality of elites and a kind of system of checks and balances in the democratic societies, which are, on this account, often described as pluralistic societies-Associations of all kinds, professional as well as political, are formed and the government becomes a business of compromises."

It is claimed by the exponents of a socialist system that in it there is no place for the rule of the elites, for there is the rule of the 'mass'- The dictatorship of the proletariat is thus the only alternative to the dictatorial rule of the elites. Some social theorists like Raymond Aron, and DJilas, however, disagree with such a contention. According to him, there is only one elite in power in a socialist society. Not the Communist Party but an elite of the same rules what is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat What is worse is that "a classless society leaves the mass of the population without any possible means of defence against the elite." The law of Max Weber has its application in every political system whether it is democratic or socialist.

The elitists have accepted much of the meaning of Marx; at the same time, they have given it a middle class bent so that the entire interpretation may be saved from exposure to a stimulus to working class revolutionary action. They have emphasised the point that it is political skill—or the lack of it—that detentions who will rule and how power may change hands. The economic factors are really important, but it cannot be lost sight of that by political means an elite, can control, accommodate or even counteract economic forces. It is thus obvious that even a socialist system cannot be taken as free from the prevalence of elite politics, or what Buruham calls, 'the political process of managerial revolution'. A change from a capitalist to a socialist system should be treated as a change in the engineers or the technological specialists or the 'keepers of the community's material welfare'.

5.10 Features of Elite Theories

On the basis of the above description of the views of elite theories, we can specify the following as the common features of the elitist theory :

1. In every society, power is really enjoyed by a small group of persons who have high prestige and widespread influence. This group is called the governing elite or the power elite.

2. The member of the governing elite occupies key positions and controls the decision making mechanism.
3. Almost all the elite theorists agree that the elite are subject to change in every society. This has been described by many as the "Circulation of the Elite."
4. The Elite theory advocates the view that democracy is, in the ultimate form, an 'Oligarchy*.
5. Every segment of social relationship is dominated by an elite.
6. The elite theory is based on the realities of the actual working of the political systems.
7. The Elite Theory is based on the factors of ability, character, capacity, experience and wealth.
8. The elite theory postulates a division of society into two groups: the Elite and the Masses, the former governs and the latter is governed.
9. The elite theory regards "will of the people", "sovereignty of the people". "Government by the people" and other such characterizations created and adopted by the elites to cover, legitimize and make successful their rule over the masses.
10. Elections are regarded by the elite theorists as mechanisms for bringing out the elite.
11. The elite theory maintains that the responsibility of the governing elite to the public is a mere myth, because experts and able persons (Elite) cannot be responsible to the ignorant.
12. The elite theory further holds what we call the majority rule is in reality a minority rule:
13. The elite theory rejects the thesis that public opinion is supreme in a democratic system. It holds that public opinion is a creation of the Elite.
14. It believes that the rule of the elite is a natural and Just condition without which no political system, not even a democratic system, can be successful.

5.11 Limitation of Elite Theory

The following are the major limitations of the Elite Theory :

1. **Wrongly builds a case in favour Inequality** : Firstly, the Elite theory wrongly assumes inequality as the basis of society. Fundamentally, all are equal in the sense that all are capable of developing their faculties and through these occupy any or every public office. No one is inherently abler and wiser than the others. The difference in intelligence and qualities is that of degree and not of kind. As such the division between the elite and the masses is not organic.

2. **Non-Recognition of the ability of Masses :** The theory wrongly reposes **all faith** in the ability **of the elite** to the total exclusion of the ability of the masses.
3. **Justifies authoritarian rule in the name of Elite Rule:** The elite theory involves an inherent and in-built thesis in favour of totalitarian political Systems.
4. **Ignores the fact of Mass Participation in Politics :** It is definitely opposed to the contemporary values of mass political participation in the political process.
5. **Reflects Conservatism :** The Elitist Theory is a conservative **theory because it** gives a theory **of** democracy to justify the prevailing socio-economic-political inequalities in several societies. It builds up a strong thesis, though partial and subjective, in favour **of the** traditionally existing malpractices.
6. **Fails to recognize the virtue of Mass Democracy :** It fails to suggest remedies for the prevailing defects of the democratic political systems. On the contrary, it builds up a defence of some of the evil practices charactering the contemporary political systems.
7. **Iron law of Oligarchy is unacceptable :** This theory is based on the institutional and not the **ideological** aspect of democracy. It is mainly descriptive in nature. It believes in the 'end of ideology' theory and maintains that ideologies **are meaningless because every political** system is bound to be governed by **the** iron law of oligarchy.
8. **Wrongly praises the virtue of Aristocracy :** The elite theory wrongly advocates the view that the object of democracy **is** not the welfare and development of the people. It excludes the people (as **masses**) from the ruling functions and talks of the elite rule as the ideal condition of rule involving subjugation **of the** masses to the leaders.
9. **People are Sovereign not Elites :** The elite theory can be further criticized for its failure to recognize due importance of the people in democratic systems, the importance of the democratic system and the key role played by public opinion in the determination of the rules, policies, programmes and decisions of the government of a state.
10. **Modern Elites are democratic, responsible and not autocratic Elites :** The elite theory wrongly rejects the principle of social, political and legal equality of the people. It is wrong in so far as it rejects the principle of responsibility and accountability of the rulers to the masses.

All these limitations of the **Elite** Theory have to be taken into consideration while conducting **its** critical evaluation. However, despite these limitations, **it** cannot be denied that it focuses attention upon the **real** working of political systems and the actual behaviour of the leaders of a political system. No one can question **the** view that in every society,

power is enjoyed and exercised by a minority, but no one can, at the same **time**, accept the view that this minority **is** inherently superior to the masses; that it has the inherent right to govern the masses; and that every system **is** an oligarchy. Elite structure in a democratic society implies the existence of several ideal conditions **and** no **one** can accept that a democratic society **is** ruled by an oligarchy or democracy.

5.12 Let Us Sum Up

It is on the basis of these principles that the Elite theory can be and should be applied to democratic political systems. The contemporary era is an era of elected elites, and not of the traditional oligarchic elites. In the contemporary democratic system, there is a continuous circulation of the elites as well as the interlocking of the elites from the bottom to top. The gap between Elites and Masses is neither organic nor permanent. Elite and present in each society and these also continuously participate in all dimensions of social life. Political power is always in the hands of popularly elected members, who can be identified as political elite or power elite.

5.13 Check you Progress Exercises

1. What is an Elite ?
2. Discuss the meaning and nature of Political Elites?
3. Discuss the kinds of Elites.
4. Explain the Elite Theory of C. Wright Mills.

5.14 Glossary

- **Ruling Class** : The ruling class is the social class of a given society that decides upon and sets that society's political agenda. The ruling class are people who directly influence politics, education and government with the use of wealth or power.
- **Elite** : The elite are a small group of powerful people who hold a disproportionate amount of wealth, privilege, political power or skill in a society.
- **General will** : The general will is the will of the people as a whole.
- **Oligarchy** : Government by the few. For example Aristocracy is a form **of government by** the few.

5.15 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise

1. See Section 5.2
2. See Section 5.2 and 5.4
3. See Section 5.5
4. See Section 5.7.6

5.16 Suggested Readings

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5.17 Terminal Questions

1. Discuss the meaning and nature of Political Elite?
2. Define Political Elite. Discuss the kinds of Elite?
3. Discuss briefly the theories of Political Elites as discussed by Pareto and Mosca?
4. Critically examine the features of the Elite Theory?

Unit-II
Lesson-6
THEORIES OF MODERNIZATION

STRUCTURE

- 6.0 Introduction
- 6.1 Learning Objectives
- 6.2 Modernization ; A Process of change
- 6.3 Schools of Modernization
- 6.4 Theories and Approaches of Modernization
- 6.5 Indicators of Modernization
- 6.6 Let us Sumup
- 6.7 Check Your Progress Exercise
- 6.8 Glossary
- 6.9 Answers to Self Check Your Progress Exercise
- 6.10 Suggested Readings
- 6.11 Terminal Questions

6.0 Introduction

The twentieth century has witnessed tremendous changes in the field of politics, economic, science and technology. The various theories and approaches were thrown up into the political literature. The political scientists made rigorous efforts to find out the explanatory frame work of political changes. Obviously, in the task of theory building, the location of unit for political analysis become first and foremost endeavor.

After second-world war, modernization became the main focus of scholars of Political Science. Many scholars like Daniel Lerner, David Apter, Louis Horowitz, Cemerson, Samuel P. Huntington, Edward Shills, Hanry Bienen, Mariam J. Levy, Yogendra Singh, Myron Weiner, Almond, Clifford Geertz etc., believed that the process of modernization is desirable and inevitable. The modernization is a universal phenomena. And it can be witnessed all over the world in social, political and economic fields. Modernization envisages both conceivable and inconceivable aspects. Therefore, it is a multi-dimensional process.

6.1 Learning Objectives

After reading this lesson, the students will be able to :

- Understand the concepts of Modernization and Political Modernization.
- Delineate the various schools, theories and approaches of Modernization.

- Know the indicators of Modernization, and
- Describe the relationship between Political Modernization and Social Change.

6.2 Modernization: A process of change

Dear students' change is the law of nature and change is taking place all over the world in social, political and economic fields. And Modernization is, in fact, "the current term for an old process—the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire the characteristics common to more developed societies". The hard core of modernization, it must be pointed out, is economic and the growth of "output per head of population" is the yard stick to measure the extent of modernization. Modernization, therefore may be looked upon, as the process of social change in which economic component is of utmost importance. However, it should be noted that there is continuous and increasing interaction between economic and non-economic factors. The rising output per head and its effective incorporation in the society not only brings about a transformation in perceiving and achieving Wealth oriented behaviour, but it also brings about the ultimate reshaping and resharing of all Social values such as power, status, respect, affection and skill. As such, apart from the economic development variables, such as industrialization, urbanization, national, income and per capita income, that affects the rising output per head, other components of modernization have also been identified. There are 'enlightenment variable' measured in terms of schooling, literacy and media exposure ; 'power variable' measured in terms of participation, party membership and voting; 'personality variable' measured in terms of authoritarianism, and 'local-temporal variable' to account for those 'diverse cultures' which shape the behavioural variations underlying our common humanity. Modernization has thus, economic social and political aspects. However, our main interest is in clarifying the concept of political modernization because essentially it is political modernization, especially in developing areas, which is the prime mover of modernization in other spheres. In fact, in such areas political leaders (modernizers) and centralized political organization (Government) have been the dominant and casual rather than derivative.

Political modernization or development refers to "those processes of differentiation of political structure and secularization of political culture which enhances the capability—the effectiveness and efficiency of performance—of a society's political system" Coleman. From this definition it is clear that dynamic aspect of modernization for the study of politics can be expressed in the general proposition that it is a process of increasing complexity in human affairs within which the policy must act. As already pointed out in the preceding paragraph, political modernization is the cause of further change.

Political Modernization can be viewed from three different perspectives. Looked at from historical perspective, political modernization refers to the totality of changes in **political** structure and culture **which** have affected or have been affected by certain major transformative processes of modernization. Typological perspective of political modernization refers to the process of transformation of a pre-modern, "**traditional**" polity into a post-

traditional “modern” polity. The evolutionary perspective of political modernization refers to that open ended increase in the capacity of political man to develop structures to cope with or resolve problems, to absorb and adopt to continuous change, and to strive purposely and creatively for the attainment of new social goals. Thus, from the historical and typological perspectives, political modernization is a process of development towards some image of modern polity and from the evolutionary perspective, the growth process is interminable and the state of affairs interminate.

The first manifestation of the political modernization was formation of modern nation-state. In modern nation-state is by product of emerging contradiction within the socio-economic forces or classe which resulted into various revolutions. For instance, glorious revolution of England, French revolution and American civil war of 1863. Thus, parliamentary Democracy, freedom of speech and expression gave the normative connotation to the modernization. As the new nations had been under imperial rule, after independence they started stressing on modernization, using the term interchangeable with their term Westernization (though modernization and westernization are distinct). Yet modernization was the process of change where by the less developed societies acquire the characteristics common to the developed societies. For developing nations more pointedly modernization referred to the process by which Western Societies had reached economic, political and social development and by which under developed third world nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America to do likewise. So the whole emphasise was on economic, social and political aspirations of the third world nations to catch up with the industrially advanced nations. Thus for Daniel Lerner, modernization is the process by which colonial people were influenced by the process of colonialization by western industrial power as, “the country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the images of its own future”. Many other scholars put Modernization only on capitalist or socialist line, while Apter and Horowitz hope that modernization is a special case or a sub unit of development. Smelsher regard modernization as more comprehensive in scope and development as its economic component’.

It is true for the colonial people that the images of their failure were reflected in the transformation of their traditional social, economic and political order. Stagnant subsistence agriculture was replaced by the production of cash crops for international market, limited local industrialization created specialized labour forces and urban groupings, but most of all, the introduction of western education catalyed radical social change. It promoted social mobility and total restructuring of values in the hitherto ascriptive social order; and traditional hereditary systems of authority.

After coming out of the Yolk of colonialism, most of the States of South, South-east-Asia and Africa adopted democratic constitutions for speedy development. The franchise was widely extended, political parties came into being and general elections determine the fact of governments. The affirmation to democratic principles by the nationalist leaders were repeated and continuous.

Most of the third World nations began their life as independent states with adoption of the very institution that embodied the modern world-rule of law and constitution, parliamentary structures and norms, in short, all the paraphernalia of republican government coupled with former verbal pledge of commitment to the democratic form of government. Yet within the very first decade, within these independent nation it became apparent while the formal system of these countries were republican in character, their real system were nearly always authoritarian. Even the nations traditionally identified with the Western Values of democracy and liberal, parliamentary norms were formal than real with a single party and its dynamic leaders retaining a virtual monopoly of the political apparatus. Hence, westernization and modernization may have close link, but these line concepts are distinct. Thus, the structure is the only one aspect of the modernization process.

All is not well what is in the process of Westernization. Many social evils have erupted in Western societies. The increasing mental disorder added new dimension to the process of modernization in Western State. Therefore, modernization process is never ending, ongoing multidimensional process. The modernization means a process of change of tradition. The emphasis is more on “processes”. Thus, modernization and tradition are not dichotomous. They are not poles apart. Modernity and tradition are the two bases of same coin. Thus tradition adopts some modern features whereas the modernity adopts some traditional characteristics. The western societies had not discarded all traditionalities and traditional third world has imbibed many modern features. Putting in different words, secularization or rationalization became the base of processes of modernization. The modernization process is a complex phenomena. There is no clear cut concise definition of modernization. Even the concept of political development, and modernization are being used interchangeably. Though the concepts are inter-related. Yet they are distinct. There cannot be modernization without political development. Some scholars of modernization do not differentiate between the two. They believe in integrated approach. All the most they will prefer to will political modernization than political development. Those who subscribe to theory of political development assume that phenomena is the determining factor for all other sectors. They assume autonomous role to politics. On the other hand, the scholars of modernization do or do not subscribe to this view. For them modernization is not only a conceivable but also an inconceivable phenomena.

6.3 Schools of Modernization

Broadly there are four schools of modernization.

- 1. Psychological School :** The propagator of this school believed that modernization is a state of mind. Daniel Lerner is the main spokesman of this psychological school. Psychic mobility, empathy and initiative of men are the main features of the modern mind. Lerner gives importance to other school also, but accord priority to the psychology.

2. **Structural School** : Almond, Pye, Verba, Talcot Parson are the main propounders of this school. This school gives priority to structural aspect of the modernization.
3. **Normative School** : According to this school, there are certain norms which are modern itself. These norms are democracy, rationalization, secularization and freedom of speech and expression.
4. **Technologic School** : According to this school, technology or means of production are the main instruments of modernization process. For instance, handmill gave rise to feudalism and machine gave rise to capitalism. Therefore, capitalism is modern man feudalism.

6.4 Theories and Approaches of Modernization

There is still no unanimity on concepts and evaluative standards of modernization among social scientists and each approach can be with having latent ideological base. Sociologists, having a Marxist approach to modernization might decry the very concept of “Breakdown” as employed by sociologist from the “free world” bloc: for Marxist may be vulgarized conceptual substitute for revolution” which is pre-requisite for modernization could be grouped under two broad categories preponderant in social sciences. It seeks to analyze modernization with the help of selected social or normative variables. Such variables as social mobilization, growth of communication, media exposure, democratic political institutions, values, morals and norms, technological and economic resources of society, and initial conditions of social & with respect to the presence of cultural and structural autonomy of parts within a social system, their intension and proportion would determine the nature and extent of modernization in specific situation.

Evolutionary approach to modernization on the other hand, is based on more systematic theoretical assumptions. It treats modernization as an evolutionary stage in the life of human society. There are however, differences in formation of processes of evolution and its direction. Its methodological formation may either be structural functional or dialectical; similarly direction of evolution may also be either unilinear or multilinear. A major difference between dialectical (Marxist), and structural functional evolution approaches to modernization is that the former treats “breakdown” in the established political economic and structural framework of a society as necessary and inevitable condition for development towards modernization. Class struggle and its international form of struggle between rich and poorer nation are here assumed as necessary process for such evolutionary achievements. Even modernization as a concept is understood differently; its focus is up on changes in stratification system, system of property ownership and ownership of productive resources in a nation, and not on psychological normative variables like achievement orientation, psychi mobility and rational hedonism etc., common among treatments of social scientist. Individual characteristics are here treated as bye-product of major aggregate of changes in institutional structure of society and its structure of power and property relationship.

The structural functional evolutionary treatment of modernization is drawn primarily from an organism analogy where evolution is treated as a continuity from the sub-human to human phase and beyond. In an essay on modernization as an “evolutionary universal” of human society, Talcott Parsons writes that such evolutionary changes would engulf all human groups despite their typicalities in other facts of social and cultural organization. His view assumes that the watershed between sub-human and human does not mark a cessation of the developmental change, but rather a stage in a long process that begins with many pre-human phases and continues through that watershed into our own time, and beyond.

Modernization follows a succession of “evolutionary universals” which are defined as “any organizational development sufficiently important to further evolution that, rather than emerging only once, is likely to be ‘hit upon’ by various systems operating under different conditions. An important evolutionary universal in the sub-human organic world as a whole is that of vision, and in case of man it is development of hand and brain. In the social realm the sequence of its evolution is set by four pre-requisite universals; these are communication with language, religion, social organization with kinship, and technology. These integrated together constitute a set for elemental social organization. On this foundation, universals like stratification, cultural, legitimation, bureaucratic organization, ‘money and the market complex’, generalized universalistic norms’, and finally, the democratic associations develop in a sequential order. Of these, the last four (bureaucratic organization, money and market complex, the generalized universalistic norms and democratic association) constitute the structural-normative conditions of a modern society.

Structural breakdown in modernization, according to Parsons’ theory emerges when, due to historical or other cultural factors, the sequence of evolution is reversed or made uneven or when some of the universals become far too rigid and offer more than normal resistance to further evolution- Such conditions according to a later study by Buck and Jacobson prevail in the Asian nations. These nations, being ex-colonies, have many evolutionary structures like bureaucracy, democratic associations, and generalized universalistic norms introduced into their social structure without adequate development of other basic founding universals like communication, technology, stratification and principles of legitimation. This is true for countries like Indonesia, India, Pakistan and many others in Africa, Latin-America and the Middle East. Particularly about India. Buck and Jacobson’s study reveals higher development in respect of bureaucracy and generalized universalistic norms but very poor growth in spheres of communication, kinship, technology, social stratification and money modern and market complex. Thus, value support to many modern institutions is lacking, and the wholesale transfer of many institutions from the West renders the lag more acute.

There are many assumptions in Parsons’ evolutionary theory of modernization which may not be accepted by other sociologists. For instance, his assertion that democratic association is the highest evolutionary stage in the process of modernization could be variously interpreted or even refuted both by Marxist and non-Marxist sociologists. Gunnar Myrdal in a recent study on Asian Prospect of development and modernization writes.

“Yet it may be doubted whether this ideal of political democracy with political power based on free elections and with freedom of assembly, press, and other civil liberties— should be given weight in formulating the modernization ideals. This is not because the ideal is at present not verti fully met, and may not be met in the future; value premises represent merely an angle from which actual conditions are viewed and need not be realistic in that sense..... This democratic ideal is not essential to a system comprising all the other modernization ideals”

Despite these limitations which emanate from value premises of modernization; Parsons formulation is theoretically powerful and could be used to explain many structured and cultural contradictions of modernization in under-developed countries. Stratification is one important factor which causes bottlenecks in rapid modernization of India by its rigidity and non-egalitarian character. His model also delineates a course of modernization hypothetically, which would involve least conflict through stages of transition.

Formulations closely resembling those of Parson but without similar theoretical presumption have also been made by Marion J. Levy, E. S. N Eisenstadt and Gunnar Myrdal. Much responsibility for either breakdown or smooth transition to modernization is attributed by these sociologists to structural and normative initial conditions in the developing societies. Comparing the case of China and Japan, Marion J. Levy attributes successful modernization in Japan in contrast with structural breakdown (revolution) during this process in China to dissimilar initial structural conditions in the two countries despite many other structural similarities which they shared. For instance, both had merchant class placed at the bottom of stratification system, both had strong familistic, ethnic and similar religio-cultural values. Yet, owing to structural differences in initial stages of modernization, results of this process varied fundamentally in the two nations. In China, the family authority was supreme and encompassed the principles of the authority of Emperor and feudal lords, which were modeled after it. The class system was open in comparison to Japan where it was not so and finally, the feudal system was not fully crystallized in China while it had a developed form in Japan. Under the impact of the initial modernization in China during the nineteenth century when the industrial-urban centres offered employment opportunities independently, the family authority collapsed; this collapse also meant decline of authority in other spheres of state administration as the source of legitimation for these was also in the authority system of the Chinese family. Corruption in the bureaucratic echelons and general decline in the moral norms followed from it.

Moreover, since China had an open, class system, monetary gains which accrued to merchants till then at the bottom of stratification pyramid were invested land to attain the status of nobility); the reverse of it happened in Japan where, such opportunity being denied, investment was made in the industries. Eisenstadt attributes this breakdown to the lack of institutional autonomy in China between policy and value system, between political system and stratification and between major social groups and strata.

Eisenstadt's conclusions are similar to those of M.J. Levy. In the Chinese case he reiterates that no autonomy existed between the Confucian value system and legitimation principle of the Empire; no church or religious organization existed independently of the State. Stratification was also primarily centred on political system; literal as an elite group was contingent on the persistence of the ideal of a unified Empire. This was reinforced by strong familistic bonds which did not allow for creative innovations and when the imperial structure collapsed the elite and other groups could not contain the new forces of change through alternative sources of legitimation. The whole system had to be fabricated. Contrary to this, Japan had a specialized form of feudalism under the Tokugawa, and the dual authority structure, one of symbolic Emperor and the other of feudal shogunate existing before the Meiji restoration helped in selective adaptation to modernizing structural and cultural 'demands. The stratification system was not as homogeneous as in China, This consisted of landed nobility, merchants and intellectuals each with some autonomy of functions and norms. Thus various norms were recorded in modernization processes of various countries.

6.5 Indicators of Modernization

Political scientists studying the phenomenon of modernization have treated political development as dependent variable, using other factors of modernization as independent variable. According to Wasby, "broad-gauged changes occurring in the political development are usually regarded as subordinate to the general processes of industrialization, urbanization, spread of education and literacy, increasing exposure to mass media and the expansion of secular culture." He says that these independent factors are social to account for a variety of political changes or developments such as (i) the growth of modern bureaucracies (ii) the development of a sense of nationhood (iii) the advent of political participation (iv) the expansion of popular political participation (v) increased capacity of the political system to mobilize resources for the accomplishment of its ends and in the most modern politics (vi) the decline in the missionary favour political movements. In brief, the indicators of modernization are (a) urban-rural ratio (b) Per-capita income (c) Gross National Product (d) Literary Ratio (e) Political Participation (f) secularization i.e. rational consideration of things (g) Ascription to achievement (h) increase in the scope and range of political authority (i) Differentiation of roles and structures in society (j) Sub-system autonomy (k) Ratio between industrial non-industrial labour (l) share of industry towards the budgetary income. Modernization is a multi-dimensional process having social, psychological, political and economic aspects.

6.6 Let us Sum Up

The whole discussion thus reveals that political modernization is a process of change in political structures and culture which have been affected by certain major transformative processes of modernization. **It refers** to those processes of differentiation of political structures and secularization of political culture which enhance the capability, the effectiveness and efficiency of the performance of a political system. There are different schools and theories of modernization. Various norms are recorded in modernization process of various countries. As a companion of the concept of political development, the concept of political modernization has provided better tools for the political scientists to make a taxonomic study of the modern political systems.

6.7 Check Your Progress Exercise

- (i) Define Modernization ?
- (ii) Name the four main schools of Modernization ?
- (iii) What are the main indicators of Modernization ?

6.8 Glossary

- **Parochial** : Having a limited or narrow outlook or scope.
- **Authoritarian** : favouring or enforcing strict **obedience, or subjection to authority at the expense** of personal freedom.
- **Secularization** : transformation of a **society** from religious **values** and institutions **towards non-religious** values and secular institutions.
- **Rationalization** : attempting **to** explain or justify **behavior** or **an** attitude with logical reasoning.
- **Autonomous** : capable of existing independently and having the power to make own decision.
- **Dialectical**: concerned with or acting through opposing forces.
- **Unilinear**: consistently developing in a single, steady path of development.
- **Multilinear** : multiple paths to societal change or development.
- **Hedonism** : a school of thought that argues that seeking pleasure and **avoiding pains/sufferings are** the only components of well being.
- **Legitimization** : the process whereby an act, process, **or** ideology **becomes** legitimate **by its** attachment to norms and values within a given society.
- **Feudal Shogunate**: feudal military dictator in Japan during medieval **period**.
- **Meiji Restoration**: also referred as the honorable restoration, was an **event** that restored practical imperial rule to the Empire of Japan in 1868 under Emperor Meiji, and brought the beginning of the Meiji era.

6.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise

- (i) See Section 3.3
- (ii) **See Section 3.4**
- (iii) See Section 3.6

6.10 Suggested Readings

1. David E. Apter, The Politics of Modernization (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1965).
2. James S. Coleman, "Modernization: Political Aspects", International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (New York : Macmillan, 1968).

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4. E.A. Shills; "Political Modernization" in Morton R. Davies and Yaughan A. Lewis Ed.; Models of Political System (Delhi, Vikas Publication, 1971).
5. S.P. Verma, Modern Political Theory (Delhi Vikas, 1975).
6. S.N. Eisenstadt, Modernization : Protest and Change (New Delhi, 1969).
7. Bhawana Jharta; Comparative Politics and Political Analysis, M.A. Political Science, 2nd Sem. Study Material, Course-VII.

6.11 Terminal Questions

1. What do you understand by Political Modernization? Describe the various theories and approaches of Modernization.
2. "Political Modernization is a process of Change", explain how?

Lesson-7

DEPENDENCY, WORLD SYSTEM THEORY AND THEORY OF UNEQUAL EXCHANGE

Structure

- 7.0 Introduction
- 7.1 Learning Objectives
- 7.2 Theory of Dependency
- 7.3 Underdevelopment Defined as Dependency of the Under-Developed
- 7.4 Dependency as the Product of Expansion of World Capitalism
- 7.5 The Views of A.G. Frank and Wallerstein
 - 7.5.1 Views of A.G. Frank
 - 7.5.2 Views of Wallerstein : World System Analysis
 - 7.5.2.1 History of the Capitalist World System, Stage 1, and Stage 2
 - 7.5.2.2 Stage 3 and Stage 4, Eighteenth Century and Beyond
- 7.6 Developments in the World System Theory
- 7.7 Theory of the Unequal Development
- 7.8 Centre V/s Periphery
- 7.9 Development of Under Development
- 7.10 Criticisms of Dependency Theory
- 7.11 Contributions of Dependency Theory
- 7.12 Let us Sum up
- 7.13 Check Your Progress Exercise
- 7.14 Glossary
- 7.15 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 7.16 Suggested Reading
- 7.17 Terminal Questions

7.0 Introduction

Dependency Theory seeks to analyse politics by concerning itself with the existing asymmetrical relationship among nation-states. It rejects the Structural-Functional as well as Classical Marxist models of analysing politics in the Third World countries. In fact, the origin of Dependency Theory came as an alternative to the theories of modernisation and development as formulated and supported by the Western and Marxist scholars. Naturally, it involves a strong criticism and a rejection of these theories. In particular, it refuses to accept the continuum theory and the diffusion theory of development which explain underdevelopment as a transitory 'low stage' of the process of development which the developed countries have already completed, and which highlight the important and positive role of foreign aid and investment in the development of the Third World countries, i.e. the underdeveloped countries. Dependency Theory constitutes both an attempt to overcome the Eurocentric bias and the limited explanatory capabilities of both modernisation and imperialism theories as well as to provide an alternative approach to the study of politics in the underdeveloped countries by analysing the very process of underdevelopment.

The Theory of Dependency begins with a study of the colonial impact on the indigenous socio-economic and political structures, then seeks to analyse the characteristics of the new socio-economic structure, and finally seeks to trace its evolution in relation to both the internal changes and developments in the World Capitalist System. It, as such, implies a re-interpretation of history.

7.1 Learning Objectives

After going through this lesson, the student will be able to :

- Understand What is Dependency Theory ?
- Explain Dependency of the Product of expansion of World Capital.
- Examine the views of A.G. Frank and Wallerstein.

7.2 THEORY OF DEPENDENCY

Dependency **is the** concept used by the scholars of comparative politics in their analysis of the third world of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It has its evolution in Latin America in the 1960s. The theory became popular in the writings about Africa and Asia later on. Lenin, while elaborating the theory of imperialism provided reference to the concept of dependency. Lenin understood capitalist imperialism as a struggle among the colonial powers for economic and political division of the world. Apart from the colonies and the colonial power, Lenin identified formally independent and yet dependent countries. These were the countries enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependency.

Coming to the perspectives after Lenin, it holds that there are contrasting forms of dependence and dominance among the nations of the capitalist world which have been identified by various scholars. Dependent nations are manifestations of the expansion of the dominant states and they remain underdeveloped due to their dependent or subjective relationship with the dominant nations. Theotonio dos Santos while writing on dependency speaks of quality. He says that dependence means a situation in which the economy of a certain nation is dependent on the development and expansion of another economy. The relationship of interdependence between the two or more economies or these economies and world trade, assumes the form of dependence in which the dominant countries do this as a reflection of their expansion which either has a positive or a negative impact on the immediate development of the dependent nation. (DOS Santos. 1970:231)

‘Dependency analysis of development or underdevelopment focuses on foreign penetration into the economy and the political system of the ‘third world’ — a term which indicated socially and politically the construction of the notion, which is marked by as much heterogeneity is homogeneity. However, the fundamental similarity among the third world countries lies in the fact that most of their citizens lack the basics of essential health and longevity, which is seen by most of the first world as basic needs (Moore 1995: 2). The fundamental problem taken by the scholars of dependency school studying the third world emphasize that the foreign penetration into these countries effects the local development within these nations. This set-up only but reinforces the ruling classes at the expense of” the marginalised classes. On a similar line, Osvaldo Sunkel forwarded that the foreign factors become intrinsic to the system of a dependent nation with various and sometimes implicit or subtle political, cultural, financial, economic, and technical impact within the underdeveloped countries. Adding further, he says, “the concept of dependencia” is linked to the post war evolution of capitalism internationally to the discriminatory nature of the local process of development. Access to means and benefits of development is selective; instead of spreading them, the process ensures a self reinforcing amassing of privileges for special group with continued existence of the marginalized class” (Sunkel 1972: 519). As a solution to eliminate the mechanism of dependence which is identified as agricultural stagnation, commodity concentration of exports, foreign ownership of industries, and foreign public debt, he stressed on the need for national development. Following are the points put forth by him for the national development purpose: (i) regional economic integration and domestic investment in heavy industries like steel and petrochemical, (ii) redistribution of land and income to the agriculturally employed population, (iii) state regulation and nationalization of the traditional exports sectors. (iv) joint national and multinational plan for the introduction of foreign technology and at the same time encouraging of national technology, (v) formation of large and specialized units under joint and multinational control (Chiicote 1994: 244—245). Giving

reference to the mechanism of dependency, he incorporated them on the global view of the economic process, which is characterized by external dependency. He suggested that there should be changes in the structures of internal production to eliminate the mechanism of dependency which should be followed by changes in the structures of institution like that of multinationals which fosters the mechanism of dependency (Ibid.).

However, it is to be noted that there exists no single unified theory of dependency due to lack of consensus over its nature, characteristic features, and overlapping theoretical tendencies. It moves in many directions and critics set forth a multitude of positions. Some critique attack the nationalist proclivity of some advocates of dependency who oppose outside influence. Many argue that too much attention to foreign Influence in the economy of the dependent nations ignores the internal class struggle. Lastly, it is also posed against the theory of dependency that it obscures the analysis of Imperialism.

After having explained dependency theory it would not be justified if one does not mention the world system analysis of Emmanuel Wallerstein which is said to be an alternative approach as a result of certain deficiencies in the developmental writings which emphasized underdevelopment and dependency. These writings mainly had deficiencies such as ignoring mainstream theories of political economy including Marxism. It overlooked questions of class and role of State in a planned economy and market mechanism. It put too much emphasis on circulation, trade, and exchange rather than production and relation of production. It stresses on capitalist accumulation and its consequences and therefore, projected idealist and inevitable outcomes without concrete analysis (Ibid., 266), World system analysis of Wallentein (1974) is a model considered to be filling the gap. It suggested that the world is in transition from capitalism to socialism which he saw as a process that would evolve over the next hundred years. Wallerstein identified three basic strategies for this which are, 'state intervention, enticement of capital on the promise of low wage levels, and other investment advantages and self reliance' (Ibid.).

7.3 Underdevelopment Defined as Dependency of the Underdeveloped

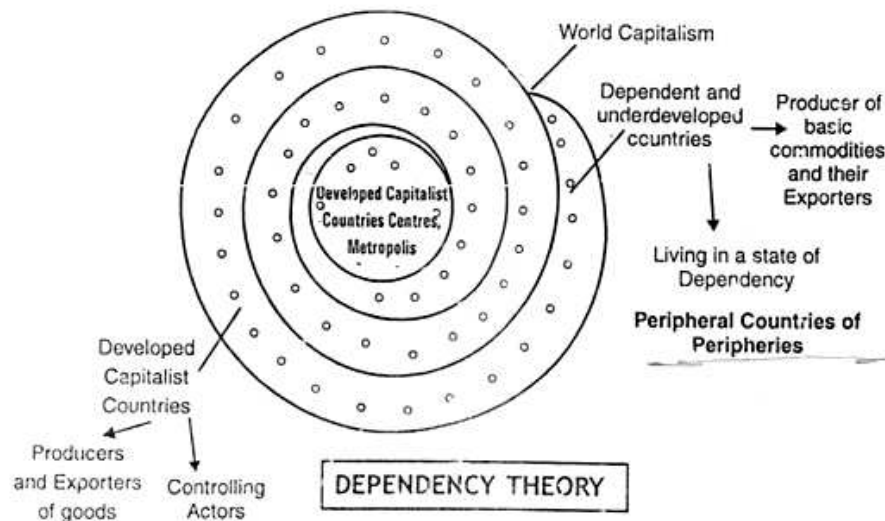
In the other words, the dependency theory analysis the internal dynamics of underdeveloped countries and relates their underdevelopments to their positions in the international economic system. It also examines the relation between the internal and external structures. The underdevelopment of the Third World countries is explained by it in terms of the socio-economic-politico-cultural processes which link these countries to the developed countries. The under-developed countries are regarded as the peripheries and the developed countries as the centres, and It is held that the nature of social phenomena in the periphery can be understood and analysed with reference to the world capitalist system which stands dominated by the developed centres. The central point in the Dependency Theory is that the

nature of social phenomena in the Third World community is determined by the process of underdevelopment which characterises these countries and which is the result of the expansion of World Capitalism. Further, this process of underdevelopment is intimately and inseparably related to their external dependence. In fact, almost all the dependency theorists generally agree that underdevelopment is caused by external dependence.

7.4 Dependency as the Product of Expansion of World Capitalism

The Dependency Theory presents a macro-history and structural perspective and involves a rejection of the continuum and the Marxist explanation of development and underdevelopment. Underdevelopment is explained by it as a product of capitalist expansion, which is accompanied by an unequal exchange and in which the Centre/Core/Metropolis exploits the resources and labour of the periphery for its advantage. The periphery lives in a state of dependency and is characterized by underdevelopment.

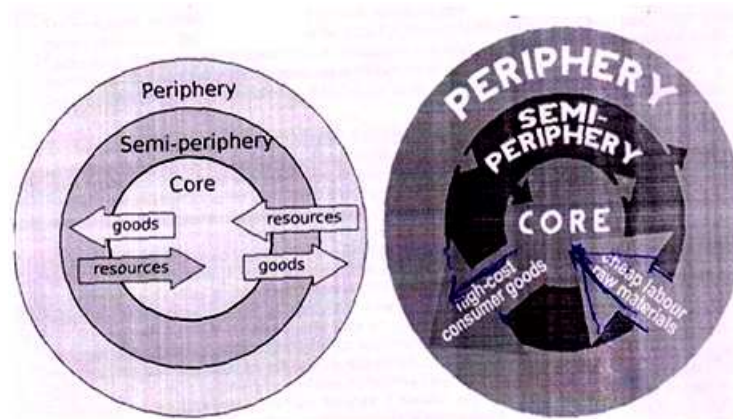
Dependence is conceptualised, as dos Santos observed, as “A situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and the world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-starting) while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as reflection of that expansion which can have either a positive or a negative effect on their immediate development.” Thus, dependence



is the relationship between the dependent countries and the developed, it is a situation which conditions the ability of the underdeveloped to develop. It is limited by the expansion of capitalism. Its traditional form was imperialism, or colonialism, while its contemporary form happens to be Neo-colonialism, i.e., a state of dependency of the underdeveloped periphery—

the new states upon the developed (the former imperialist-colonialists). Most of the dependency theorists use center-periphery paradigm for analysing the nature and scope of international relations as well as the nature of underdevelopment which characterises the political systems of the underdeveloped.

The main advocates of Dependency Theory are Andre Gunder Frank, Wallerstein, dos Santos, Osvaldo Sunkel, Celso Furtado, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Euzo Falleto and Frantz Fanon. All of them agree that underdevelopment of the Third World countries, (the wretched of the Earth, as Frantz Fanon describe them) is directly related to their neo-colonial existence *i.e.* external dependence upon the developed countries.



Dependency Diagram

7.5 THE VIEWS OF A.G. FRANK AND WALLERSTEIN

In the development of the Dependency Theory, a pioneering contribution was made by Andre Gunder Frank and Wallerstein. Both of them strongly advocated that the underdevelopment of the Third World (Periphery) was conditioned by the development and expansion of a developed economy upon which the former was dependent. They further held that the development of the periphery was not possible at all within the World Capitalist System, which continued to be pro-centre to the complete disadvantage of the periphery. The underdeveloped countries began living as satellites of the metropolis developed countries. The import-substitution industrialisation thesis, as advocated by the development theorists, failed to click with the Third World countries. Their economies instead became stagnant and increasingly dependent upon the economies of the developed countries. The only way open for the underdeveloped countries, believed the dependency theorists, to become developed was to overthrow the existing system. While some of the dependency theorists favoured a socialist revolution for achieving this goal, the other favoured liberal reforms involving the maintenance of a balance in trade, increasing the capacity to bargain through regional cooperation and assimilation of new techniques through macro-economic adjustments.

7.5.1 Views of A.G. Frank

A.G. Frank, like dos Santos, holds that the theorists of 'the ECLA structuralist approach wrongly attributed Latin America's underdevelopment to the 'mistaken choice of an outward-oriented development path.' They rightly pointed out the asymmetrical nature of the existing economic relations, but they unfortunately ignored the monopolistic colonial structure and the increasing role of foreign Investment within it as well as the internal colonial structure of the underdeveloped countries. Frank seeks to explain the phenomenon of underdevelopment in terms of the development of capitalism in the west. He holds that underdevelopment of the periphery stands conditioned by the development and expansion of the developed West. He agrees with dos Santos that dependency is a conditioning situation which limits the possibility of development within the periphery.

A.G. Frank advocates the view that underdevelopment is largely a historical product of the relations between the underdeveloped satellites (Peripheries) and the developed Metropolis (Centres) At the moment the world consists of a handful of 'metropolitan' economies which govern, hinder and distort the development of a rather large number of 'satellite' countries. He gives the examples of several Latin American countries to prove his point.

Frank made an in-depth analysis of the economies of Latin American countries and pointed out three contradictions of capitalism which were mainly responsible for creating underdevelopment.

In the first place, Frank refers to the contradiction of expropriation/appropriation of the economic surplus. The monopoly structure of the World Capitalist System appropriates surplus which in chain-like fashion extends the capitalist link between the capitalist world and the national metropolises to the regional centres and from these to the local centres and so on.....This contradiction reflects the exploitive nature' and scope of World Capitalist System

The second contradiction of capitalism is 'Metropolis-satellite polarisation'. It means, as AG. Frank observes, that 'the economic development and underdevelopment are relational and qualitative in that each is structurally different from, yet caused by its relation with the other."

The third and final contradiction which produces underdevelopment, observes Frank, relates to 'continuity In change'. The expansion and development of capitalist system has maintained its essential structure and contradictions intact and in the process it has been a source of continued underdevelopment of the underdeveloped countries.

While analysing the underdevelopment of the underdeveloped, Frank holds that their satellite status *vis-a-vis* the developed is a source of their limited development. With the passage of time their relation with the metropolis gets weakened and it leads to further underdevelopment. The economic recovery of the developed countries also limits the development process of their satellites The history reveals that the regions which happen to be most underdeveloped now were in the past most tightly linked to the metropolis.

While suggesting the possible way in which the underdeveloped countries can get rid of the chronic problem of underdevelopment, *A. G. Frank* suggests that first the real enemy must be identified. He believes that though strategically imperialism was the principle enemy, the enemy which is to be tackled immediately is the bourgeoisie living and acting within every dependent country. It has been acting as an agent of Imperialism (now neo-colonialism) Such social classes have to be taken care of at the domestic level. Further, *Frank* holds that economic measures like Industrialisation, import substitution, etc. do not have the potential to break the cycle of underdevelopment and dependency. He advocates the overthrow of existing structure of Metropolis-Satellite relations both at the domestic and international levels through a socialist revolution. While not accepting fully the Marxist view of capitalism and socialism, Frank accepts the need for a socialist revolution for overthrowing the prevailing system. He believes that within the context of a Capitalist World System, as it prevails now there could be no alternative to underdevelopment. Only a socialist revolution can eliminate underdevelopment. Frank is, as such, a neo-Marxist—a dependency theorist and not a revolutionary Marxist.

7.5.2 WORLD SYSTEM ANALYSIS : Views of Wallerstein

World system theory seeks to explain the pattern of the capitalist world economy' as a total social system' (Martinez-Vela, 2001: 1). Wallerstein's work. *The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis* published in 1974 is considered to be a major contribution to the world system approach. In 1976, he published a book *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. This work has a huge impact on the sociological and historical thought and it also received a warm welcome in the developing world.

Wallerstein held that, 'a world system is a social system — the one that has boundaries, structures, member groups, rules of legitimation, and coherence. Its life is made up of the conflicting forces which hold it together by tension and tear it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has the characteristics of an organism which has a lifespan over which, its characteristics change in some respects and remain stable in other's., Life within it is largely self-contained, and the dynamics of its development are largely internal' (Wallerstein, 1974: 347). Goldfrank in *Paradigm Regained?: The Rulps of Wallerstein's World System Method* (2000), holds that a world system is what Wallerstein terms a world economy' (Goldfrank, 2000,. 150-195). This is linked through the market rather than a political centre. In this system two or more regions are interdependent with respect to necessities such as food fuel and protection, and two or more polities compete against each other for domination without the emergence of one single centre forever. To have a clearer understanding of the world system given by Wallerstein, let us have a closer look at his theory.

Wallerstein views all unitary societies to be embedded in the world system and thus, cannot be understood in isolation. Modern nation-states are a part of the world system having different types of social systems, and can be classified into three types: (i) the 'mini system' comprising small self-contained homogenous societies with basically pastoral and simple horticultural. Socio-economic units are capable of producing all goods and service', within its socio-cultural system: (ii) the 'world empire', based on the extraction of surplus goods and services from outlying areas forced to incur heavy expenditures for the strengthening of administrative and military apparatus followed along with the political rulers as the heads of the empire: and (iii) world-economies lacking both unified political system and its dominance based on military power which we see in the case of world empires, A world economy is premised on the extraction of the surplus from the outlying areas by those who rule at the centre.

In the book, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of Sixteenth Century*, Immanuel Wallerstein gives a theoretical outline in order to understand the historical changes which occurred in the process of the rise of the modern world. A modern world system which is, in its essence, capitalist in nature, is a result of the crises-borne by the feudal system and thus, this helps to enlighten us to the question of how Western Europe reached the pinnacle of world supremacy between 1450 and 1670- Wallerstein sketches a comprehensive picture of the external and internal manifestations of the modernization process during this period, with the help of which a sound comparison can be made between different parts of the world. Western Europe witnessed the dominance of 'feudal' society before the sixteenth century during which both population as well as commerce expanded. Wallerstein argues that in order to ensure continued economic growth, Europe moved towards the establishment of a capitalist world economy. However, this entailed the expansion of the geographical size of the world in question. Thus, it developed different modes of labour control and this in turn led to the creation of relatively strong state machineries in the States of Western Europe, Thus, we see that it was in response to the feudal crisis that the world economic system emerged in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The world saw for the first time an economic system which covered much of the world with links that superseded national or other political boundaries. The new world economy was different from earlier single political unit known as the empire systems. Empires depended upon a system of government which, through commercial monopolies combined with help of the use of force. The aim of capitalist world system was directed towards the flow of economic goods from the periphery to the centre. Empires maintained specific political boundaries, the control of which was maintained with the help of an extensive bureaucracy and a standing army. However, it was only through the techniques of modern capitalism which enabled the modern world economy to extend beyond the political boundaries unlike those of the earlier empire system. In this new capitalist world system, an international

division of labour pattern emerged which determined not only the relationship between different regions but also determined the types of labour conditions within earth region. In the capitalist world economy, the type of political system was also directly related to each region's position within it. As a basis for comparison, Wallerstein proposes four different categories. They are (i) core. (ii) semi-periphery. (iii) 'periphery, and (iv) external. It was these four different positions 'which defined the relative position of a particular region within the world economy, with each category having its own particular internal political and economic characteristic features. Let us see what each of these categories represented, according to Wallerstein.

- (i) The Core :** The core regions were the most beneficiary regions. They were the major beneficiaries from the capitalist world economy. Much of north western Europe (England, France, Holland) was the first core region. Politically, the states which were the part of this region of Europe developed strong central governments, wide-ranging bureaucracies, large and well-maintained mercenary armies. This well-maintained structure helped the local bourgeoisie to be able to obtain control over international commerce and made it possible to extract capital surpluses from the trade which on one hand worked in their favour resulting in huge profit and on other hand, as the rural population expanded, the increasing number of landless wage earners provided labour for fanning and manufacturing activities. This led to a boom in both industrial and agricultural sector,
- (ii) The Periphery :** At the other end there lay the peripheral zones which did not have the characteristic of a strong central government and which were mostly under the control of other states. The peripheral regions exported raw materials to the core, and relied on coercive labour practices. The core was the beneficiary of much of the capital surplus generated by the peripheral zone which was based on unequal trade relations. This area was constituted by Eastern Europe (especially Poland) and Latin America. In Poland, the monarchy lost power to the nobility and this region became a prime exporter of wheat to the rest of Europe. Thus, it gained control over the cheap labour where landlords forced rural workers into a 'second serfdom'. In Latin America, the Spanish and Portuguese control, which was the result of their conquest, destroyed indigenous authority structures and it was replaced by weak bureaucracies under the control of these European states. Powerful local landlords of Hispanic origin became powerful and dominant aristocratic capitalist farmers. Enslavement of the native populations, the import of African slaves, and the unequal and exploitative labour practices such as forced mine labour made it possible for the dominant class to export cheap raw

materials to Europe. The Labour systems in the peripheral areas were different from earlier forms which was prevalent in medieval Europe within which they were established to produce goods merely for internal consumption and not for the capitalist world economy. Furthermore, the aristocracy, both in Eastern Europe and Latin America grew wealthy and strong as their relationship with the world economy grew. Thus, they could draw on the strength of a central core region to maintain control.

- (iii) **The Semi-periphery** : Between the two ends of a pole lie the semi-peripheries. These areas were comprised either core regions in decline or peripheries which were attempting to improve their relative position in the economic system of the world. The characteristic which defines the semi-peripheries is that it exhibited tensions between the central government and a strong local landed class. The best examples of illustrations of declining cores which, in the course of time became semi-peripheries, during the period under study are Portugal and Spain. To name some other semi-peripheries at this time were Italy, southern Germany, and southern France-Economically these regions maintained a limited but warning access to international banking and the production of high-cost and high-quality manufactured goods. However, they failed to predominate in international trade and thus did not benefit to the same extent as compared to the core. Landlords in semi-peripheries resorted to sharecropping along with a weak capitalist rural economy. According to Wallerstein, the semi-peripheries were exploited by the core. However, the case of the American empires of Spain and Portugal, was different. They often exploited the peripheries, for example Spain imported silver and gold from its American colonies obtained largely through coercive labour practices, but most of the semi-peripheries used to pay for manufactured goods from core countries such as England and France, instead of encouraging the formation of a domestic manufacturing sector.
- (iv) **The External Areas** : These areas maintained their own economic systems and remained outside the realm of world capitalist economy for most of the part. Russia is the best **example of external areas**. Unlike Poland, Russia's wheat was circulated in its internal **market**. Moreover, it also traded with Asia as well as Europe. What made these **external areas** different from the rest of the aforesaid areas is that internal commerce remained **more** important than trade with outside regions. Also, the extensive power **of the Russian** state helped it to regulate the economy and controlled foreign commercial influence to a limited extent.

- **History of the Capitalist World System**

As mentioned earlier, Wallerstein held that the development of the modern world economy lasted for centuries. During this time, different regions changed their relative position within the **world** economic system. He divided the history of the capitalist world system into **four** stages, which can be simplified and divided into two basic phases :

7.5.2.1 Stage 1 and 2:

The period of 1450-1670 saw the rise of modern world system when the Hapsburg Empire failed to translate the emerging world economy into a world empire. All the then existing Western European states endeavoured to build up their respective positions within the new world system. In order to bring about this move, most of the states merged their internal political economics and social resources in the following ways :

- (i) **Bureaucratization** : This process assisted the limited but rising power of the king. By increasing the state power to collect taxes, the kings ultimately increased the state power to borrow money and thus, we see a further expansion of the state bureaucracy. At the end of this stage, the monarch became the ultimate power and thus, there established what has been called absolute monarchy.
- (ii) Homogenization of the local population : To underline state involvement in the new capitalist system and to encourage the rise of indigenous capitalist groups many core states excluded minorities. These independent capitalist groups, with no deep rooted local ties, were seen as threats to the development of strong core states. The example of this can be cited from the Jews in England, Spain, and France who were expelled with the rise of absolute monarchy. Similarly, Protestants, who were often the merchants in Catholic countries, became the target of Catholic Churches. The Catholic Church was a trans-national institution 'hat saw the development of capitalism and the strengthening of the state as a threat to their supremacy,
- (iii) Expansion of the armed forces to aid the centralized monarchy and to give protection to the new state from invasions.
- (iv) The concept of absolutism came into being at this time, which was related to the relative independence of the monarch from previously established laws. This distinction allowed the king to be at liberty from prior feudal laws.
- (v) Diversified economic activities maximized the profit and strengthened the position of the local bourgeoisie.

By 1640, the north-Western European states occupied their position as core states in the emerging world economy. Spain and Northern Italy were reduced to semi-peripheral status, while north-eastern Europe and Iberian America acquired the peripheral status.

England moved steadily towards core status. During this period, there was a dramatic fall in worker's wages. This wage fall characterized most European centres of capitalism, except the cities in north and central Italy and Flanders which did not follow the trend. The reason for this exception was that the cities were relatively older centres of trade and the workers had strong politico-economic hold. The opposition of workers broke down the ability of employers to amass large surplus necessary for the expansion of capitalism. Meanwhile, other parts of Europe profited the employers by amassing a huge surplus necessary for investment with their tactics of paying low wages to the labourers.

Long-distance trade with America and the East gave huge profits to small merchant elites. Eventually the profits of the Trans-Atlantic trade strengthened the merchant's hold over European agriculture and industries. Merchants with adequate power accumulated profit by purchasing goods prior to their production. By calculating the costs of finished products, merchants could extend their profit margin and thus, by making huge profit they were able to control the internal markets. This powerful merchant class provided the base of capital necessary for the industrial growth of European core states.

7.5.2.2 Stages 3 and 4 (Eighteenth Century and Beyond)

Industrial rather than agricultural capitalism characterized this era. With the shift of emphasis from agriculture to industrial production, the following reactions characterized this period :

- European states participated in active discovery of regions for the exploitation of new markets,
- Competitive world systems such as the Indian Ocean system were immersed into the growing European world, system. With the independence of the Latin American countries and areas previously isolated zones lying within the interiors of the American continent entered as peripheral zones in the world economy. Asia and Africa entered the system in the nineteenth century as peripheral zones.
- The inclusion of Africa and the Asian continents as peripheral zones made it possible for the core states to avail more surpluses, allowing other areas such as the US and Germany to improve their core status.
- During this phase, there arose a shift from the combination of the agriculture and industrial interest to purely industrial concerns in the core region. By 1700, England was Europe's leading industrial and agricultural producer.
- By the 1900s, the world witnessed a shift towards manufacturing in the peripheral zones. Core areas encouraged the rise of industries in the periphery and semi-periphery zones so that they could sell machines to these regions.

Thus, we see a dynamic nature of the world system theory characterized by Wallerstein. This theory became the benchmark for socio-historical analysis of various societies and is still guiding many researches. There have been many recent developments in the world system theory. The next section is devoted to some of such recent developments in this theory.

7.6 Developments in the World System Theory

Over a period of time Wallerstein's theory of world system has become the base of various studies. Many scholars have built upon the framework given by him; an example of it can be cited in the work of Christopher Chase Dunn. Dunn's emphasis lies more on the inter-state system and argues that there is one logic behind the capitalist mode of production in which both politico-military and exploitative economic relations plays a key role. He tried to bridge a gap between Neo-Marxist and Wallerstein work in which he emphasized the production in the world economy. Another scholar Janet Abu Lugod challenged Wallerstein's claim of the emergence of the world system in the sixteenth century. According to her, during the medieval period. Europe was the peripheral region to the world economy and the core was that of middle-east. Another line of argument was forwarded by Andre Gunder Frank. Frank held that the source of the capitalist world economy was not located in Europe, in fact, the rise of Europe occurred within the existing world economy which had its origin in Asia. Thus, Frank criticizes western social theory including Marxism in general and world system theory in particular, which according him, tries to examine 'western exceptionalism'. Finally, the theory has also been criticized for ignoring cultural factors and for being too core-centric and state-centric. Apart from the dominant theories of development and underdevelopment including dependency theory, there are ways in which post-colonial scholars have attempted to see development. Let us see what arguments they have put forth while dealing with the most complex phenomenon called development.

7.7 Theory of Unequal Development

The theory of unequal development identifies different patterns of transition that occurred in peripheral capitalism and central capitalism. Its argument is similar to the theory of underdevelopment which focuses on the question of unequal exchange. Argiri Emmanuel (1972), necessitates the analysis of the problem of class struggle in order to analyse the unequal relationship between the centre and the periphery. Criticizing this view, Amin says that one cannot think of class struggle occurring within different national contents, but it should be thought of as occurring within the context of world system. In his work *Unequal Development* (1976). he writes about unequal development and acknowledges the fact that there are different patterns of transition to peripheral capitalism as well as to central capitalism due to the impact of the capitalist mode of production and its mechanism of trade on the pre-capitalist formations. This led to destruction of crafts within the pre-capitalist formations

without being replaced by the local industrial production. The unequal exchange is manifested by distortion in the export activities, bureaucracy, and light industries of the periphery. However, given this set up in the international market, the industries in the periphery lack economic means and therefore, are unable to challenge the foreign monopolies. However, one point that Amin emphasizes is that this stage of underdeveloped nation should not be confused with the earlier stage of development experienced by the advanced capitalist nations. The difference lies in the fact that there is extreme unevenness in the underdeveloped areas in the distribution of production, which basically serves the need of the center. Growth is blocked and underdevelopment is accentuated and therefore hinders autonomous development in the periphery. Therefore, it makes capitalist mode of production exclusive to the centre and not in periphery. However, national capitalism in periphery may be operational depending upon the activities of the state (Amin. as quoted in Chilcole 1994: 234). Emmanuel and Frank emphasized on the market and exchange of inequalities. However, we see that Amin emphasized on the mode of production to move beyond the market categories while focusing on the world system-centre and periphery. He followed the Marxist line and acknowledges both the productive as well as the crisis generated by the capitalist mode of production which leads to change.

7.8 Centre Versus Periphery

The idea of 'centre' versus 'periphery' has been developed by Samir Amin in his book, 'Unequal Exchange.' It in fact is an extension of the idea of Andre Gunder Frank which restates the distinction between 'Metropolis' and 'satellite' while giving it an explicit twist. The 'centre' includes not only the developed capitalist countries but also the socialist countries which he thinks are developed. The 'Periphery' includes all Other countries - not only those underdeveloped nations attempting to follow the capitalist path, but also those such as China which have adopted the socialist path. The whole view point is based on the technology based theories of 'convergence' between the socialist and capitalist countries. For Amin the 'centre' includes the countries of North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa on the one hand, Russia and Eastern Europe on the other (when they were socialist. Of course now since 1991 they too have converted into capitalist states). The periphery includes the three continents of Africa, Asia and South America. In one of his articles 'Accumulation on a World Scale' summed up the centre versus periphery idea thus. "Our world is made up of 'developed countries' and under developed one's. It is also made up of countries that style themselves as 'socialist' and others that are 'capitalist' and all these countries are integrated, though in varying degrees, in a worldwide network of commercial, financial and other relations such that none of them can be thought of in isolation. Again—"There are not two -world markets. One 'capitalist' and the other 'socialist' but only one in capitalist world market in which East Europe marginally participates the relationship

between the formation of the developed or the advanced world (the centre) and those of the under-developed (the periphery) are affected by transfers of value; and these constitute the essence of the problem of accumulation on a world scale. Amin has further developed the 'dependency theory' Frank who as we have seen treats the history of the internal last four centuries as one of undifferentiated capitalism from the beginning to the end. Their internal structures being capitalist regardless of the basis on which production is carried on (slave, serf, Petty tenancy or whatever) merely by virtue of the fact that they produce for the 'capitalist world market'. But Amin suggests that capitalism dominates in the 'periphery' by integrating the pre-capitalist formations without becoming exclusive as in the centre. He says that at the centre, it tends to be exclusive because of the fact that its growth is based on the expansion of the internal market. The socio-economic formations of the periphery between however bear the distinctive feature that although the capitalist mode of production does indeed predominate, this domination does not lead to a tendency for it to become exclusive, because the spread of capitalism is here based on the external market. It follows the pre-capitalist modes of production, are not destroyed but are transformed and subjected to that mode of production which predominates on a world scale as well as locally - the capitalist mode of production.

Thus the Dependency Theory and the centre periphery model is based on the idea that historically during the colonial period an international division of labour was established between the colonial countries and the developed capitalist countries. It created a form of 'unequal exchange' between the 'centre' and the periphery. This continues even after the attainment of political independence by the colonial countries in an altered form. The social, economic, cultural, political and military dependence of the periphery continues to exist because of the monopoly of the centre that reflects itself in unequal exchange. This manifests itself in many ways: the monopoly of trade exercised over the colony, the monopoly of certain branches of production, the monopoly of sovereignty in land. It is believed that the monopoly of production and the international division of labour has placed the capitalist countries of the periphery in a dependent relationship vis. a vis. the capitalist countries of the centre. The world capitalist system thus established creates structures of dependency within itself. In this, each constituent country or regime are regarded as specializing in a particular branch of production and exchanging its products through trade. It is believed that in the case of external trade between nations the commodities exchanged contain unequal quantities of labour, which reflect an uneven levels of productivity. The real wages between countries even if the organize composition of capital remains the same can lead to difference in price and value of a commodity. These constitute the basis of unequal exchange among nations in the neo-colonial period under monopoly conditions.

7.9 Development of Underdevelopment

The dependency theory as developed around the centre periphery model believes that the development of capitalism among the countries of the periphery is rather impossible, and perpetual underdevelopment seems to be their fate. Since in the period of monopoly capitalism, the development of capitalism in periphery would remain extra versted, based on the external market. As regards the theory of peripheral capitalist economy the following nine theses put forward by Samir Amin in his book ; Unequal Development sums up the centre periphery model.

- 1) Economic theory interests itself occasionally in the “transition from a subsistence economy to a money economy”. In reality, however, the pattern of transition to peripheral capitalism is fundamentally different from that of transition to central capitalism. The onslaught from without by means of trade-carved out by the capitalist mode of production upon the pre-capitalist formations causes certain crucial retrogressions to take place, such as the ruin of the crafts without their being replaced by local industrial production. The agrarian crises of the third world of today are largely the results of these setbacks. The subsequent investment of foreign capital does not have the effect of correcting these retrogressive change, owing to the extravert orientation of the industries that this capital establishes in the periphery.
- 2) Unequal international specialization is manifested in three kinds of distortion in the direction taken by the development of the periphery. The distortion toward export activities (extraversion) which is the decisive one, does not result from “inadequacy of the home market” but from the superior productivity of the centre in all fields, which compels the periphery to confine itself to the role of complementary supplier of products for the production of which it possesses a natural advantage; exotic agricultural produce and minerals. When, as a result of this distortion the level of wages in the periphery has become lower, for the same productivity, than at the centre, a limited development of industries focused on the home market of the periphery will have become possible, while at the same time exchange will have become unequal.
- 3) This initial distortion brings another in its train: The hypertrophy of the tertiary sector in the periphery, which neither the evolution of the structure of demand nor that of the production can explain. At the centre, hypertrophy of the tertiary sector reflects the difficulties in realizing surplus value that are inherent in the advanced monopoly phase, whereas in the periphery it is from the beginning result of the limitations and contradiction characteristic of peripheral development, inadequate industrialization and increasing unemployment strengthening of the position of ground

nut etc. A fetter on accumulation this hypertrophy of unproductive activities, expressed especially in the excessive grown-administrative expenditure, is manifested in the Third World of today by the quasi permanent crises of government finance.

- 4) Unequal international specialization also underlies the distortion in the periphery toward light branches of activity, together with the employment of modern production techniques in these branches. This distortion is the source of special problems that are different from those on which the development of the West was based.
- 5) The theory of the multiplier effects of investment cannot be extended in a mechanical way to the periphery. The significance of the Keynesian multiplier does indeed correspond to the situation at the centre in the phase of advanced monopoly characterized by difficulties in realizing the surplus. Neither hoarding nor Imports constitutes, in the periphery "leaks" that reduce the multiplier effect. Furthermore, unequal specialisation, and the marked propensity to import that follows from this, have the effect of transferring the effects of the multiplier mechanisms connected with the phenomenon known as the "Accelerator" from the periphery to the centre;
- 6) Analysis of the strategies of foreign monopolies in the underdeveloped countries shows that, so long as the dogma of the periphery's integration in the world market is not challenged, the periphery is without economic means of action in relation to the monopolies.
- 7) Underdevelopment is manifested not in the level of production per head, but in certain characteristic structural features that oblige us not confuse the under developed countries with the now-advanced countries as they were at an earlier stage of their development. These features are (1) the extreme unevenness that is typical of the distribution of productivities in the periphery, and in the system of prices transmitted to it from the centre, which result from the distinctive nature of the peripheral formations and largely dictates structure of the distribution of income in these formations (2) the disarticulation due to the adjustment of the orientation of production in the periphery to the needs of the centre, which prevents the transmission of benefits of the economic progress from the poles of development to the economy as a whole; (3) Economic domination by the centre, which is expressed in the forms of international specialization (the structure of world trade in which the centre shapes the periphery in accordance with its own needs) and in the dependence of the structures whereby growth in the periphery is financed (the dynamic of the accumulation of foreign capital).

8. The accentuation of the features of under-development in proportion as the economic growth of the periphery proceeds, necessarily results in the blocking of growth, in other words, the impossibility, whatever the level of production per head that may be obtained of going to autocentric and auto dynamic growth,
9. While at the centre, the capitalist mode of production tends to become exclusive, the same is not true of the periphery. Consequently, the peripheral formations are fundamentally different from those of the centre. The forms assumed by those peripheral formation depend, on the one hand, upon the nature of the pre-capitalist formations and, on the other, upon the forms and epochs in which they were integrated into the world system. This analysis enables us to grasp the essential difference that contrasts the peripheral formations to the “young central formations”... the latter based.

On the predominance of the simple commodity mode of production, possessing for this reason a capacity for independent evolution towards a fully developed capitalist mode of production. Whatever their differences of origin, the peripheral formation all tend to converge upon a typical model, characterized by the dominance of agrarian capita! and ancillary (comprodose) commercial capita!. The domination by central capital over the system as a whole and the vital mechanisms of primitive accumulation for its benefit which express this domination, subject the development of national capitalism to strict limitations, which are ultimately dependent upon political relations. The mutilated nature of the national community in the periphery confers an apparent relative weight and special function upon the local bureaucracy that are not the same as those of the bureaucratic and technocratic groups in the centre. The contradictions typical of the development of underdevelopment, and the rise of the development of underdevelopment, and the rise of petty bourgeois strata reflecting these contradictions explain the present tendency of state capitalism. This new path of development for capitalism in the periphery does not constitute a mode of Transition to socialism but rather expresses the future form in which new relations will be organized between centre and periphery.

7.10 Critical Appraisal

The Dependency Theory offers a very interesting and penetrating analysis of politics in the underdeveloped countries and also of the nature and scope of relations between them and the developed countries. Most of the dependency theorists use the centre-periphery paradigm for this purpose. They describe the condition of the underdeveloped as a situation of dependency which has resulted from the expansion of world capitalism. Most of them believe that within the context of a capitalist world, there could be no alternative to underdevelopment. Many of them, therefore, favour socialism either through a socialist revolution, or through other liberal reformist measures/movements, as the remedy against dependency and underdevelopment.

The critics of the Dependence Theory, however, point out its several limitations.

- 1. Lack of Unity among Dependency Theorists :-** In the first instance, it is held by the critics that there is a lack of consensus among the dependency theorists, about the exact nature of dependence and underdevelopment. the mechanism involved in dependency relations and the possible remedies. Dependency Theory is not a theory but a collection of several.
- 2. Advocacy of Radicalism and Socialism :-** The dependency theorists do not constitute a coherent group. Some of them are socialistic nationalists (Furtado and Sunkel) others are radicalists (dos Santos), still others are revolutionary socialists (A.G. Frank) or socialists (Wallerstein). While some of them advocate a complete transformation, either by a revolution or by other radical reformist means, of the capital's system, others favour structural reforms and new forms of cooperation between the centres and peripheries, as the means for ending the stale of dependency of the peripheries,
- 3. No Clear Definition of Dependency :-** The dependency theorists fail to clearly and categorically define and explain dependence and underdevelopment. They offer no acceptable standard for distinguishing between dependent and non-dependent countries.
- 4. Negative Apporacher :-** *S.K. Sahu* observes, "The authors of the dependency theory have concerned themselves with attacking the desirability of the capitalist system in the periphery rather than the 'dependent' status."
- 5. Failure to encompass different factors of Underdevelopment :-** When we analyse the nature of underdevelopment of several Third World countries, we find that't differs from country to country and continent to continent had dependency been the product only of the expansion of the World Capitalist System, it would have been uniform in nature and scope. The nature of underdevelopment in Latin America has been different from the underdevelopment of Asia and Africa.
- 6. Failure to define this concept of Unequal Exchange :-** The critics argue that the concept of 'unequal exchange' which is being used by the dependency theorists, fails to objectively analyse the reasons behind the underdevelopment of the Third World countries. Further there is, and there can be, no universally agreed principle for measuring the nature and scope of 'unequal exchange' that is supposed to be the; cause of the dependency of the underdeveloped upon the developed.

- 7. Limitations of the concept of Surplus Value :-** The dependency theory wrongly depends upon Marxian concept of Surplus Value for defining underdevelopment in terms of capitalistic exploitation. The concept of Surplus Value has its own in-built limitations and, hence, cannot be accepted as a valid principle under development is also the product of some wrong decisions and policies of several underdeveloped countries. The underdevelopment of the Third World has been due largely to its partial industrialisation and failure of the underdeveloped countries to formulate and follow properly conceived and coordinated industrial policies. The underdeveloped countries have themselves failed to exploit fully their resources, both material and manpower. The very fact that some of the countries like India, Brazil and even Mexico have been successful to a large extent in making rapid industrial-technological development while others have failed to do so, tends to prove the point that the underdeveloped countries themselves and not only in world capitalist countries have been responsible for their status of dependency.
- 8. Limitations of Centre-Periphery Model :-** The division of world into the centre and the periphery, the metropolis and the satellite, the developed and the underdeveloped, as has been done by the dependency theorists is quite arbitrary and even misleading. It is indeed difficult to accept that all the underdeveloped **countries**, including the local leviathans like **India, Brazil, Mexico, Iran, etc. are** equally dependent upon the developed.
- 9. Failure of Socialist Solutions and Systems :-** The failure of the socialist system of development in the erstwhile Soviet Union and the Eastern European states tends to demonstrate that dependency cannot be overthrown by a socialist revolution or socialism. The near-universal acceptance of the possible potentialities of such principles as free trade, market economy, open corn petition, decentralisation, democratisation, international integration, regional cooperation for development and functionalism in contemporary years of international relations reflect a rejection of all the theories which indict World Capitalist System as the system responsible for the emergence of the evil of dependency of the Third World upon the developed world. In fact, even the Marxists, the revolutionary socialists, and the communists reject most of the ideas of the dependency theorists, particularly their conceptualisation of capitalism not as mode of production but as a social system characterised by a particular sort of exchange relationship.

7.11 Contribution of Dependence Theory

An important contribution of the dependence theory and the centre-periphery model to comparative politics has been to provide a historical basis to the process of social change in the post and second World War period. It challenged the basis and theorized the obstacles to development among the third world countries, in the internal structure of these societies to the paradoxical neglect of the phenomenon of imperialism. Its major contribution has been to work out the social change in the third world countries, as a consequence of the various forms of imperialism and colonialism. The central insight of the dependence theorists therefore has been to establish the fact that it was of limited value to study the development of societies of the third world in isolation from the development of the advanced societies. It was therefore necessary to treat the world as one single system. With this as the starting point, the problem was to discover the manner in which the underdeveloped countries were inserted into this world system, and how this differentiated them from the historical pattern of development of the advanced nations. In this, of course these theories were influenced by the writings of Marx but also deviated from Marxism while working out this relationship. These theories have therefore been called by some theorists as neo-Marxist theories of imperialism.

7.12 Letus Sum Up

At the outset, you studied the dependency theory of development. It covers the meaning and centre v/s periphery views of A.G. Frank, Wallerstein and Samir Amin regarding the theory of Dependency. Finally we discussed the contribution and criticisms of dependency theory of development.

7.13 Check Your Progress Exercise

1. What is dependency Theory ?
2. Examine the views of Wallerstein on Dependency Theory.
3. Examine the contribution of 'Dependency Theory' in Comparative Politics.
4. Write any two important Criticisms of Dependency Theory ?

7.14 Glossary

- **Capitalism** : The economic system's which business are owned and run for profit by individuals and not by the state.
- **Nationality** : The state of being legally a citizen of a particular nation or country.
- **Polarisation** : The act of dividing something, especially something that contains different people or opinions, into two completely opposing groups.

7.15 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise

- (i) See Section 7.2
- (ii) See Sub Section 7.5.2
- (iii) See Section 7.11
- (iv) See Section 7.10

7.16 Suggested Readings

- Hartmut Etsenhas, Development and under development (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1981)
- Samir Amin, Unequal Development (Haddocks : Harvester Press, 1976).
- Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of Poverty.
- Tapan Biswal eds., Comparative Politics Institutions and Processes (New Delhi's Trity Press), 2016.
- J.C. Johari, New Comparative Government (New Delhi: Lotus Press), 2011.
- Bhawana Jharta, Comparative Politics and Political Analysis, M.A. 2nd Sem., Course VII, ICDEOL Study Material.

7.17 Terminal Questions

1. What is Dependency Theory ? Critically examine the views of A.G. Frank and Wallerstein.
2. Discuss the Centre-Periphery model with special reference to the views of Samir Amin and Wallerstein.
3. Write a note on "Development of Underdevelopment".

Lesson-8

PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND WAVE OF DEMOCRATIZATION

Structure

- 8.0 Introduction
- 8.1 Learning Objectives
- 8.2 Understanding Democracy
- 8.3 Waves of Democratization
- 8.4 Democratization in Post-Communist Countries
- 8.5 Democratization in Central Europe
- 8.6 State of Democracy Today
- 8.7 Authoritarian Rule and Transition to Democracy in Africa
- 8.8 Africa's Democratic Transition
- 8.9 Features of Transition
- 8.10 Guided Democratization
- 8.11 Process of Democratization
- 8.12 Mode of Democratic Regime Change
- 8.13 Recent Democratic Upsurge : the Arab Revolutions
- 8.14 Let us Sum Up
- 8.15 Check Your Progress Exercise
- 8.16 Glossary
- 8.17 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 8.18 Suggested Readings
- 8.19 Terminal Questions

8.0 Introduction

We live in an increasingly democratic world. In 1989 the number of democracies exceeded the number of autocracies for the first time in history, apart from a brief period after World War I. Between 1975 and 2000 the number of democracies more than doubled: as a result most people in the world now live under tolerably democratic rule. In its current upsurge, democracy has expanded beyond its core west Europe and former colonies in

North America, Australia, and New Zealand, Democracy now embraces South Europe (for example, Spain), East Europe (for example, Poland). Latin America (for example, Argentina), more of Asia (for example, Taiwan), and parts of Africa (for example, South Africa). This dramatic development constituted a global wave of democracy. For the first time in human history, a majority of the world population lives under freely chosen governments. Samuel Huntington calls it the 'third wave of democratization' and characterizes it as one of the most important developments in the history of humankind'. As democracy has spread, it has become more varied in its operation. Understanding the forms taken by democracy in today's world is therefore a central task.

8.1 Learning Objectives

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

- Understand Democracy
- Explain Democratization in Central Europe.
- Explain the process of Democratization in East-Asia

8.2 Understanding Democracy

Democracy is a contested concept. No political terms have been subject to contradictory definitions as 'democracy' and 'democratic', since it has become fashionable and profitable for every and every state to style itself in this way. The erstwhile Soviet Union and Communist states of Eastern Europe, the Chinese People's Republic, North Korea, and North Vietnam all call themselves democracies. So does General Stroesser's Paraguay; so did-Sukarno's Indonesia and Nasser's Egypt a few months ago.

Democracy can be used as a noun or as an adjective. When it is used as a noun, it is an abstraction, an idea of how a country ought to be governed. More than that, it is a highly valued symbol. However, abstractions are often vague. To make the idea of democracy concrete it must be related to the political institutions of the state. So what then, is the core principal of democracy? The basic idea is self-rule. The word itself comes from the Greek *demokratia*, meaning rule (*kratos* I by (he people (*demos*)). Thus, democracy in its literal and richest sense refers not to the elections of the rulers by the ruled but to the denial of any separation between the two.

The 'model' democracy is a direct democracy, a form of self-government in which all adult citizens participate in shaping collective decisions, in context of equally and open deliberation.

The birth place of democracy is ancient Athens between 461 and 322 B.C. Athens was the leading polis (city-state) of ancient Greece. The Athenian polis operated on the democratic principle summarized by Aristotle as 'each to rule and be ruled in turn. This principle applied across all the institutions of government within the city-state. All citizen

could attend meetings of the assembly, serve on the governing council, and sit on citizen's juries. In contrast to the classical democracy of ancient Athens modern democracies are representative rather than direct. The principle is no longer self-government but elected government. In a democratic state today, as Joseph Schumpeter argues, "there is free competition for a free vote". Instead of people deciding what government does, the popular role is to decide who governs. The first condition of democracy today is that all adult citizens have the right to vote-Second, elections are competitive, free, and fair. Third, voters decide who holds the principal officials in government.

The rule of law is needed to ensure that governors are held accountable through elections that are free and fair. Individuals must be free to exercise their right to voice criticisms of government, organize political parties, and compete for office in free and fair elections.

There is widespread consensus today that entitlement to participation in elections should extend to all adult citizens. But what if people who are legally entitled to vote fail to do so because poverty or ignorance discourage them from realizing their democratic rights? And what does it say about a democracy if some citizen's political involvement is restricted to casting a vote at an election every few years, while others socialize with political leaders on a regular basis? Answers to these questions range from Joseph A. Schumpeter's minimalist position, according to which the role of citizens is largely restricted to electing representatives, to richer ones involving the active participation of citizens in decision making, including the local level and the workplace or by way of referendums or deliberation in citizen juries or interactive polling.

A distinction between minimalist and broader perspective can also be made regarding the question of how far a concern with political equality should go. Minimalists tend to let formal voting equality suffice, insisting that even citizens should have either exactly one vote or when the electoral voting system provides for a plurality of votes, that all citizens have an equal amount of votes to cast. Yet one might go further and need to extend political equality beyond its formal provision, taking account how differences in people's income, education, and occupation affect the extent to which they have an effective say in political processes and participation (Verba, Scholzman, and Brady.1995). Lastly, the idea of equating democracy with competitive multi-party elections have been heavily criticized. Terry Karl argued that military domination and human rights abuses rendered many Latin American regimes of the 1980s and early 1990s less than democratic despite their holding regular and overall fair elections. To classify these countries as democratic would mean falling prey to the "fallacy of electoralism".

Considering the above, democracy thus, could be explained as a multi-dimension phenomenon. Robert Dehne identified two dimensions of democratic government: citizen's participation in the political process, and competition among political groups for office. He

subsequently fleshed these out further to arrive at his five criteria of the demographic process: effective participation voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, and inclusion. If these criteria are to be satisfied, Dahl argues the following seven institutional guarantees must be in place :

- (i) Elected political officials
- (ii) Free and fair elections
- (iii) Inclusive suffrage (the right to vote for virtually all adults)
- (iv) The right to run for public office
- (v) Freedom of expression
- (vi) Alternative source of information
- (vii) Associational autonomy (the freedom to form organization)

8.3 Waves of Democratization

Processes of worldwide democratization have been analysed and described with a great number of approaches and metaphors. Most common among the latter has been the concept of 'waves'. Samuel Huntington (1991) distinguishes three major ones.

The first modern democracies emerged in the 'first long wave of democratization' between 1828 and 1926. During **this** first wave nearly thirty countries established at least minimally democratic national institutions including Argentina, Austria, Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Scandinavian countries, and the United States. Many of these democracies were later overthrown by fascist, communist, or military dictatorships during Huntington's 'First reverse wave' from 1922 to 1942. However, democracies did consolidate in the earliest nineteenth century democratizations, including the United States and the United Kingdom.

Huntington's second wave of democratization began during the Second World War and continued until the 1960s. Like the first wave, some of the new democracies created at this time did not consolidate. For example, elected governments in several Latin American countries were quickly overthrown by the military. But established democracies did emerge after 1945 from the ashes of defeated dictatorships, not just in West Germany but also in Austria, Japan, and Italy.

The third wave finally began in 1974. It was characterized by (i) the end of right wing dictatorships in South Europe (Greece, Portugal, and Spain) in the 1970s, (ii) the retreat of the generals, in much of Latin America in the 1980s and, (iii) the collapse of communism at the Soviet Union and East Europe at the end of the 1980s.

Renske Doorenspleet challenges Huntington's periodization and instead, speaks of a distinct 'Fourth wave' beginning in the 1989/90 with the fall of Berlin wall and concurrent and subsequent events in central and Eastern Europe leading to the dissolution of the Soviet Block, the end of cold war and its repercussions in many parts of the world. Others like Green (1999) speak of significant 'moments' or "pulses of isomorphic change.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, a great wave of democracy has touched every continent. Much of Latin America had recently shaken off authoritarian regimes that had become a symbol of Ibero-American despotism, with their abysmal human rights records. In some countries in East and South-East Asia a similar trend was evident, with military-backed regimes that had appeared impregnable submitting to popular movements. The very symbol of robust twentieth century despotism, the Soviet Union, as well as authoritarian Yugoslavia, had disintegrated. **The** ten states that formed **the** Soviet or Eastern bloc became twenty eight separate states, many of which were racing head long towards political freedom.

Many new democracies came into being in the form of newly independent states **in** the post World War period II (From 1940-48), In Asia, India and Pakistan (now-separated) became independent in 1947, Indonesia in 1963. In sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana and Sudan were the first countries to become independent in the mid 1950s, followed by a great wave of independence in the 1960s.

Initially in most of the newly independent states demographic constitutions were adopted, usually crafted after the mode; of the previous colonial power, that is a 'Westminster type parliamentary system for the former British territories and. A presidential system in the Francophone states'. Only a few of these however, became consolidated. This was most notably the case in India, still today the world's largest democracy, but neighbouring Pakistan and later, after another separations Bangladesh soon succumbed to military regimes. In Africa, only Botswana and tiny Mauritius remained continuously democratic. Most of the other African states showed a mixed picture of military dictatorships and authoritarian single party regimes.

In Latin-America, in the early years after the war a number of countries **such as** Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, etc., redemocractized and suffrage was extended to women in most of them. Here too- however, the situation remained precarious and many returned to (often quite bloody) military regimes in the 1960s and 1970s, most spectacularly in Brazil in 1964 and Chile in 1973. Only Costa Rica after 1948, and Venezuela after 1958, consistently continued with their democratic constitutions.

Elsewhere, in Turkey the first multi-party elections were found in the Philippines, which turned into an authoritarian regime under President Marcos after 1966, **and** Greece, following a military coup in 1968, The entire North American and Middle Eastern regime had remained untouched by democratic movements and maintained either as in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Morocco traditional monarchies or had turned into military dictatorships, as in Iraq or Syria, or authoritarian **single**, or authoritarian single-party systems, as in Egypt or Tunisia.

8.4 DEMOCRATIZATION IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

This section describes and explains the analysis of democratic transition which occurred between 1989 and 2008 in post-communist countries.

The process of democratic change in the former communist Europe and Eurasia forms an important sub-wave which has not ended yet. The complex transformations from communist regimes toward; alternative democratic and autocratic forms of government and political order took place during the nineteen years between 1989 and 2008, and has not been concluded as a historic process. In terms of contemporary European history, democratization in central and eastern Europe and Eurasia is still a work in progress and we are still far away from the final victory of democracy.

The process of democratization in post-communist Europe and Eurasia can be structured along a series of subsequent stages of political transformation. The first stage of democratization in central Eastern Europe consists of long stagnation and steady decline of the old communist regime in the course of the 1980s and 1990s. Some innovative communist leaders like Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, or Janes Kadar in Hungary attempted to reform the political and economic system of communist rule to ensure its survival, but failed to rescue the faltering communist empire in the long run. The second stage is related to the period of revolutionary regime change from communist regimes to democratic or autocratic regimes. The next period is characterized by the collapse of communist systems between Warsaw and Vladivostok and took place between November 1989 and December 1991.

The third stage of democratization is constituted by the creation of a new political regime out of the ashes of communism, in most cases a new democracy. The specific characteristics of post-communist change in comparison with other forms of democratization like those in Southern Europe is that it witnessed a tri-fold revolution, a political revolution from a communist one-party state, a economic revolution from a centrally planned command economy, to a free market economy, and finally a social revolution from a communist society with a small political upper class to a modern society with a broad middle class.

The fourth stage within the overall process of democratization is opening the dynamics of regime change and democratization in the direction of three different paths of political transformations. The first path relates to those new democracies which achieved the transition to a consolidated democracy. The second part of democratization is dealing with those new democracies which achieve the status of electoral democracy. Finally, the third part path of regime dynamics is characterized by mainly the post-soviet system which transformed into some form of autocracy and cannot be considered part of the group of new democracies in central Eastern Europe of Eurasia.

8.5 DEMOCRATIZATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE

In the history of the communist political systems four attempts of political and economic reform have been made in central Europe.

The first partial attempt for political reform took place in 1953 in the German Democratic Republic, and the second full attempt happened in Hungary in 1956. Both reforms failed completely, the Hungarian uprising added with violence and bloodshed. In 1968, the Czechoslovakia concept of 'Socialism' with a human face was destroyed with the military power of the Warsaw Pact forces in autumn 1968. The last revolt against Soviet communist rule happened in Poland in 1980, when the Catholic Trade Union solidarity under the leadership of Lech Walesa tried to challenge the Polish Communist Regime.

During the 1980s the Hungarian communist state introduced small scale capitalist reforms in agriculture and business, which facilitated the economic transformation from a planned economy to a free market economy after 1989. In Yugoslavia and Poland, a form of proto-capitalism developed within a common economy, mainly in agriculture and industry.

In Soviet Union between (1985-91) Mikhail Gorbachev tried to reform the Soviet political and economic system by introducing an extremely ambitious programme of reform that had three main pillars, perestroika (restructuring of society and politics), Glasnost (open and transparency), and uskorenie (acceleration). Its failure triggered the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 and end of communism in Europe and Eurasia.

The first collapse of the communist regime occurred in November 1989 in many central eastern European countries. One critical factor for the fall of communism in central and eastern Europe was that the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who was concentrating in his ambitious domestic reform programme perestroika within the Soviet Union, decided to exclude voluntarily the military option of Open intervention by the Warsaw Pact army in other communist states as a strategic political option to stabilize the Communist Empire. This lack of military option and of direct political paralysis with the national communist political elites, have been used to obey the central power in Moscow since 1946. The regime change from communist one-party State to new democracies occurred in most countries without physical violence and in a peaceful manner. A strong dissident movement and previously suppressed civil society achieved a 'Velvet revolution' in Czechoslovakia, the communist leadership left their offices of power and government in Prague silently and without open resistance. Another form of regime change and regime transition took place in the form of so-called round table agreements especially in Hungary and Poland.

In stark contrast to Soviet leader Gorbachev the president of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic decided to keep the military option as a political option in order to preserve communism and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This use of military power by the

central government in Belgrade caused a prolonged, bloody, and bitter war between Serbia and Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia - Herzegovina. The process of decentralization and national independence for Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia -Herzegovina was extremely violent and cost thousands of lives in the former Yugoslavia. In August 1991, an attempted coup by orthodoxy communist forces was smashed by Boris Yeltsin, who later became the First President of the Russian Federation. That violent suppression of an attempted communist restoration by Boris Yeltsin involved casualties and deaths, but the final collapse of the Soviet Union in general was not violent. This second Russian revolution began on 8 December, 1991 when the leaders of Russia (Boris Yeltsin), the Ukraine (Leonid Kravchuk), and Belarus (Shuskenvich) signed a declaration which officially dissolved this Soviet Union (USSR).

8.6 STATE OF DEMOCRACY TODAY

Democracy is not an inevitable and necessary quasi-natural transition from a communist one-party state towards democracy. On the contrary, democratization is dealing with an open process of political transformation, which can take the form of three different paths of democratization. The first path of successful democratization leads from a new democracy towards a consolidated democracy. The second path of post-communist democratization consists of those countries which have not yet managed to achieve the top status of a consolidated democracy, but have nevertheless been able to reach the middle status of an electoral democracy (which can be described as a partial democracy system without a variety of elements and institutions of a complete liberal democracy).

The third path of post-soviet political transformation relates to those countries which failed completely on the road to democracy and ended up as autocratic regimes without any significant democratic elements, principles, or institution.

The best examples of consolidated democracy are Slovenia, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, and Slovakia which have established a liberal democratic setup. These countries can claim to have achieved rule of law, a clear separation of power, constitutionalism, pluralism of political actors and institutions, full respect of human and political rights, and freedom of media and political association. The second path of post-communist democratization consists the political transformation of a new democracy towards an electoral democracy which can be described as a political democratic system without a variety of elements and of a complete liberal democracy. This path of development has been noticed especially among post-soviet countries like Estonia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Russia. A political regime can be described as an electoral democracy when it is fulfilling a minimum definition of democracy. When a political system is holding competitive and multi-party elections it can achieve the status of an electoral democracy. This concept of electoral democracy is restricted to the institutions and processes of nationwide elections and does not account for the democratic character of political institutions. An electoral democracy does not **fulfil** any of the criteria for full of consolidated democracies. Estonia is in electoral democracy, with

high levels of political rights and civil liberties, but it is the only new member of the European Union which has not reached the status of a consolidated democracy. The Orange Revolution achieved the status of an electoral democracy for Ukraine. The Rose revolution did the same for Georgia in Southern Caucasus. The Tulip Revolution kept Kyrgyzstan at the lower end of the group of electoral democracy, the so-called coloured 'Revolutions' in Ukraine (Orange), Georgia (Rose), and Kyrgyzstan (Tulip) constitute secondary democratic revolutions after the primary revolution between 1989 and 1991. These countries **are** in the process of shallow democratization, democracy is not developing deep roots in society nor amongst the elites. Their historic function is not to achieve consolidated democracies, but to lift autocratic regimes to the status of electoral democracies.

The third path of democratic revolutions in post-soviet Eurasia is finally relating to these post-soviet countries which failed completely on the road to democracy, and ended up as autocratic regimes without any significant democratic elements, principles, or institutions. The least autocratic regime, Tajikistan, has a small degree of political and civil liberties. Others such as Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan **show** minimum support for citizen's freedom and political rights.

8.7 AUTHORITARIAN RULE AND TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

There is an awakening of interest in democratic theory and politics in Africa. Military and one-party regimes are faced with serious problem of legitimation, stemming from the crisis of the social contract that under-pinned their post-colonial models of development. A variety of social groups are seeking protection against state repression and calling for alternatives to the structural adjustment programmes launched in the 1980s. Yet, until very recently, following the democratic uprisings in Eastern Europe, very few countries had followed the Latin American and Asian examples of establishing frameworks for transition to democratic rule.

The struggle for democracy in Africa has a complex and tortuous history. Democratization triumphed at certain historical conjunctures, but it was blocked and suppressed in other phases. Three stages can be identified in the contemporary struggles for democracy :

- (i) the decolonization period of guided democratization,
- (ii) the post-colonial period of state capitalism expansion and authoritarian rule, and
- (iii) the period of economic crisis which generated pressures for redemocratization.

The character of the democratic project differs in each period, being structurally related to the underlying forms of accumulation, the level of development of the corresponding civil societies, and the nature of social contract, and public welfare.

Decolonization in much of Africa occurred within the context of guided democratization. After many prevarications, the colonial authorities are forced to embrace democracy as a strategy for maintaining core residual interests. It was envisaged that plural forms of politics would sharpen local differences and dilute the militancy of the anti-colonial oppositions.

Furthermore, the values of individual self-interest were expected to permeate the social milieu of the leading nationalists. The emerging elites, on the other hand saw democracy as a strategy to end their subordinate positions in the colonial economy. Democratization provided an institutional framework for reconciling the conflicting interests thrown up by the authoritarian colonial economy. It checked the absolutism of colonial rule by opening up spaces for popular participation in government and the rise of independent organizations.

But the authoritarian character of the colonial economy prevented the growth of liberal democracy. The colonial state forcibly restructured pre-existing economies and subsequently regulated peasant production through monopolistic trading companies and marketing boards. The trading monopolies and the state failed to transform the petty commodity sector and rural society in general. There was hardly any major form of urban industrialization. Underdevelopment and dependency theory has adequately described the enclave dynamics and rural-urban socio-economic disarticulation that informed this type of development. What is more, public welfare occupied very low priority in the governance of those societies as very conservative fiscal and monetary policies were pursued. Public welfare did not become a major issue in state policy until the structures of decolonisation were put in place in the 1940s. Colonial rule was maintained through the use of force and the clientelist structures of indirect rule. Democratization and decolonization took place against the background of poorly developed civil society. Intense struggles had to be waged over the question of making the modern elites and their political parties the vanguard and pathways to self-government, rather than the traditional structures of authority which were dominated by the state.

Democratization also strengthened the alliance between the emerging elites and the colonial authorities. This facilitated the growth of a nascent local bourgeoisie. It gave the anti-colonial alliance a deadly class character and blunted the popular orientation of the democratic project. Rather **than** democratize the colonial economy the nationalist elites ruled through the state monopolies and the colonial patronage networks to consolidate and expand their economic and political power.

Decolonization did not fully establish democratic rule, even though the period stands out as a major landmark in democratic experiments in Africa. Representative governments were introduced in controlled stages the right to free expression and association was coloured with proscriptions, the banning of radical literature and the arrest of activists considered to be militants for the transition period.

8.8 AFRICA'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

The 1990s was a decade of democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa. A wave of transition to multiparty rule began with Namibia's decolonization in 1990 and subsided only after Nigeria returned to civilian government in 1999. At the crest of the wave the world witnessed a landmark transition from racial oligarchy to multinational democracy in South Africa in 1994. By 1990 some forty-three countries had introduced competitive multi-party elections.

The transition to democracy was in account of many factors. Democratization occurred mainly because ordinary Africans began to demand greater accountability from their political leaders. At the time of independence, the nationalist founding father had promised their followers not only liberty from colonial rule but also higher standards of living. But neither of these promises were kept. Instead, after thirty years of post-colonial rule, Africans found themselves worse off economically **and** short of basic liberties of speech, association, and assembly. As a consequence, they took to the streets to demand the ouster of corrupt and irresponsible leaders.

Other factors apart from mass political action were at play in Africa's democratic wave. There were rare historical conjunctures in which international and economic conditions arranged to create the conditions which protest could momentarily succeed. A pervasive economic crisis undercut African leaders' ability to distribute patronage rewards to their supporters and the end of cold war meant that petty dictators, except those in the Arab world would no longer rely on superpower patrons to prop them up. Thus protesters faced severely weakened governments that were ripe for overthrow.

Under these circumstances, a handful of fragile new democracies emerged on the African continent during the 1990s. In 2006, Ghana, Lesotho, Mali, and Senegal graduated into the ranks of free regimes.

8.9 Features of Transition

Several features distinguish recent regime transitions in Africa. First, the continent has enjoyed meager previous experience with democracy. In the pre-colonial era (before 1885), Africans governed themselves through patrimonial customs that concentrated power in the hands of hereditary chiefs, headman, and elders. These systems had some democratic features: communal discussion was allowed and a group consensus was achieved, but the oldest males held office until they died.

The colonial experience (1885-1960) did little to offset these less than democratic precedents. The European overlords were openly authoritarian, being more concerned with effective administration than political representation. Either they ruled directly through coercion (army, police, and courts) or they devised indirect control by piggy backing western laws on existing system of traditional authority. Only in belated reaction to mass African nationalism

did the departing colonial authorities try to install instructions of British (Parliamentary) or French (presidential) democracy. In this respect newly independent African nations briefly partook in the second global wave of democratization that accompanied the break-up of European empires in the middle of the twentieth century.

Not surprisingly, however, western institutions hastily transplanted from abroad did not readily taken root in Africa. Within a decade of independence, indigenous leaders either replaced multi-party systems with one party regimes or the military. Africa's top leaders deployed the regulations and resources of the state to bolster their own political power. In this regard, a neo-patrimonialism of *rue* characterised the post-colonial period in Africa (1960-89) in which leaders co-opted the formal institutions of the state to serve their personal needs. A key feature of neo-patrimonial rule was that citizens found it impossible to remove the big man at the top, who for all practical purposes, was a president for life. In short, legacies of authoritarian rule, pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial condemned Africans to embark on a quest for democracy from a low starting point and with little previous acquaintance with democratic forms of life.

Second, the African regime transitions of the 1990s were rapid. The length of any political transition can be measured from the date of the first demand for a new political order to the installation of a regime that is observably different to the one that went before. For the African countries that first experienced regime change, the median Interval between the onset of political protest and the accession to office of a government was only thirty-five months, and just nine months in Côte d'Ivoire compared with trajectories of Poland, where trade union protests began a decade before the Berlin Wall came down or Brazil where the military gradually introduced reforms at a leisurely pace, the African regime change seemed frantically hurried. Some later African transitions were protracted, as in Nigeria where the military repeatedly hesitated to surrender control or in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where the death of strong Mobutu Sese Seko was followed by a period of armed conflict that delayed elections. But insofar as democratization requires the institutionalization of popular government, precious little time was available in African transitions for people to practice operating new political procedures. One implication was that the consolidation of democratic institutions in Africa would be problematic in years to come.

Third, regime transitions had diverse and not always democratic outcomes. African countries were scored as 'Free' democracies by 2006. Thus, by Freedom House Criteria, less than one quarter of continent's forty-seven countries actually consummated a democratic transition (Criteria, the newest and forty-eight) Sub-Saharan country gained independence from Ethiopia in 1993). Moreover, because democratic transitions were disproportionately concentrated in countries with small populations, fewer than 15 percent of all African people could be counted as politically free in 2006 (less than 10 per cent in South Africa excluded). More commonly, many African transitions fell short of democracy as either competitive elections were never held, or elections were less than free and fair, or the losers of elections refused to accept the election results.

Regime transitions in African countries most often led to ‘electoral democracy’, a type of political regime in which rulers adhere the forms of elections but manipulate the rules to ensure that opposition forces have little or no chance of winning. Africa’s electoral autocracies are somewhat more liberal than one-party or military regimes they replaced, not because opposition parties are now allowed to operate. But political continuities under African regime transitions for example, the continent has been relatively little electoral alternatives of ruling parties just twenty turnovers in ninety-six post-transition elections through 2006. While the frequency of such peaceful turnovers increased compared to the period before 1989, they still only occurred in one out of five post-transitions elections. Rather than being displaced at the polls, dominant political parties in Africa have often been able to secure re-election in a multi-party setting, when they failed to deliver on promises of economic development.

Finally, the attainment of democracy was short lived in certain African countries. In 1994 a military coup ejected the democratic regime in Gambia, which at the time was one of the only five African countries along with Botswana, Mauritius, Senegal, and Zimbabwe to have returned to a multi-party system since independence. In 1997, the former dictator in the republic of Congo was reinstalled by the military following factional competition that escalated into civil war. In the following year, in Lesotho, the opposition rejected the results of national elections that had denied them a share of parliamentary seats. In 2000, Malawi slipped back from a ‘free’ to ‘party free’ due to degeneration in the management of elections and rising official corruption and by 2002, Zimbabwe had regressed from ‘party free’ to ‘not free’ as the dominant party embarked on a violent campaign to seize farmland and control elections.

8.10 GUIDED DEMOCRATIZATION

The Ghanaian military regime of Jerry Rawlings provided a clear cut example of the process of guided democratization. The model of guided democratization is one in which an authoritarian regime that is committed to democratization maintains tight control over the transition period. Assuming power in a military coup d’etat in December 1981 Rawlings implemented his vision to economically restructure the country. Rawlings oversaw a deliberately slow and measured liberalization of the Ghanaian political system that ultimately included the writing of new constitution, the legalization of opposition parties, the emergence of private press, and the creation of independent national human rights organization.

In a multi-party presidential elections held in November 1992, Rawlings emerged victorious with 58,3 per cent of the popular vote. The election was however declared flawed and charges of rigging were raised by the opposition political parties who boycotted the subsequent legislative elections held one month later. Thus, Rawlings saw his National Democratic Congress (NDC) sweep almost all seats without contest. By 1996, however, the oppositions joined the next regularly scheduled electoral campaigns. Rawlings and NDC

won again, but with a lowered share of 57 per cent of the presidential vote and with less than two-thirds of the parliamentary seats. With the introduction of a meaningful degree of political competition in elections, broadly accepted by all parties. Ghana made a transition to democracy. Competitive multi-party elections have become an established norm of African politics. But to deepen democracy, the fundamental challenge is to establish institutions of political accountability, which in Africa mainly means imposing checks on the power of "big man" executive presidents. A strong competitive party system and effective civil society in the long run can strengthen the hope of building a vibrant democratic culture in Africa.

8.11 PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN EAST ASIA

Due to its rich diversity and largeness, it is difficult to ascertain general patterns of democratization in Asia. This section thus focuses on the few regimes that have undergone democratic transition since the 1970s in East Asia.

Economically, East Asia is vastly different from the rest of the democratizing world. Unlike their peers in other regimes, a number of countries in this region achieved unprecedented economic growth and social modernization under authoritarian rule. Prior to their transitions to democracy. East Asian countries, with a few exceptions such as Mongolia and the Philippines, experienced rapid and sustained economic growth for decades and freed millions of people from poverty and illiteracy.

The global wave of democratization reached the shores of East Asia in 1986 with the removal of the dictator Ferdinand Marcos through the bloodless People Power movement in the Philippines. One year later, South Korea ended military rule and elected a new president in a free and competitive election for the first time in nearly three decades of the Kuomintang's one-party rule. Taiwan lifted martial law and ushered in an era of highly competitive multi-party democracy. In 1990, Mongolia became a third wave democracy by abandoning its sixty-year-old communist one-party system and holding competitive multi-party democracy. The October 1991 Paris Accord made it possible for Cambodia to begin its transition to democracy, in 1992. Thailand re-established democratic rule after massive protests ousted the military-backed government. In 1999, Indonesia ended three decades of Suharto's personal dictatorship and thereafter held democratic elections to become the largest democracy in the region. By the end of the 1990s the global wave had brought about seven new democracies in East Asia.

8.12 MODE OF DEMOCRATIC REGIME CHANGE

Huntington (1993) classified transition from authoritarian to democratic one into three broad types in terms of actors who play a leading role in this process. According to him when opposition groups play such a role replacement occurs. When ruling elites and opposition groups together play an equally important role, transplacement occurs. Of these three modes, replacement and Transformation represent, respectively, the most radical and least radical modes of democratic transition.

Table-1 (attached.separately) lists the recently democratized East Asian countries with their modes of transition and their combined freedom house ratings of political and civil rights at the cusp of transition and their most recent score In 2007. Also induced in this table is indication of what forces drove each Asian country's transition, and whether the transition involved significant violence between the state and opposition forces. In East Asia, the Philippines was, the only case of installing democracy by violent replacement, while Taiwan was the only transformation case of gradual democratic regime change in which the ruling elite played the initial and leading role.

As in other regimes a variety of domestic factors facilitated democratization in East Asia Among these factors, which induced the rise of middle class and shifts in cultural values in favour of democratic rule, the expansion of civil society is generally considered the direct and primary cause of East Asian democratization. The growth of civil society groups above produced the balance of power. In six of the seven recent democratizations in East Asia, such a power balance led to successful negotiations between the two rival forces and produced democratic transition by the mode of transplacement and transformation. In South Korea, for example, religious institutions played a prominent role by promoting human rights and civil liberties. In Taiwan and Thailand, a variety of social movements organized by civil rights and environmental groups mostly from the urban middle class challenged repressive regimes and demanded democratic reforms.

According to Junhan Lee (2002). colonial legacies and external factors had no direct influence in spurring democratic regime change. It is the civic movements that spurred democratic changes in East Asia. Across the region these movements weakened authoritarian elites by engaging in waves of demonstrations, boycotts, and strikes and inculcated the spirit of democracy in ordinary citizens *by* demanding the election of new rulers and establishment of their political right. From Catholic Philippines to mainly Buddhist Taiwan and Thailand and multi-reiigious South Korea, civic movements were the most decisive and powerful force that drove authoritarian rules in a democratic direction.

In Europe and Latin America, region-wide international organizations and individual governments promoted democracy. In east Asia there were no such organizations or governments. The USA remained lthe single most powerful external actor. Until the collapse of the Berlin wall, moreover, the international context of the cold war severely constrained democratic development in East Asian countries by giving their authoritarian governments a rationale for repressing political opposition, The USA supported those repressive regimes to stop the spread of comniunism and thus created an unfavourable balance of power between the state and civil society for democratizalion. Only after decades of rapid economic development did civil society actor become powerful enough to challenge those in power. Then the USA intervned directly to constrain authoritarian regimes from using force against the budding democratic movement.

The interventions of the USA contributed to peaceful democratic transitions especially in the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan. Diamond 2008 argues that the desire of the authoritarian rulers to see their developed countries ill an international event, such as the Summer Olympics, contributed to peaceful transitions in these countries. The Philippines transition by the 'People Power Revolution' also affected subsequent transitions in other East Asian countries by Spreading methods and techniques of democratic change across borders.

Today, all new East Asian democracies. except the collapsed one in Cambodia hold competitive and free elections regularly to choose political leaders for the national and local level of government. In institutional terms, therefore, they have been successfully transformed into electoral democracies. In substantive terms, however, they became well functioning, full democracies only when electoral and other political institutions performed according to the rules and norms of democratic politics, and as these institutions become increasingly responsive to the preferences of the citizenry.

8.13 RECENT DEMOCRATIC UPSURGE: THE ARAB REVOLUTIONS

The world witnessed a major breakthrough in its quest for democracy in the year 2011. In Tunisia. President Zine-al-Abidine Ben Ali resigned last January after weeks of demonstrations against a quarter of a century of corrupt authoritarianism. In Egypt, a combination of popular protest brought down the autocratic Hosni Mubarak. Libya's cruel Gaddafi was out thrown by his people and sections of his armed forces. Syria's Bashar-al-Assad has submitted to the widespread demand for decent democratic governance from people. In some authoritarian Arab states, people ousted tyrants.

2011 will undoubtedly be remembered as the year of the Arab Revolution. We have seen an explosion of democratic aspiration and courageous struggle as revolutions spread in a few weeks from Tunisia and Egypt to Bahrain, Yemen, Libya and Syria. Like all such movements, which challenge and topple leaders and systems that had once appeared to be fixed features of the global order, the world was taken by surprise by the speed, scale, and energy of the mobilised masses who sensed an opportunity to dislodge their rulers. Movements also broke out in Algeria. Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Morocco but were either quickly repressed or contained by economic concessions and promises of reform by the regimes.

8.14 Letus Sum Up

This unit refers to three phases of democratization that have taken state in the world with focus on the Phases of democratic transformations/transitions that took place in the Post-Colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

8.15 Check Your Progress Exercise

1. What is the meaning of Democratization ?
2. Discuss the two waves of the Process of democratization ?
3. What do you understand by Democracy ?

8.16 Glossary

- **Democracy** : A system in which the government of a country is elected by the people.
- **Government** : The group of people who rule or control a country.
- **Communism** : The Political System in which the state owns and controls all factories, farms, services etc. aims to treat everyone equally.

8.17 Answer to Check Your Exercise

1. See Section 8.2
2. See Section 8.4
3. See Section 8.3

8.18 Suggested Readings

- Tapan Biswal eds. Comparative Politics institutions and Processes, (New Delhi & Trinity Press), 2016.
- Bratton Michael and Van De Walle Nicholas, Democratic Experiments in Africa, Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press) 1997.
- J.S. Fishmen, Democracy and Deliberation : New Directions of Democratic Reforms (New Haven Yale University Press), P. 1991.
- S.P. Huntington, The Third Wave, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- S.P. Huntington, The Third Wave : Democratisation in the Late 20th Century (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 1991.

8.19 Terminal Questions

1. What do you understand Democracy ?
2. What is the meaning of Democratization ?
3. Describe the meaning and Determinants of Democratization ?

Lesson 9

DEBATE ON DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Structure

- 9.0 Introduction
- 9.1 Learning Objectives
- 9.2 Democracy
 - 9.2.1 Procedural Democracy
 - 9.2.2 Substantive Democracy
- 9.3 Development
- 9.4 Democracy and Development
- 9.5 Letus Sum Up
- 9.6 Check Your Progress
- 9.7 Glossary
- 9.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 9.9 Suggested Readings
- 9.10 Terminal Questions

9.0 INTRODUCTION

Discourse on both the democracy and development in India denotes two contradictory points about their assessment, i.e. one, the democracy and development have succeeded, and two these have failed. This applies to democracy and development when these are dealt with as interdependent or independent of each other i.e., whether they are compatible or not. This presents an overview of the assessment of democracy and development in India as two distinct phenomena and also in relation to each other. Having discussed briefly the evolution of democracy and the models and strategies of development in India, this unit discusses the democracy in India as both – procedural and substantive.

9.1 Learning Objectives

After completing this lesson, you will be able to :

- Explain the concept of Democracy.
- Understand the Principles of Development.
- Explain the relationship between Democracy and development.

9.2 DEMOCRACY

Following Independence India adopted a democratic system of governance. Institutional democracy in India intact began to grow during the colonial rule. They evolved through Acts of the British India Government and as a result of the demand within India and in England. The provisions of democracy found their place in the Government of India of 1909, 1919 and 1935. Following the deliberations within the Constituent democracy was introduced in the post-independence India in 1950 with coining India's Republican Constitution.

India opted for the parliamentary form of government in order to make the (modernity) based on the principles of universal adult franchise and periodic election in to the village-level government in the light of Gandhian principles.

The assessment of democracy depends on the indices used to indicate or measure are mainly two models of indices regarding democracy - one related to the minimal, procedural democracy; two related to the substantive or effective former views democracy in terms of the presence of the institutions of democracy parties and other associations or organisations, periodic elections, universal adult franchise, leadership, etc. The latter does not consider the institutional/procedural/electoral democracy as comprehensive Indicator of the democracy. The electoral democracy, in fact, is minimalist, which is also marked by a large number of factors which are inimical substantive to democracy. It is rarely concerned with what happens beyond elections, in the social space. Alternatively, the substantive democracy views the phenomenon of democracy in the light of its disintegration and diffusions, redistributive justice, human capabilities and entitlements (education, health. Infrastructure etc.), social capital/associated factors (trust, values, norms), civil society, Human rights and dignities, governance participation, accountability, efficacy, transparency, etc.). These are contingent on development as development in turn is contingent upon democracy. The impetus of the debate on the democracy in India has been on the transition, consolidation and deepening of democracy. The first two issues dominated the debate during the first two decades of democracy in the post-Independence period and the deepening of democracy became an issue of focus in the recent period. The assertion of various identities/new social movements - the process of democratisation, have contributed to the project of deepening democracy. But it is dependent on the participation of various communities cutting across the cleavages.

9.2.1 Procedural Democracy

The observers of the procedural democracy largely believe that democracy in India has been successful. The criteria for this assessment are - participation and competition. These are indicated by the frequency of the elections in India and competition among political parties to contest elections. The percentage of turn out and the percentage of votes polled by parties are indicators of participation. The advocates of this approach are buoyant about the success of the electoral politics in India, which is taken as the general pattern of

success of democracy, Those who see success of democracy in terms of elections - participation and competition follow survey methods to measure democracy. They infer the dominant trends in the election in terms of the turn out and the percentage of vote or use of statistical method - correlation, coefficient or the regression analysis. They see the multivariable relationship of the turn out percentage and participation with the socio-economic data in particular-constituencies. On the grounds that this analysis is based on survey, and takes into account the socio-economic and political factors of a particular region, it is also called the ecological analysis. However, some of the scholars who follow survey-based analysis feel that survey analysis are full of errors, are not backed by the qualitative data and also do not provide data for the period between elections. During the first fifteen years following Independence, scholars like Rajni, M. Franda. Paul R. Brass, Field and Myron Wiener used the survey method to conduct election studies. All kinds of factors crime, caste, religion, etc. become effective in elections. The survey method has been carried forward by several scholars, and during the past two decades the psephologists have also used it.

Procedural democracy was meant to contribute to the nation-building in India, The focus of studies on democracy in India in the earlier decades following independence has been to examine as to how it helped in the nation-building through the introduction of the universal adult franchise and periodic elections. It was known as the modernisation theory. The modernisation theory claimed that the developing countries underwent a process of modernization - whose ultimate aim would be stable democracy: it would be accompanied with the economic modernisation - urbanisation, spread of mass media, education, wealth and It was believed that the development in India would strengthen democracy and the based on caste, religions, etc. would disappear.

However, these hopes were belied in the following period. Salig Harrison, apprehend dangerous decade in India in the 1960s in the face of recurrent linguistic and ethnic. The violence which started in the 1950s itself, was further escalated in the 1960s and the defeat of the Congress in several states in the 1967 assembly elections and the imposition of emergency in the country during 1975-1977 were examples of people's discontentment emergency. Unable to meet the challenge democratically, the political executive responded these by authoritarianism, personalisation of the institutions and imposition. Scholars to emergency as an aberration. Some scholars are critical of the modernisation these predominance of the modernisation approach cast in the behavioural/structural –functional analysis accorded priority to the question whether India would survive as a nation-state or not.

9.2.2 Substantive Democracy

The critique of procedural democracy is provided by the scholars who study the substantive democracy. In their opinion, it views democracy in a limited way. Electoral democracy minimal democracy. Free and fair elections, universal adult franchise, political

parties, groups and availability of constitution etc. are not sufficient conditions for democracy, though they are necessary. Democracy has to be located in the society and taken out of the institutional mode. This alternative view of democracy can be termed as the substantive democratic Beetham argued for a “social agenda of democratisation”. Democracy has to be ground the reality of society, apart from the participation and competition in the elections Zakaria, however- criticises the substantive democracy in that it views democracy in the normative terminology as “good governance”, with a wide range of rights; it does not consider the descriptive democracy.

In the past two decades, in India, substantive democracy has also found a significant in the discourse on democracy. The assessment of substantive democracy is sought made in relation to the role of the state (with democracy) on the issues concerning the state-secularism, welfarism and development in India and also the role of the state these issues in the context of globalisation. Niraja Jayal argues that there are two arguments regarding the relationship between the state and democracy: one, there can democracy without an effective state which can exist when there **is** a strong civil society counter the authoritarianism of the state. Jayal argues that both state and society complimentary to each other in relation to the setting up of democracy. But in the the universal criteria of citizenship, the particularistic interests can hijack the project of democracy. In her opinion Indian state is an interventionist state whose thrust has been developmental rather than welfare state.

Civil Society is also an essential ingredient of substantive democracy. In India there viewpoints on the civil society. One, it considers all associations and collective actions society, irrespective of the issues they take up; two only those associations which take issues of universal significance, not sectarian, and whose foundation is secular/universal considered civil society. Recently a new debate has got momentum in our country, the debate between the communitarians and the liberal, the relationship between the individuals add the communities; within and between them.

The rise of identity politics - dalits, OBCs, women, tribals, ethnicity, environmental issues, etc. - the new social movements-and the inability of the discourse which privileges democracy with the election.-; have necessitated the focus on substantive democracy. This has been viewed both as a challenge to [he nation-state and as an increase in the democratic content of the country with the understanding that India is becoming more democratic, a position which Ashntosh Varshey opted, The most ardent critique of the nation-state perspective is provided in the writings of the scholars representing the peripheries of the country like North-East India. This perspective proposes the alternative in the form of the “province - state”, Sanjib Baruah’s book *Indian Against Itself* is a representative of this perspective. This all has happened with the simultaneous rise of the large number of issues - governance, civil society, social-capiial, human rights, etc. The existence of all these factors is taken as an indicator of the existence of democracy in the country. Even here there are opposite views which suggest both the absence and presence of these factors.

With the introduction of the 73rd and the 74th Constitutional Amendments, the decentralization has been democratised and the scope of democracy has expanded to include the women, OBCs and dalits at the grass root level. Prior to this the dominant social groups exclusively dominated the institutions of the local self-governance. This defeated the very purpose of democracy. The transfer of 29 subjects to the local bodies has added to the democratic decentralisation, However, democratic decentralisation gets impeded in the light of the fact that in several cases women members of the PRIs (Panchayati Raj Institutions) are proxies of the male members of their families. The increasing role of crime, money, etc. has further eroded the credibility of local level democracy. Nevertheless, wherever the public action has coexisted with institutions of local self government, the institutions of local self government have functioned democratically.

Usually the assessment of democracy in India has been done at the national, state or district level and the functioning of the democracy at these levels has been independent of each other. There has been the “top-bottom”, not the “bottom-up” approach to democracy in India. Atul Kohli, however, has covered three levels- nation, state and district in his book, *Democracy and Discontent: India's Crisis of Governability*.

Scholars like O'donnell have underlined the need to see the differences with in democracy (citizenship). Following this tradition, Patrick Heller has “disaggregated” democracy in order to view the “its degrees” in India. Comparing Kerala with rest of the country, he opines that **there** is more democracy in Kerala than the rest of the country. It is possible clue to the existence of the “robust civil society” and an “effective state” there unlike in rest of the country. Here the effective/substantive democracy is indicated by the progress in the areas of education, health and distributive justice, their extension to the subaltern groups.

In Rajni Kothari's opinion the Indian state played significant role in building democracy in the first two decades following Independence. It implemented welfare schemes and development programmes. Though it was a moderate state then, Indian democracy, during this phase, was marked by the accommodation of all interests and building consensus. But since the especially with the promulgation of emergency in India the executive concentrated its hands. This eroded the moderateness of the state. As a result, the executing populism, undermining the democratic institutions and personalizing institutions. The state started acting against democracy.

Atul Kohli argues that the Indian democracy is facing a crisis of governability. It is by the growing disjuncture between weakening institutions and multiplying demands in the credibility of political parties, leaders, and the indisciplined political various social groups, and class conflicts within the society have caused the crisis of in India. The state elite has played a crucial role in the politics of political disorder favourability.

L.I. and S.H. Rudolphs have attempted to comprehend the relationship of Indian political economy with the democracy in India. They analyse the mobilisation of pec terms of demand polity, and the role of the state in terms of command polity, But necessary correlation between the type of regime – democratic or authoritarian polity - command or demand. The nature of polity - whether it is demand or depends on the nature of economy and not the nature of the regime.

The survival of Indian democracy has baffled some observers, for whom it is a “exception” of the third world political systems: it has survived diversities on the religion, language, etc., which often result in violence, Arend Lijphart explains this providing a consociational interpretation. The theory of consociationalism is premise that in a multi-ethnic society, power is shared among different groups of the. The consociationalism in a society is contingent upon four conditions (1) government coalition in which all ethnic groups are represented (2) cultural autonomy of consociation (3) their proportional representation in politics and civil services and (4) veto on the issues concerning the minority rights and autonomy. Lijphart argue success of the Congress system, coalition governments, federalism, principles of discrimination, and constitutional provisions of the religious and cultural rights of minority veto through political pressure are indications of the success of Indian a consociational way. Indian democracy has survived on the principles of “power system” – as it prevails in Austria, Netherlands, Switzerland, Lebanon and some other. In this system all major groups shared power in a consociational way. This system during the first two decades following Independence. Lijphart, however, concedes that the past few years with the decline of the Congress system, and attack on the minorities the rise of the BJP, the trends have been in contravention to the consociational theory R. Brass criticizes the consociational model as not applicable to India at all. This is in the context of modern history and contemporary politics. Though different come together to form a consociation or alliances, their internal squibblings threaten to consociation.

9.3 DEVELOPMENT

Development is a recurrent theme in the discussion on democracy and social change. Has been used mainly by the sociologists and political scientists on the one hand economists on the other. The sociologists and political scientists use it as a modernization which became popular to discuss the political and social change in the developing countries, liberated from the colonial folk. These changes were considered as development and modernization, which indicated towards the process of nation-building or nation-statebuilding, formation of political institutions (political parties, interest groups etc.), introduction of universal adult franchise and periodic election, written or unwritten constitution and level of urbanization. The modernization or development theories, influenced by behaviouralism were mainly concerned with the question as to how a system maintained itself by accommodating various segments of the system. It gave no space to the possibility of change or break-down of the system as a result of the challenge from within it.

For the economists, development meant the growth in terms of the per capita income and GNP. The modernisation theory of development, apart from the factors mentioned above, has also considered the per-capita income and GNP indices of development.

Amartya Sen has provided an alternative model of development. For him the per capita income and the GNP are important but not enough indices of development. Development in the real sense of the term means developing the human capabilities among the people and entitlement in terms of education, health, infrastructure and liberty.

9.4 DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

The debate on the relationship between democracy and development has dealt with two questions: are they compatible with each other? Or are they inimical to each other? Niraja Javal asserts that this debate in India has been "somewhat misconceived", it has basically been engaged by the economists. Deepak Nayyar argues that in India there has been tension between economic development and political democracy. There is inclusion of the people, especially the poor in the democratic processes but they have been excluded from the market. The market has seen the exclusive predominance of the elite. The state has been mainly concerned with the management of the interests/conflicts of the elite. During the post-Independence period the role of the state vis-a-vis management of the conflicts and towards the interests of the people, especially the poor has passed through three phases - from 1947-1966, 1967-1990, and from 1990 onwards. The first phase was marked by the prominent role of the state, which was able to reach the consensus of various interests. In the second phase, there was an erosion in the effectiveness of the state and the consensus model. The state made political efforts to accommodate [the rich peasants, and resorted to populism and patronage for managing interests of various classes. This phase also saw decline in the poverty to some extent. The third phase known as the phase of liberalization, is marked by the erosion in the credibility of the state, and rising role of market. It is happening along with politics of liberalisation. In Nayyar's opinion for the first time in India economics of liberalisation and politics of empowerment are moving in the opposite directions. The people have the political rights but cannot participate in the market as they lack entitlements and capabilities. There is no attempt by the state to mediate or reconcile different interests, in such a situation, where the state cannot play an effective and mediating role, he suggests that the civil society can intervene.

Pranab Bardhan argues that democracy and development are irreconcilable. There are main proprietary classes in India- industrial capitalist class, rich farmers and the professionals in the public sector. Their interests are in conflict and the state plays a mediating role. At the same time there is a "turmoil from below" -the assertion of various disadvantages. There is a conflict between their interests and those of the propertied classes. There is anti-reform streak in the mobilization of various groups. This makes the atmosphere economic reforms. Those who argue about the incompatibility of democracy and development refer to the countries of South East Asia where real development has taken place in undemocratic regimes.

Amartya Sen has provided an unequivocal perspective on development and democratic are not incompatible. Rather democracy and development are complimentary to each Democracy is possible if people in a society have the entitlements and posses capabilities enable them to be part of the democratic process. Freedom, which is an essentialingrete democracy, promotes development in terms of entitlements and the capabilities Development is also contingent upon democracy.

9.5 Letus Sum Up

In this unit we have discussed that there are two contradictory view-points about the democracy and development in India-these have succeeded and these have failed. The assessment of democracy and development is related to the meanings of these. There are two types of models of democracy discussed in relation to India: substantive. The former is mainly concerned with the institutions and processes. The latter places the democratic institutions and processes in the societal context-civil rights, etc. The dominant opinion of die scholars sludying the procedural democracy that democracy in India has been a success, and those who study the substantive democratic generally consider democracy in India as a failure. Development is also viewed in two one, in terms of modern political institutions; two, in terms of the availabilities of the and capabilities to the people. There are two opposite opinions even about the compatibility development and democracy.

9.6 Check Your Progress Exercise

1. Define Democracy ?
2. What do you understand by the term Development ?
3. What is the relationship between Democracy and Development ?

9.7 Glossary

- **Governance** : The system by which an organization is controlled and operates, and the machinism by which it, and its people, are held to Acount.
- **Adult Franchise** : Refers that all citizens who are 18 year and above irrespective of their cast Education, Religion, Color, Perce and Economic Constitions are free to it is based on the idea of Equality.
- **Decentralization** : A form of an organizational Structure where there is the Deligation of Authority by the Top Management to the middle and lower levels of Managementation organization.

9.8 Answer to Check Your Progress Exercise

For Answers

1. See 9.2
2. See 9.3
3. See 9.4

9.9 Suggested Readings

- Tapan Biswal eds, Comparative Politics : Institutiona and Processes (New Delhi: Trinty Press), 2016
- J.C. Johari, New Comparative Government, (New Delhi : Lotus Press), 2011.
- Egyankash, Dbate on Democrcy and Development accessed on dated 15 May, 2023.

9.10 Terminal Questions

- 1) Explain the evolution and growth of democracy in India.
- 2) Discuss various conceptions of democracy
- 3) Evaluate the on-going debate on democracy **and** development.
- 4) Explain the concept of development and its relations with democracy.

Unit-3
Lesson-10

**CONSTITUTIONALISM : MEANING, EVALUATION,
CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMS**

Structure

- 10.0 Introduction
- 10.1 Learning Objectives
- 10.2 What is Constitutionalism
- 10.3 Constitutionalism Does not Mean Just the Presence of a Constitution
- 10.4 History of the Evolution of Constitutionalism
 - 10.4.1 Greek Constitutionalism
 - 10.4.2 Roman Constitutionalism
 - 10.4.3 Constitutionalism in the Middle Ages
 - 10.4.4 Constitutionalism of the Renaissance and Reformation Periods
 - 10.4.5 Constitutionalism in England
 - 10.4.6 Constitutionalism under the influence of the American and French Revolutions
 - 10.4.7 Constitutionalism of the 19th Century
 - 10.4.8 Constitutionalism of the 20th Century
- 10.5 Features of Constitutionalism in Contemporary Times
- 10.6 Problems of Modern Constitutionalism
- 10.7 How can the Problems before Modern Constitutionalism be over come ?
- 10.8 Liberal V/s Marxist Notions of Constitutionalism
- 10.9 Let us Sum up
- 10.10 Check Your Progress Exercise
- 10.11 Glossary
- 10.12 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 10.13 Suggested Readings
- 10.14 Terminal Questions

10.0 Introduction

Constitutionalism is a concept which stands for the exercise of sovereign power of the state by its government in accordance with several fundamental rules, laws and principles. The government exercises powers within limits and in accordance with the means defined and prescribed by the fundamental law of the land, *i.e.*, the constitutional law. It is a modern concept which holds that what is essential for a state, in order to be a modern welfare democratic state, is not the existence of a constitution but the acceptance of constitutionalism—a system of politics governed by laws and regulations. Constitutionalism means the supremacy of law and not of the individuals, and the principle of limited government as against autocratic or unrestrained government. It includes within its ambit the principles of democracy, liberalism, limited government, decentralization and nationalism. It has no place for arbitrary or despotic government.

10.2 WHAT IS CONSTITUTIONALISM ?

The concept of constitutionalism means the exercise of power by the power-holders under several accepted and definite restraints which are designed to ensure a limited and restrained exercise of power. It also stands both for the exercise of powers under the supremacy of laws and for the sharing and decentralization of power.

In the words of *Carl J. Fredrickson*. “Constitutionalism, by dividing power, provides a system of effective restraints upon governmental action. Through a network of fundamental rules, regulations and principles enshrined in the constitution of the state, constitutionalism ensures a system of government working under restraints and in a responsible manner. By several methods and techniques, it provides for restraints on the powers of the government and ensures fair and responsible exercise of power on the people.

In simple words, constitutionalism stands for the existence of :

- (1) constitutional limits and restraints on the power of the government:
- (2) limitations on the government with a view to prevent arbitrary action on its part;
- (3) definite rules regarding the exercise of sovereign power: and
- (4) guarantee of the rights and freedom of the governed.

C.F. Strong opines that constitutionalism stands for that constitutional state in which “the powers of the government, the rights of the governed and the relations between the two are adjusted.”

Pennock and Smith observe, ‘Constitutionalism is not simply a matter of procedure and substances, but also the effective control of large blocs of political power and intangible and diffused values of representatives, symbolism, past traditions and future aspirations.’”

According to *Carter and Herz*, "Decentralisation of power is the most essential element of modern constitutionalism." Fundamental rights and independence of the Judiciary are its two general and essential features. It involves the guarantee of opportunities to the people for change of rulers after regular intervals through peaceful and constitutional means."

Aristotle's description of "constitutional rule" can be quoted as a description of the constitutionalism of modern times. He conceptualised a constitutional rule, as *Sabine writes*, in terms of its three fundamental elements: *First*, it is rule in the public or general interest as distinguished from factional or tyrannical rule in the interest of a single class or individual. *Second*, it is a lawful rule in the sense that the government is earned on by general regulations and not by arbitrary decrees and also in the vague sense that the government does not flout standing customs and conventions of the constitution. *Third*, constitutional government means the government of willing subjects as distinguished from despotism that is supported merely by force."

Constitutionalism is, *us such*, the principle or concept of a state governed by a limited and responsible government which exercises power under certain restraints, imposed by law and which is founded on the principle of the supremacy of law and not of any person, or group.

10.3 NATURE OF CONSTITUTION : CONSTITUTIONALISM DOES NOT MEAN JUST THE PRESENCE OF A CONSTITUTION

There exists a subtle difference between constitution and constitutionalism. Modern political scientists advocate that the two are not the same. They reject the traditional view which held that constitutionalism means the concept of a state governed by a constitution. They argue that there may be a state with a constitution but there may not be constitutionalism in that state. Constitutionalism stands for the concept of a state governed by a government limited by laws, a government which exercises power under restraints and which is accountable before the governed. In other words, it stands for a democratic government. "Constitutionalism" write *Carter and Herz*. "is possible only in non-totalitarian states. In a totalitarian state, there may exist a constitution. In it, the rulers exercise unrestrained power at will. The governed have little control over their policies. The change of the rulers is always accompanied by sudden and usually violent changes. In a state characterised by constitutionalism, there is always a provision for orderly change," *Friedrich* holds, "Constitutionalism is a complex system of providing for orderly change."

The Constitution: of a state is a set of rules, the constitutional law of the state which lays down the organisation, powers and functions of the government. It sets forth the principles which govern its organisation and functions. It may provide for a division of powers or concentration of powers, centralisation or decentralization, rule of law or rule of the

rulers and separation of powers or not. It may or may not enumerate the rights and freedoms of the citizens. It may provide for only certain broad laws and vest the authority to rule by customs or traditions in the rulers, *K. C. Wheare* defines it as a selection of the legal rules which govern the government organised in accordance with a constitution. It stands for a government which is limited and responsible. It stands for a constitutional state or a constitutional government, *i.e.* as *Wheare* says "a government according to rule as opposed to an arbitrary government, it means a government limited by the terms of the constitution and not a government limited only by the desire and capacities of those who exercise power."

Constitutionalism means an exercise of power in accordance with laws and under limitations imposed by these laws. It involves a political system in which the powers of the government are limited. "It is another name," writes *J. C. Johri*, "for the concept of a limited, and for this reason, a civilised government." Under it, the real justification of the constitution, writes *Wheare* finds place in having a "limited government" and in requiring those who govern "to conform to laws and rules." A totalitarian state, an authoritarian and dictatorial state can have a constitution but is not characterised by constitutionalism. *Carter* and *Harz* remark, "Constitutionalism is possible only in a non-totalitarian state." A totalitarian state can have a constitution but only as a showpiece, or as a smoke screen for projecting its legitimacy and increasing the credibility of the rulers and their actions. It cannot be characterised by constitutionalism as there is an all-powerful government run by the powerholders in accordance with their wishes and desires. Constitutionalism necessarily involves the concept of limited government. Separation of powers, restraint of law upon the persons running the government, absence of arbitrary actions and presence of peaceful and constitutional means for the change of rulers after regular intervals or whenever the people may so desire.

Constitutionalism is a fundamental feature of a really liberal democratic state. It does not characterise an authoritarian state. For example, in Pakistan, there is a constitution but no constitutionalism whereas in India, there is both a constitution and constitutionalism. A large number of scholars advocate the view that in a communist political system, the constitution is present but constitutionalism is absent. The government is organized according to the constitution but it functions according to the wishes of the leaders or the leaders of the Communist Party. The constitution is an instrument in the hands of the rulers which they can change at will or very easily. In states not characterised by constitutionalism, the relations of the government with the people depend upon the rulers and are not adjusted on the basis of the laws of the land and public opinion.

Making clear the distinction between a constitution and a constitutional state or government, *C.F. Strong* writes that a constitution is a frame of political society organized through and by law, in which the law has established permanent institutions with recognized

functions and definite rights,' while the constitutional state (*ie.*, a state characterised by constitutionalism) is one in which the powers of the government, the rights of the governed, and the relations between the two are adjusted."

Thus, according to several political scientists, there exist subtle distinctions between constitutionalism and constitution. The former is a concept of democratic rule in accordance with the laws, the latter may or may not provide for a democratic system of government. A constitutional government, in the real sense of the term, should mean a government whose working is restrained by law and not a government organised in accordance with written laws but working in an unrestrained and autocratic manner.

10.4 HISTORY OF THE EVOLUTION OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

The emergence of constitutionalism, *i.e.* a constitutional state, in the real sense has been a product of slow and steady historical evolution which can be studied and analysed as the history of the growth of political institutions. This exercise can, in turn, be accomplished by a review of great political thinkers.

C.F. Strong has traced the evolution of constitutionalism by dividing the process into several stages. We shall also follow *C.F. Strong* in tracing the history of constitutionalism from the Greek times to the present.

10.4.1 GREEK CONSTITUTIONALISM

The beginning of constitutionalism can be traced back to the times of Greek city-states. The Greeks stood for political separatism and considered the existence of small city-states ideal. They accepted the principle of autonomy or the liberty of the group. The state was conceived in terms of an economically self-sufficing unit and small enough to permit all the citizens to meet together at one place. The state was regarded as an organic spiritual union and not a mere piece of governmental machinery. It meant to them an individual writ large. It comprehended within it all that we today denote by the terms state, society economic organisation and even political. It existed for the sake of life as well as to make life good. Good life was possible only within a state. The citizens as good citizens observed the laws, acted as legislators, magistrates, and jurors. It was their duty. Ideal Royalty was considered to be ideally the best form. On the average, Polity was considered to be the best Democracy was interpreted as mobocracy or unbridled and degenerated liberty. All were not citizens of the state, A slave had no right to participate in the state. He was to exist as a piece 'of property of the master.

Aristotle classified states on the basis of the number of rulers and the ends that the States served. His analysis can be described as his description of the constitutional rule as opposed to the selfish and perverted rule of the ruler.

Greek constitutionalism revolved around the idea of an ideal state. Both Plato and Aristotle were involved in picturing an ideal state and a sub-ideal state. Whereas Plato offered a utopia in the form of 'Republic' and a working state in the form of "the laws" Aristotle offered an ideal state governed by an ideal monarch and a sub-ideal state incorporating the rule of all or the majority for the good of all, and named it Polity. Greek Constitutionalism had an in-built idealism and conservatism. It did not include a system capable of changing with the changing times and meeting new needs as they manifest themselves.

Analysing the contribution of Greek Constitutionalism. *C.F. Strong* observes, "Although the political constitutionalism of the Greeks thus (as a result of civil war and subjection to Macedonian invasions) passed away, their political idealism remained, and it is difficult to see how our present political organization could have become what it is without the inspiration afforded by this classical example."

10.4.2 ROMAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

The next stage in the evolution of constitutionalism came during the era of the World Roman Empire and that is why we call it Roman Constitutionalism.

Rome too was a city-state in the beginning. But later on, due to the policy of expansionism pursued by its rulers, it became a World Empire. The Roman Constitutionalism began as a happy blend of monarchical, aristocratic and democratic elements and ended as an irresponsible autocracy.

The Republican Constitutionalism as practised after 510 B.C. which rested on four principles - divided authority, a short tenure of office for magistrates, the people being the final authority on all important matters, and the military authority of all magistrates being limited was rejected as it was found incongruous with the administrative needs of the big Empire. In Rome itself, a despotism was established. The Emperor became all powerful and his word became the law. The popular assemblies ceased to function and the Divine Origin Theory, which accepted the divine rights of the King to rule as the deputy of God on the earth, came to be accepted. Thus, the Republican Roman city-state got replaced by a centralised autocratic authority. The distant parts of the Roman Empire were governed by Roman Governors who enjoyed wide discretionary powers and were virtually free from the control of the Home Government. The only check upon them was the threat of impeachment at home on retirement. But it was just a check on paper and not in reality.

The Greek ideals of liberty, democracy and local independence got replaced by the Roman ideals of unity, order, universal law and cosmopolitanism. The Greeks pursued their ideals of "liberty and equal law." but ignored the importance of authority and discipline. The Romans held fast to authority in the family and in the state. At the same time, they accepted

the idea of the natural rights of all Roman citizens and subjects. They look steps towards the development of a common law - Natural Law - system for all. The Greeks' conception of Law of Nature was applied by them to their legal system. "The Romans studied the institutions and customs of the heterogeneous people over whom their authority extended and found a common element of equity and convenience for all. This Law of Nations, as they called it, was a great step forward which widened the notions of lawyers and statesmen."

Analysing the influence of Roman Constitutionalism. *C.F. Strong* observes :

- (1) The Roman law has had a great effect upon the legal history of continental Europe. The customs and laws brought in by the Teutonic invaders of the empire in the West fused with and merged into the Roman code which they found, and this fusion has produced the legal system which prevails in Western Continental Europe today.
- (2) The Roman love of order and unity was so strong that the men of the Middle Ages were obsessed with the notion of the political unity of the world in the face of the forces of disintegration. To the Romans, passion for unity and its continuity as an ideal in the Middle Ages may be traced to the prevailing dream of liberal minds in the modern world that at last, there may be established an international or supra-national authority for the prevention of war.
- (3) The double-sided conception of the Emperor's legal sovereignty on the one hand that his pleasure had the force of law, and, on the other, that his powers were ultimately derived from the people - persisted for many centuries and was responsible for two distinct medieval views of the relations of government and the governed. At the beginning of the Middle Age, it led to blind acceptance of authority by the people and towards their close to the doctrine that the people, having originally delegated the sovereign power to the Emperor, might rightfully resume it. This argument has in fact been the source of the philosophical basis of the modern democracy.

10.4.3 CONSTITUTIONALISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES

With the invasion of the Barbarians into the western half of Europe, the Roman Empire in the 4th and 5th centuries and the Roman political machine broke down. In the eastern half, the Roman Empire could persist till it fell to the Turks in 1453. In the West, actual unity was impossible after the Barbarians had broken the universality of the Roman Law. However, the theory of Empire gave rise to the Holy Roman Empire which was founded by Charles the Great in 800 A.D. However, under it, Roman Constitutionalism disappeared. The old notion of Roman centralism was abandoned in favour of decentralism. The threat posed by the Church to the temporal power gave rise to a new type of constitutionalism.

In the middle ages, there developed the phenomenon of feudalism all over Europe. It gave rise to the idea that the Kings were the vassals of the Emperor who, in his sum, was the vassal of God. They received their dominions as fields to be held on the condition of loyalty to their lord. Each King, then, divided his dominion into sufficiently large parts and granted each part to a noble called Tenant-in-chief, on the condition of loyalty and service to the king. He held land so long as he fulfilled the obligations. After his death, the rights and duties of vassalage passed on to the heirs of the lord. The Tenants-in-chief divided their lands into small units and gave them to their vassals on similar conditions.

The process of division and transference continued to many levels. At all levels, the vassals owed to their lords full loyalty and rendered certain services to them. The lords had the duty to protect their vassals.

The main feature of constitutionalism in this era of feudalism was the dispersal of the governing power among hundreds of petty authorities both lay and ecclesiastical, all confined to small areas. It was characterised neither by common citizenship nor common law. There was almost no central authority in the state and the loyalty of the people was divided at every step. Its main evil was that it gave inordinate power to the great barons and this prevented the growth of a united state power. The Kings of the middle ages, however, soon became aware of this limitation. Consequently, many of them particularly in the Western European state, made moves towards centralisation. In England and France and to a less extent in Spain, the policy of the Kings from the 11th century onwards was to concentrate power in their own hands and to control and finally destroy the great feudal fiefs. Both England and France also realised the limitations that the Roman Church had placed on their powers and the two took steps to establish their national Churches.

In order to enlist the support of the people, the Kings started the practice of summoning representative assemblies. In 1265 a parliament consisting of the representatives of Knights of the Shire and the representatives of Towns was summoned in England and the process led to the calling of the Model Parliament representing all the three classes of the realm Ecclesiastical, Nobility and Commonality in 1295. In France, a similar development took place in 1302. Along with it, the Hundred-Year War (1337-1453) strengthened the sense of nationalism among the people. These developments in England and France gave rise to the ideas of "nationalism" and "representative democracy".

In other parts of Europe, particularly in Germany and Italy, feudal anarchy continued to remain at work till a much later date than in England, France and Spain. The situation further degenerated into chaos as a result of perpetual conflicts between the Imperial and Papal authorities which grew in intensity from the middle of the 11th century. The conflict weakened both the church and the monarchy. It was only after the emergence of the Conciliar Movement that "Popism" became somewhat weak. The Conciliar Movement was,

however, in itself a failure. But it had two significant impacts on the constitutionalism of the medieval ages. *First*, the organization and procedure of the councils acknowledged the national divisions into which Europe was now falling. *Secondly*, it gave rise to much speculation regarding the means of creating a constitutional government in the Church and led to significant writings on political philosophy in the 15th century, in the writings of such men as Marsiglio of Padua, William of Ockham, John Gerson and Nicholas of Cusa, there were explored such political problems as sovereignty, nationalism, representation and the limitation of monarchy which foreshadowed the constitutional developments of the modern epoch.

10.4.4 CONSTITUTIONALISM OF THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION PERIODS

The break up of medieval institutions received a big impetus in the Renaissance period. The Greek ideas were found to be opposed to medieval conceptions, which were already becoming discredited by the facts. The general effect was at once of atomization and one of integration : it atomized the medieval world but integrated individual states. The rise of nation-states started taking shape in England, France and Spain. However, the state of the Renaissance period did not uphold the medieval idea of a constitutional state. It emerged as a centralized authoritarian state pursuing vigorously external sovereignty. The statesmen failed to accept the Greek ideas of the autonomy and rights of the individual. The Renaissance monarchs were concerned with politics and not in the least with ethics. Machiavelli's *Prince* (1513) epitomized fully the idea of complete separation of politics from ethics. Centralism came to be the favourite idea.

The Reformation of the 16th century gave a divine sanction to the Renaissance state, Luther's ideas supported the concept of religious toleration and state Churches. His attack on Papacy strengthened the process of atomizing of the world and added to the Renaissance monarchy the control over the religious practices of his subjects because it emerged as the head of the Church.

The rise of strong centralized monarchy in the Renaissance and Reformation periods effectively delayed the progress of constitutionalism whose seeds had been sown in Western Europe towards the end of the Middle Ages. The Tudors' Benevolent Despotism in England and the rise of strong centralized monarchies in France, Spain and some other European Countries led to the emergence of the Nation-state. The two great features that came to be developed were the institutions of professional army and professional bureaucracy drawn generally from the middle class or bourgeoisie. Analysing the impact of these developments on constitutionalism. *C.F. Strong* observes. "Thus, as feudalism decayed, the only unifying force was the Crown which sought no aid from any representative body, and so the organs of a properly constituted body politics, instead of thriving by activity, atrophied through lack of use." That is the reason why the full development of constitutionalism was delayed until the 19th century. In England alone, Renaissance monarchy was not allowed to become an unchecked despotism and constitutionalism maintained its progress.

10.4.5 CONSTITUTIONALISM IN ENGLAND

In England, the age of the Benevolent Despotism of the Monarchy could last only till 1603. The rise of the Stuart dynasty came with the attempts of Kings James I and Charles I to justify their “despotism” as “the Right Divine” of the king to rule as a deputy of God on earth” received a reaction from the parliament and the people. The ensuing Civil War (1642-49), the Commonwealth experiment (1649-61), the Restoration of Monarchy (1660), the attempts of Charles I and James II to keep powers centralised in their hands and the attempts of James II to bring back Catholicism produced the Glorious Revolution of 1688. This Revolution transformed the control of the King into the control of the King-in-Parliament and established the sovereignty of the Parliament. The passing of the Bill of Rights gave a solid legal foundation to constitutionalism. Along with it, the principle of Parliamentary control over the Executive, the system of the Rule of Law, the concept of constitutional and limited monarchy became popular. The Mutiny Act gave the Parliaments control over the army.

In the 18th century, the cabinet system had its birth and gradual development. The emergence of the concepts of the responsibility of the Executive to the Parliament, and ‘accountable government’ took place in England. By the second half of the 18th century, England had become a constitutional, though not a democratic state. By conventional growth and by a series of statutes, her three organs of government got properly constituted and related in such a manner as to ensure the absence of tyranny. “The principle of representation was”, writes *C.F. Strong*, “deeply rooted in the system, but no ideas of franchise extension had yet come to be accepted as practical politics.” For this the country had to wait for the combined effect of the French, American and Industrial Revolutions “Nevertheless, in the middle of the 18th century, Britain was the only constitutional state in the world and it naturally became a model for the later constitutional development of other states. The constitutionalism which emerged in England through an evolutionary process influenced other states to use, adopt and incorporate it through legal actions and in their own ways.”

10.4.6 CONSTITUTIONALISM UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS

The British Constitutionalism had its influence on its North American colonies, where the people started thinking in terms of constitutionalism and in terms of an end to the system of bearing the laws and tables passed by a foreign representative body and not by their own representatives, in France, the centralism affected by the Kings and non-availability of rights and freedoms to the French made them think of the reasons behind such a system which was opposed to British Constitutionalism. The French writer Montesquieu, after visiting England, published his work. ‘The Spirit of Laws’ in 1748. In this, he tried to explain as to why the British enjoyed rights and freedoms and why these were not available to the French. The difference between the British and French systems was attributed by him to the

existence in England and absence in France of separation of powers. The publication of this book and the discussion and debates that it gave rise in clearly demonstrated the existence of awakened political consciousness in favour of constitutionalism and against despotic and autocratic regimes.

In fact, in the 17th century itself, the political tyranny which the Renaissance had produced and the persistence of religious intolerance which the Reformation had done nothing to allay gave rise to the Social Contract Theory, developed in England by Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (1651) and John Locke in the *Treatises of Civil Government* (1690). Locke justified the spirit of the Glorious Revolution and advocated the concept of a limited government resting upon the consent of *the* governed with the governed having the right to overthrow the government or any of its organs if it failed to remain in its allotted sphere of activity. Rousseau's 'Social Contract' was published in 1762 and attempted to reconcile the twin principles of sovereignty and democracy. He advocated the concept of 'popular sovereignty' and popularised the case for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity of the people. Social Contract theory gave a big popularity to the ideas of constitutionalism—the rulers should rule in accordance with the terms of "the Social Contract" which gave rise to the state and the system of government.

After the publication of Rousseau's "Social Contract," two very big events took place - one in America and the other in France. In America, the Declaration of Independence was made by the Colonies in 1776 which led to the War of Independence and resulted in the rising of 13 sovereign American states committed to the idea of constitutionalism. In France, the French Revolution (1789) took place and opened the era of constitutionalism. The American Declaration of Independence read "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights." That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute a new government." This historic document and the constitution that the independent American states made for themselves greatly strengthened constitutionalism not only in America but also in France and other states of the world.

"The French Declaration of Rights of Man and of Citizen" 1789 also declared "Men are born free and equally in rights. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the practical and imprescriptible rights of man.,, Law is the expression of the general will. No one ought to be disturbed on account of his opinion." The French Revolution and this Declaration of Rights gave birth to the era of constitutionalism, Constitutionalism in America, and France formed the true beginning of modern documentary constitutionalism. Unfortunately, this era was short lived in France and gave way to the anarchy of the Reign of Terror, which was followed by the despotic regime of Napoleon. However, despite its short life, it lit a fire of constitutionalism which could not be kept under control for ever.

10.4.7 CONSTITUTIONALISM OF THE 19TH CENTURY: NATIONALISM AND LIBERAL REFORMS

The Napoleonic regime and its consequences gave rise to the development of nationalism and liberal reform movements in the first half of the 19th century. Napoleonic wars in Europe gave rise to strong nationalism in European states and this nationalism was a “strong tire” and not a weak and vague consciousness which developed in the Renaissance period. It found concrete manifestation in the constitutions which were made and adopted by the European state – France, Italy, Denmark, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Switzerland and others. All these constitutions, in one way or the other, followed the British parliamentary system of government and included features of a democratic state. However, still they were not strong enough to satisfy the growing demands for democratic and liberal reforms.

The stage got set under the impact of the Industrial Revolution, which gave rise to the process of urbanisation and the rise of a new industrial middle class highly conscious of its right to have a share in political power and in respect of several liberal democratic reforms. This led to the passing of the First Reform Act (1832) and to the opening of the age of democratic reforms in England. Through several acts, the British were in a position to extend the franchise and to incorporate a number of social, political and legal reforms in the system.

This great movement inevitably spread to the Continent and produced similar reforms and constitutional changes. Constitutionalism gained a tremendous momentum. The constitutional state, government by representatives and responsible government, respecting the rights of its people and acting as an instrument of reforms, came to be the accepted model of constitutionalism. By the first decade of the twentieth century, acting under the influence of Western Liberalism, even the south-east corner of Europe, so long oppressed by the oriental despotism of the Turks, adopted political constitutionalism. However, Karl Marx and Engels in their works came forward to advocate a different type of constitutionalism, which the Western thinkers rejected as a thesis for proletarian dictatorship, but which found favour with Soviet Russia in the early years of the 20th century (1917) and resulted in Socialist Constitutionalism in that country.

10.4.8 CONSTITUTIONALISM OF THE 20TH CENTURY

- (a) **Constitutionalism and the First World War.** On the eve of the First World War in 1914.” writes *C.F. Strong*. “The national constitutional experiment was, in one form or another, being tried in every state of Europe, It had spread into South America, Japan. China and India. The European imperialism over Asia helped this process. Constitutionalism modelled mainly on British Constitutionalism had got a foothold in some of the Asian and African status’.

However, in the Inter-War period (1919-1938), the process received a setback when several dictatorial and authoritarian regimes emerged in several states at the cost of representative institutions. The rise of fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, Militarism in Japan came as anti-climaxes to the movement for constitutionalism. A single-party dominant political dictatorships and totalitarian systems came to be popular. Use of power for dominating the social, economic, political, cultural and even religious life of the people became the order of the day. However, a silver lining amidst these dark clouds was the establishment of the first ever global international organization - the League of Nations and internationalism came to be an aspect of constitutionalism.

(b) Constitutionalism after the Second World War. The: Second World War was fought by the Allied powers as a war for safeguarding democracy. Their victory came to be regarded as the victory of democracy and constitutionalism. The defeat of the Axis powers destroyed the dictatorial totalitarian systems of Germany, Italy and Japan. The rise of several new states in Asia followed by a similar development in Africa, gave rise to a new opportunity for the development of constitutionalism. Countries like India came forward to adopt western constitutionalism with several modifications suited to their environments. The new states of Asia and Africa and the reawakened states of South America strengthened constitutionalism by making several interesting experiments with constitution-making in order to have constitutional states. Japan emerged as a democratic state with a parliamentary system of government and accepted the concept of constitutionalism. The establishment of the United Nations and the acceptance of internationalism by the sovereign states further came as a welcome development.

In several communist states like China, constitutionalism similar to the one adopted by Soviet Russia came to be accepted. The communist States came to accept constitutionalism as defined by Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao...

In the last decade of the 20th century, the socialist constitutionalism suffered a big stroke and liberal constitutionalism – the real constitutionalism - received a big boost....It has received universal recognition and is taken to mean a system of governance characterised by a representative responsive, responsible and accountable system of governance.

10.5 NATURE OF MODERN CONSTITUTIONALISM

FEATURES OF CONSTITUTIONALISM IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES

The concept of Constitutionalism in contemporary times has the following features :

- (1) It is a concept of a constitutional state in which the exercise of power takes place in accordance with and restrained by laws. Rule of Law is the basis of the governmental authority.

- (2) It involves the concept of a limited government, *i.e.*, a government exercising power within the allotted spheres and in accordance with the procedures laid down.
- (3) Constitutionalism stands for the rule of law as against the rule of the rulers in accordance with their wishes.
- (4) It postulates decentralization of powers and responsibility of the power-holders towards the governed.
- (5) It stands for a well-adjusted system of rules in which the powers of the government and the rights of the governed stand duly recognised, protective and balanced.
- (6) Modern Constitutionalism stands for peaceful and orderly change of government after regular intervals and in accordance with the wishes and decisions of the governed.
- (7) Constitutionalism upholds separation of powers, decentralisation of powers, limited government, rule of law and absence of a violent struggle for power.
- (8) Constitutionalism, advocated by the western political scientists, characterises only non-totalitarian democratic states.
- (9) There is a subtle distinction between the constitution of the state and the constitutional state. Constitutionalism stands for a constitutional state.
- (10) It stands for the grant and guarantee of the rights and freedoms of the people against any misuse of power by their governors,
- (11) Constitutionalism believes that the distinction between the governors and the governed is not organic. The governors are elected by and responsible to the governed. A "governed" can become the "governor" through free and fair elections.
- (12) A constitutional state is one which regularly provides opportunities for a change of government through peaceful and constitutional means, *i.e.*, by free, fair and regular elections, *i.e.*, change of government by the free will of the people.
- (13) A state with a constitution may or may not be a state characterised by constitutionalism. Constitutionalism stands for a constitutional state in which political power is exercised by a limited, representative and responsible government in accordance with laws. It does not characterise a state which has a constitution but which does not provide for a limited and accountable government. An authoritarian system run under a constitution involves a rejection of Modern Constitutionalism.

- (14) Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes lack constitutionalism. In fact, these do not have genuine constitutions. The rules that exist are “forever, provisional, changeable, revocable,” and they do not have the nature of generality, reliability and thus credibility which the rules or laws elsewhere (in liberal democratic states) possess,”
- (15) Constitutionalism stands for a general consensus among all the people of the state in respect to the form of political institutions and procedures.
- (16) Constitutionalism advocates the conception of a state characterised by rule of law and not by the personal rule of the persons who wield power.
- (17) Constitutionalism postulates the existence of general agreement among all the people of the state in respect of the values and goals that they want to secure through the exercise of power by their organised government.
- (18) Constitutionalism is opposed to the idea of frequent and rapid changes in the constitution of the states. It rejects rapid constitutional amendments particularly for giving place to the ideas of the rulers, particularly the new rulers. *Carter and Hen* remark. “Genuine constitutionalism is likewise absent when constitutions are forever made and remade changed and abolished so as to fit the political needs of the respective holders.” When a constitution is in flux, there may not be constitutionalism, but the constitution is there.
- (19) Modern Constitutionalism stands for liberalism and liberalisation of economy and politics, democracy, free enterprise, liberty, equality, justice, rule of law and limited government.
- (20) Modern Constitutionalism stands for a government which works as a modern constitutionalism postulates a liberal democratic government as well as the presence of an alert and active civil society. Free Press and Freely organised, open and active, popular, representative, transparent, responsible and accountable government.

Thus, constitutionalism is a concept of a constitutional state characterised by all the above-mentioned features.

10.6 PROBLEMS OF MODERN CONSTITUTIONALISM

Constitutionalism in the 20th century saw many ups and downs. Immediately after the First World War, the outlook for political constitutionalism”, writes *C.F. Strong*, “was very bright. Indeed there was hardly a civilised state in the world which had not adopted a national democratic constitution in one form or another.” However, this condition could remain for only a short time. Reactions against constitutional governments soon appeared in various

parts of Europe, Rise of communism in Soviet Russia. Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and military dictatorship or authoritarian civilian regimes got established between 1919-39. However, some other states of Western Europe were able to retain political constitutionalism.

The Second World War, which broke out in 1939, was also a political war: Dictatorship vs Democracy. End of this war was considered a triumph of constitutionalism and several states, rapidly restored constitutionalism which had been suspended during German occupation France restored Parliamentary Republicanism under the Fourth Republic, which, however had to be replaced by Parliamentary, Presidential Republicanism under the Fifth Republic. Italy reverted to constitutionalism, Sweden and Switzerland successfully maintained their constitutions during the war and after the war, Finland and West Germany also came forward to embrace constitutionalism (Western Model), However, states of Eastern Europe decided to go in for communist constitutionalism, while Spain under Franco and Portugal under Salazar remained under dictatorships. Almost all the new states of Asia and Africa and the states of South America accepted and adopted constitutionalism, which, however, could not operate successfully in many of them and soon got replaced either by limited constitutionalism or military dictatorship or even by military civil dictatorships.

While constitutionalism based on the Western-Anglo-American model continued to be popular with several state, many others adopted either Communist//Socialist constitutionalism conslinilionalism or came to live with unique mixtures of military dictatorships, regimes of civil juntas and semi-western constitutionalism. Political instability continued to stare many of them in the face. The whole situation remained uncertain.

There were several problems which modern constitutionalism began to face. These were :

- (1) The threat of war limited the progress of constitutionalism because it made it essential for the states to keep ready for transformation into centralised systems of government, which were considered essential for meeting the exigencies of war.
- (2) The existence of totalitarianism in some states also constituted a problem. The threat of totalitarian regimes continued in act as a pressure against constitutional states.
- (3) The emergence of positive welfare administrative state increased tremendously the functions of the state. Law-making increased in number and volume. The representative assemblies did not have either the time or technical knowledge to handle fully this demand for increased law making. Consequently, concentration of some legislative power into the hands of the executive became inevitable. This came as a major limitation of modern constitutionalism.

- (4) The necessity to **take** special care of the weaker sections of society, particularly, in the developing states, made it essential for the state to pursue protective discrimination in policies.
- (5) The existence of revolutionary and separatist sub-national ethnic violence and wars in several new states also kept on hindering the successful operation of constitutionalism in them.
- (6) Another problem faced by modern constitutionalism was that it had to be detailed at times for meeting an emergency created by external aggression or internal revolt. Thereafter, it used to become very difficult to rerail it. The centralisation of power affected for meeting the emergency was sought to be perpetuated by the rulers.
- (7) The existence of parochial and subject political cultures in most of the new states hindered the successful operation of constitutionalism in them.
- (8) The confrontation between democratic and authoritarian systems in the sphere of international relations (1945-90) also constituted a problem for modern constitutionalism.
- (9) Ever-Increasing economic demands which were continuously made on the state, also constituted a limitation on modern constitutionalism.
- (10) Presence of several sham or facade democracies in the garb of guided democracy, basic democracy, people's republic, theocratic democracy and the like.

Because of these problems, national democratic constitutionalism in the 20th century remained on trial. In order to successfully survive, it had to be prepared to adapt itself to the changing times and circumstances. It remained dynamic in approach. The last decade of the 20th century saw the emergence of a strong and universally held faith in constitutionalism.

The 21st century is still in its infancy. It continues to live with the legacy of the past. Nevertheless, constitutionalism in the 21st century stands for Liberalism, Liberalisation, Democracy, Human Rights, Globalisation and Development.

10.7 HOW CAN THE PROBLEMS BEFORE MODERN CONSTITUTIONALISM IN OVERCOME ?

C.F. Strong suggests the following remedies for overcoming the problems of constitutionalism and for strengthening it further;

- (1) The state may satisfy the mass of the community whose *best* interests it intends to safeguard, and the machinery through which the state functions- that is its constitution must be so adjusted as to secure this end.

- (2) In order that the sovereign state may prove acceptable to the mass of citizens in an educated community, it must satisfy them that they ultimately control their political destiny.
- (3) The sovereignty of the state must be so exercised and poised that individual rights are not unwarrantably injured by it. The state must take all such steps as can lead to real enjoyment of rights and freedoms by its people.
- (4) The basis of representation must be kept broad so as to involve a large majority in the working of the government.
- (5) As far as possible, power should be decentralised. Federation and democracy at the grass roots are good means for this purpose.
- (6) In unitary states, effective devolution of economic power and resources to local areas must be effected through suitable devices.
- (7) A well organised system of local government can help the state both to train its people in the art of democratic rule and to secure their participation in satisfying local needs locally with the help of local resources.
- (8) Through several constitutional devices, the danger of bureaucratic rule should be kept limited and under control.
- (9) The representatives must maintain continuous and active contacts with their electors.
- (10) The sovereign nation states of contemporary times must realise the reality of ever increasing global interdependence and must accept internationalism and respect international law and order as a part of their living as members of the international community.
- (11) The role of international organisation the United Nations in preserving international peace and security by limiting and controlling international disorders, disputes and conflicts in international relations must be strengthened.
- (12) Civil society must continuously act in the interest of limited government rights and freedom of the people.

10.8 Liberal Versus Marxist Notions Nations of Constitutionalism

From what we have said above, it infers that the concept of constitutionalism has its own varieties that may be put under two broad categories - liberal and Marxist - and most of the states of the Third World may be seen hovering between the two poles. These may be briefly discussed as under :

The liberal view of constitutionalism is that a state should have its own rules and regulations to enshrine the ideals of law, rights, justice, liberty, equality and fraternity into the fundamental law of the land. These rules may be written or unwritten, framed at a particular time or developed over a very long period of historical development, easily amendable or amendable with great difficulty. Western writers like James Madison, Thomas Jefferson-Alexis de Tocqueville, James Bryce, C.F. Strong, Herman Finer, Harold .T, Laski, C.H. McIlwain, C.J. Friedrich and a host of others have taken the view that constitutionalism is both an end and a means, it is both value-free and value-laden, it has both normative and empirical dimensions. The constitution is not only an end that ought to be respected by all, it is also a means to an end, the end being the achievement of security and the protection of liberty of the people. On the whole, it desires a constitutional state having a well-acknowledged body of laws and conventions for the operation of a 'limited government'. If there is a change, it should be peaceful and orderly so that the political system is not subjected to violent stresses and strains. There is the rule of law ensuring liberty and equality to all; there is the freedom of the press to act as the 'fourth estate'; there is a plural society having freedom for all interests to seek the 'corridors of power'; there is a system that strives to promote international peace, security and justice.

Different from this is the Marxist view of constitutionalism. In a socialist country, constitution is not an end in itself, it is just a means to implement the ideology of 'scientific socialism'. It is a tool in the hands of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' that seeks to establish a classless society that would eventually turn into a stateless condition of life. The purpose of having a constitution is not to limit the powers of the government but to make them so vast and comprehensive that the ideal of a workers' state is realised and a 'new kind of state' comes into being. The real aim of the constitution in such a country is not to ensure liberty and equality, rights and justice for all but to see that the enemies of socialism are destroyed and the new system is firmly consolidated. In this way, the real aim of the constitution "is to firmly anchor the new social discipline among the working people." All power is concentrated into the hands of the Communist Party whose leaders lay down their programmes and implement them according to their best judgement without caring for the niceties of a limited development. The Communist Party becomes the state and its leaders become the custodian of the new socialist order.

A possible mixture of the liberal and Marxist notions with a heavier part of the former may be said to constitute the hall-mark of the concept of constitutionalism in the Third World countries. The reason is that these countries have a liking for the Western constitutional systems on account of their being subject to colonial rule and also their experiments with the political systems of the master-countries. At the same time, their attraction to the goal of socialism makes them admirers of some of the important principles of a socialist system

so as to achieve the ideal of social and economic justice in their countries^ The result is that the countries of the Third World look like hovering between the two poles and thereby happily involving themselves in a paradoxical situation,

10.9 Letus Sum Up

In the end, it may also be said that the concept of constitutionalism should change in response to the changes in urges and aspirations and social and economic conditions of the people. Mere adherence to the views of great constitutionalists would not do. It calls for the revision of old values and systems in the light of new hopes and requirements of the people. The concept of constitutionalism took a change from a theological to a secular side in the early phase of the modern age, it took another change from an aristocratic to a democratic side in the later part of the modern age, and from an individualistic to a socialistic side in the last century. In other words, it signifies that the meaning of constitutionalism should not be given a rigid or a fixed form; it should be treated as a dynamic affair that changes with the emergence of new conditions, new challenges, new problems; and new issues. And change "is not something to be feared and avoided, as Aristotle thought, but it is the very warp and weft of modern constitutionalism.

10.10 Check Your Progress Exercise

1. What is Constitutionalism ?
2. Explain the historical background of Roman Constitutionalism ?
3. Discuss the nature of Modern Constitutionalism ?

10.11 Glossary

- **Constitutionalism** : Doctrine that a government's authority is determined by a body of laws as constitution.
- **Liberalism** : It is political and moral philosophy based on the rights of the individual, liberty, content of the government, political equality and equality before the law.
- **Monarchy** : The system of government or rule by a king or queen.
- **Republic** : A country that has an elected government and an elected leader (President).

10.12 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise

1. See Section 10.2
2. See Sub Section 10.4.2
3. See Section 10.5

10.13 Suggested Readings

- J.C. Johari, *New Comparative Government*.
- U.R. Ghai, *Comparative Politics and Government* (Jalandhar: New Academic Publishers), 2016.

10.14 Terminal Questions

1. What is constitution ? Explain the difference between Constitutionalism and Constitutional.
2. Briefly discuss the history of the growth of Constitutionalism from the Greek period to the modern Period ?
3. Discuss the nature of modern constitutionalism ?
4. Write a brief note on the problems of Modern Constitutionalism ? How can these be overcome ?
5. Discuss the Problems of Constitutionalism in the contemporary era ?

Lesson-11

CONCEPT OF STATE AS THEORIES OF STATE

Structure

- 11.0 Introduction
- 11.1 Learning Objectives
- 11.2 Definitions of State
- 11.3 Necessary Elements of the State
- 11.4 Theories of State
 - 11.4.1 The Theory of the Capitalist State
 - 11.4.2 The Corporatist Theory of State
 - 11.4.3 The Marxian Theory of State
 - 11.4.4 New-Marxist Theory
 - 11.4.5 The Theory of the Patriarchal State
- 11.5 Let us Sum up
- 11.6 Check Your Progress Exercise
- 11.7 Glossary
- 11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 11.9 Suggested Readings
- 11.10 Terminal Questions

11.0 Introduction

The state is the central theme of Political science. Opinions differ as to the connotation of the term 'State' and as to where the concept emerged. The state is an association with Population, defined Territory, Government and Sovereignty is a meaning which all liberals give to the state, Marx had said of the capitalistic system of the bourgeoisie to oppress the proletariat.

11.1 Learning Objectives

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

- Understand the meaning of State.
- Understand the theories of State.
- Know capitalist theory of State.

11.2 Definition

Many definitions have been given about state by many writers. Mac Iver, Holland, Phillimore, Bluntschli, Sidgwick, Burgess and Prof. Laski are the important writers in this respect. According to Prof. Mac Iver, "Some writers define the state as essentially a class structure...others regard it as the one organisation that transcends class and stands for the whole community..." Prof. Laski says, "the state is a territorial society divided into a government and subjects claiming within its allotted physical area, a supremacy over all other institutions." According to Burgess the state is a "particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unity."

- According to Bodin, "A state is an association of families and their common affairs, governed by a supreme power and by reason."
- In the words of Grotius "the state is a perfect association of freemen united for the sake of enjoying the benefits of law and for their advantage."
- According to Hegel, "The state is the actuality of concrete freedom."
- Bluntschli says, "the state is the politically organised people of a definite territory."
- According to Woodrow Wilson, the state "is the people organised for law within a definite territory."
- Engles says that the state "is a product of society at a certain stage of development."

Ancient writers like Aristotle and Cicero have given beautiful definition about state. According to former, the "state is an association of families and villages for the sake of attaining a perfect and self-sufficient existence." According to latter, the state is "the coming together of a considerable number of men who are united by a common agreement about law and rights and the desire to participate in mutual advantages."

11.3 NECESSARY ELEMENTS OF THE STATE

From the above definitions we arrive at a conclusion that **the** state must possess the essential elements of (1) Population. (2) Territory, (3) Government and (4) Sovereignty.

1. Population : The most important element of the state **is** population. There can be no state on earth without people. If there is no habitation in the state means it cannot be called a state. There is difference of opinion regarding the size of the population. Plato fixed the number of 5040 citizens. According to Aristotle, it should be 100,000. He further considered that population of a state should be neither very few nor large. According to Rousseau, **it** should be 10,000. **Soviet** Union, Red China and India are examples for big states. Examples for small states are Monaco and San Marino. In our country we are facing **a severe** crisis due to increasing population and so **we** take all possible and feasible steps to arrest the ever growing population to meet the available means of production. The size of the population is

not a criterion of the state for its progress and prosperity. It depends upon the intelligent, disciplined and healthy citizens. Aristotle, therefore, remarked that a good citizen makes a good state and a bad citizen a bad state. Hence, population is rightly regarded as the most essential element of a state.

2. Territory : Territory is another essential of the state. There can be no state without a territory. If the people wander from place to place without having any permanent residence for their life, there is no state, for *e.g.*, the gypsies and nomads. The Jews for example did not form a state till they definitely settled in Palestine. Nomadic tribes, which wander from one part of country to another, can not form a state. Here also there are big and small states. The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are big states having large territories. San Marino and Monaco are tiny states having small territories- At the same time the land must be fertile. Added to this there must be natural resource for the development of inhabitants. Sahara desert and Siberia cannot be considered, a 'territory since there is no fertility and utility in the land. Likewise cold regions like North Pole and South Pole also cannot be considered as good territory. Those places are not suitable for any profession by which the people can pull on their life.

Some favour big states. Rousseau was in favour of small states, in a small state the population is limited and the people have the best opportunity to combine together and express their opinion. Democracy can flourish in small states. It will be nourished and cherished by the people. Further they follow the policy of each for all and all for each. In small states like Rome and Italy fine arts took a fine shape during the period of Renaissance. Many artists, scholars, poets and philosophers flourished only in small states. For *e.g.* Shakespeare was born in England. Beethoven, Goethe and Kant belonged to Germany; Italy gave Machiavelli to the world; Denmark possesses many Nobel Prize winners.

Scholars like Lord Acton are in favour of big states. Small states are always in critical position. Big states can easily swallow the small states. As a result they disfavour small states. It is to be noted that the areas of many states are fixed by boundaries provided by nature, such as the sea, mountains rivers and lakes. The air space above the territory is also under the control of the particular state.

3. Government : Another important and necessary elements of the state is government. Without a government there can be no state. In every government there must be organisation to run the same smoothly. The organisation must invariably be a political one. Further it regulates the affairs of the people. Without government the people cannot maintain their day-to-day life normally. The state will is expressed through the government. If the people lived in a particular territory without having any organisation, it cannot be called a state. According to Gilchrist, the government is the "Focus of the common purposes of the people." It is an organisation of the common purposes of the people. In short it is the organ of the community.

4. Sovereignty : Sovereignty is another essential element **of the** state. There can be no state without sovereignty which is the supreme element of statehood. Sovereignty is responsible **for** the maintenance of law and order in the state. If there is **no** sovereignty there will be chaos and confusion in the society. The state is supreme in both internal and external, matters. This kind of sovereignty is expressed through government, which is supreme in internal matter, and independent as regards external governments.

11.4 THEORIES OF STATE

The power configuration within a society, or how power relation in society is constituted, is generally translated through various apparatuses and this usually defines the type of the shape a state takes. Mandel (1975) contends that the state acts to protect and reproduce and more particularly, the social relation of production'. Thus, the state is necessary as the capitalist system is unable to accomplish the task of protection and reproduction. The utilitarian believed that individual utility maximization restrains or discourages the maintenance of the collective welfare system which is seen as necessary to enable individual actions. Utilitarians, therefore, urge the necessity of the existence of a grand institution in the form of state power with its apparatuses for collective welfare. Failure of market mechanism like the world had witnessed during the Great Depression of 1930s, the debt crisis of 1970s, the recent US Sub-Prime Crisis strengthened the idea of having a strong state. However, one should mention the difference between *state power and state apparatus as it would be helpful in clearing conceptual confusion during its usage*. Scholars like Aithusser hold that 'state power is the authority relation mediating between the state and other social class forces. It is a force which is expressed through state policy or action. This translation of power into policy requires a state apparatus which is the institutional organisation or bureaucracy for the exercise of state authority'. Therom categorizes four types of state apparatuses. These are (i) the governmental apparatus which refers to the law-making legislative and executive bodies, both central or local, (ii) the Judiciary, (iii) the administrative apparatus, (iv) the repressive apparatus which includes the police and the military. This apparatus is central to both Liberal and Marxist conception of state bureaucracy. Therorh also gave three types of approaches in the study of political power of the state. The first is the subjectivist 'approach: this approach deals with a society-centred model and seeks to understand the complexities of the slate by analysing those who have power in the society. The studies of power elite, pluralism falls under this rubric. The second is the economic approach, which is also society-centred, It has attempted a representative theory of democracy based primarily on the exchanged relationships in society. The third is the historical materialist approach which views slate as a component of a continuous social process of production and reproduction. Both the subjectivist and economic approaches addressed the functional aspect of the state, such as activities related to demands, apparatus, specific requirements, and power in function.

According to Andrew Heywood, 'the controversy about the nature of the state power has increasingly dominated modern political analysis and goes to the heart of the ideological and theoretical disagreements in the discipline'. The debate about the autonomy of the state and questions on what is the nature of state power and whose interest does it represent, problematizes the issue. Theories are viewed crucial to address these questions and thus, it becomes a necessity to comprehend the theories of state. Broadly speaking, five contrasting theories of state are presented in this chapter, which are as follows:

- (i) The theory of capitalist state
- (ii) The managerial or corporatist theory of state
- (iii) The Marxist theory of state
- (iv) The contemporary Marxist theory of state/Neo-Marxian
- (v) The patriarchal state

11.4.1 The Theory of the Capitalist State

There is no single understanding of the state in the capitalist tradition. These understandings can be summarized as :

- **State as a supplier of public goods** : In the stream of economics, the supply of public goods is seen as a technical problem. According to this understanding, the goal is to increase aggregate economic welfare by doing away with the problems of sub-optimal and inefficient market mechanism. According to this theory, there are a *prior* rules of efficiency, where state is seen to function within the prescribed domain. However, this does not mean that the prescribed rule of efficiency is complete or inclusive of all possible circumstances. Thus, one can say that according to this theory 'the state functions within a set of boundaries defined by the society itself with regard to goods that cannot be individually supplied. The state is simply and solely a collective instrumental agent.
- **State as a regulator and facilitator** : According to this theory of capitalism, state is generally seen as an instrument which regulates and facilitates the market operation. This is based on two assumptions - a well regulated market will best facilitate allocation of resources (Pareto optimum), and the market itself will not succeed in achieving an optimal allocation or a consistently full employment equilibrium. This view was fostered by the Keynesian economics, which calls out for a greater role of the state or state intervention in the economy through stabilization policy and the maintenance of market efficiency with the help of fiscal budgetary and monetary policies. Thus, we see an extensive role of state in enforcing competition in many countries and introducing policies in the form of 'anti-monopoly' or 'anti-trust' legislation. However, there is limitation of this role as well. The role of state is often viewed as maintaining the 'rules'

of market system which are derived from the neo-classical model of economy. Here, the state is often seen as a facilitator by providing improved information flow in both time and space as well as economic growth and competitive development.

- **State as a social engineer** : The biggest importance of state action can be seen in adjusting the outcomes of the market so that it fits its own normative goals. In advanced capitalist economies, this involvement means judgement on the part of the state to decide what state ought to be rather than what it is. This is important as the logic of distribution becomes the legitimate concerns of the state in order to ensure distributive justice. This is often qualified by the market as a means of distribution. The state, according to this theory, is so as a social engineer that seeks to maintain fairness for disadvantaged groups in a decentralized market society. Fairness is the criteria for formulation of the diverse policies of social engineering.
- **State-as an arbiter** : This refers to the political function of the state. The state holds the mandate to adjust the outcome in favour of particular social group. Thus, it is seen as an arbiter of inter-group conflicts in society. This not only indicated the conflict between the social groups but also refers to the conflict between the elements of state system. In order to understand the theory of the state as an arbiter, it is important to reflect upon three questions, which are: who have the power to influence the market outcomes? How does the state reconcile conflicting interests? Who benefits from the state policy? Thus, the answer to all these questions is contingent upon the state's role and its power. Dye (1972) has summarized five simple models of public decision-making which are significant for the role of state as a mediator. These models are: state arbitration can be seen as *rational*, which means that it is based on the logical criteria of choice; *incrementalist*, which refers to slight shifts of positions from existing practices; *elitist*, which is based on the interest of the power groups; *group-biased*, which implies some genuine efforts at compensating all interested parties; *institution-based*, which focuses on self-interest or the hidden objective of the state in entering group conflict. The pluralist school is based on this notion of the state. The pluralist theory of the state draws its lineage from the liberal school of thought. According to this theory, the state is an 'umpire' or referee in the society. This view comes from the Anglo-American tradition of thought. This school treats state as an abstract entity. The main focus of this theory is on the government rather than on state. According to Heywood, 'It is not in this tradition of the state to be dismissed abstraction with institutions such as the court, the civil services, and [the military being seen as independent actors in their own rights, rather than as an element of the broader state machine]'. This approach views state as a neutral and impartial referee, which can be bent at the will of the government of the day. The origin of this theory can

be traced back to the ideas of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, who articulated the social contract theory and thus saw the arrival of the state as a result of voluntary agreement or social contract. This theory examines the grounds of the political obligation of the individual to obey and respect the state. Social contract, as a voluntary agreement made by the individual, recognized that only sovereign power could safeguard them from the insecurity, disorder, and brutality of the state of nature. The state of nature has been characterized as brutish, chaotic and nasty by Hobbes on one hand, which is different from the Lockean state" of nature, where there is peace, good will, mutual assistance, and preservation. Rousseau's state of nature also follows the Lockean line of thought, where all men are equal and have a peaceful life. The state is seen as an essential authority through which individual abuse, exploitation and enslavement can be ruled out. Thus, the state is seen as an authority through which civilized existence is guaranteed and liberty is also protected. As a neutral arbiter, the state works in the interest of all citizens and represents the common good or public interest. Hobbes forwarded an absolute unlimited state. For him, state is a protector of natural rights of life, liberty, and property. For protection against the state Locke forwarded the idea of having a constitutional and representative form of government, where individual citizens would also have the right to overthrow the sovereign; if and when it superseded its defined functions. In the Lockean state ultimate power is not the sovereign but the people who come together for the contract. The idea of social contract was further developed in the twentieth century, which came to be known as the pluralist theory of state. State for pluralists, like the social contract theorists, is a neutral arbiter, as it is susceptible to the influence of various interest groups. The interest of the state is not separate from that of the society. This view sets state as subordinate to the government and the non-elected state bodies, like the bureaucracy, the judiciary, the police, the military, and as impersonal agencies subordinate to their political masters. They also emphasized the importance of party competition and interest groups' activity as an effective way of ensuring the public opinion. There is something more to be added in the pluralist theory of the state. Modern pluralism another strand in the pluralist theory, has a slight deviation of thought from that of classical pluralist. Charles Lindblom, J. K. Cialbraith and Robert Dahl are some scholars belonging to this school. The modern pluralist holds that the new industrialized state is complex and less responsive to popular pressures. Business enjoys a privileged position in relation to the government. As against the classical pluralist, the state for modern pluralist also forges its own sectional interest, for example, the state elite which are composed of bureaucrats, judges, police chiefs, and military leaders pursue their bureaucratic interest in their sector of the state. State thus, for the modern pluralist is the most powerful interest group in the society.

- **The minimalist state** : Within the conventional liberal literature, the theory of the minimalist state is mainly associated with Nozick (1974). He viewed state as an umbrella organization and tile sanctuary for widely different and antagonist individual's; vision of the future. State, according to Nozick's model, is seen as a provider of the minimum rights which would guarantee maximum freedom to individual a condition perceived to be necessary in order to pursue individual's separate and irreconcilable Utopian visions. According to him, the state would be supported to the extent that it enforces this collective but minimal altruistic vision of the society'. For Nozick. the state is the location for the enforcement of law. It is also presumed to be independent of the interest of one group or set of individuals, State is seen as dependent upon the support of all individuals for its material existence. Though political issues of laws and rights of individuals are decided by argument and conflict in Nozick's model, he viewed the solution to be consensual in the sense that the state will be supported by all individuals at the condition of maximum freedom to pursue individual's diverse and separate goals.

11.4.2 The Carporatist or Managerial theory of State

This theory views state as a harbinger of the new economic system, where the function of the slate is to acquire and control business. The state utilizes its power to support and guide capitalism by imposing the principle of unity, nationalism, order, and success. The concern of the state is to produce desirable result', with scant concern of means. The historical perspective is necessary to understand the dynamics of state and social formation. Wolfe has come up with six forms of stale in the US by analysing the political tensions in the evolution of US capitalism. These historical forms were :

- Accumulative state designed to ensure active governmental intervention in early capitalist accumulation.
- Harmonious state, the first 'legitimation' view of the state, suggesting that all classes could benefit from activities of the dominant social class.
- Expansionist state, which alleviated conflict through extension of political activities.
- Franchise state, which attempted to solve conflict by granting public power to private agencies.
- Dual state, which created two faces of the same state, one responsible for accumulation, the other for legitimation.
- Transnational state, which extended previous solutions beyond the nation-state.
- Corporatist state, which attempted to solve accumulation crisis through direct ownership and management.

However, according to Wolfe, these six forms of capitalist state have exhausted currently but they continue to exist as legacies although no single one dominates. These categories represent transformation of the capitalist state in the US at various times of crisis. One point to be noted here is that corporatism is not viewed as a separate theory of state, it comes under the theories of state in capitalism, its functional characteristics being similar to those of the theories under capitalism. This theory is given a separate treatment in this chapter so as to present the reader with the dynamics inherent in the advanced capitalist state, which has led the state to change according to the need of the given time.

11.4.3 The Marxian theory of State

The capitalist state can be critically understood with the help of the Marxian school of thought. This theory used the historical materialistic approach. The theory analyses the genesis and development of state in terms of the wider set of social relations from which it is derived- Jessop identified six different approaches to the theory of state in classical Marxist literature.

- The state is a *parasitic institution*. This approach believes that state has no essential role in economic production..
- The state and state power as *epiphenomena*. which implies that there is an artificial reflection of an independent economic base.
- The state as a factor of cohesion in society. It views the state as a regulator of class conflict in favour of the dominant class.
- The state as an instrument of class rule. This is seen as a result of the capture of the state by the dominant class.
- The fifth approach sees the state as a set of institutions. This view lends to do away with the assumption of the class character, thereby concentrating more on the empirical manifestation of the state apparatus.
- The sixth approach views the state as a system of political domination with special attention given to the characteristics of political representation and state intervention. For example, democracy is seen as the best political setting for capitalism.

Though divided as different approaches, they have broader associations as utilized by the classical Marxist scholars. The Marxist notion is a clear alternative to the pluralist image of the state. Economic factors lie at the core of its analysis of the state. For this strand, the formulation of the state is such that it is nothing but an instrument of the bourgeoisie class or to put it in simple word, state for Marxists is an instrument of class oppression in which the capitalist exploits the working class by maximizing profit at the expense of working class. State, for Marx, is the part of the superstructure which is determined by the economic base. However, it is necessary to mention that Marx did not develop a systematic theory of

state, Marx's understanding of the state can be found in *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and 'The *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852). In his former work, he sees the state as a committee of managing the common affairs of the whole of bourgeoisie. Thus, he viewed state as an instrument of the dominant economic class. In the latter work, he suggested the concept of 'relative autonomy' of the state. While analyzing the Napoleonic state, he forwards that state is capable of imposing its will on the society, acting as an 'appalling parasitic body'. Writing in context of the French society, Marx argued that 'if the state articulates the interest of any class, it was not those of bourgeoisie, but of most populous class in French society' which is constituted by small holding peasantry. Thus, we see a slight deviation in the conceptualization of state in Marx's writings. Though Marx did not explain this view in detail, his idea of relative autonomy brings to fore the notion of state as a mediator between the conflicting classes, thus maintaining the class bifurcation.

In the theory of communism, Marx speaks of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. Here we see him emphasizing the role of the state during the transition from capitalism to communism. It is during this period of transition that Marx saw the utility of the State. The economically dominant class would be repressed with the instrument of the state during the dictatorship of the proletariat and thus, the final stage of classless and stateless society will reach its goal of communism.

11.4.4 Neo-Marxists or Contemporary Marxist Theories

Further developments in Marxian thought led to another stand which is known as the Neo-Marxists school of thought. Scholars like Antonio Gramsci identify the ideological manipulation resorted by the dominant ruling capitalist class apart from their weapon of open Coercion to maintain its dominance in society. He speaks of 'hegemony' as ways of the dominant class, through which they maintain their dominance through intellectual leadership and cultural control, with state being a crucial factor in maintaining the dominance of the ruling class. However, in the 1960s and 1970s, the Neo-Marxists strand was dominated by the rival positions adopted by Ralph Miliband and Nicos Poulamzas. There are three models in contemporary theory. These theories can be categorized as: (a) the instrumentalist model, (b) the structuralist model, and (c) the ideological model. Let us see how each of these models endeavour to understand state.

- (a) Instrumentalist model :** This places significant emphasis on the nexus between the ruling classes and the state elites- Miliband's contribution is said to represent this model, where he explores the record of conspiracy between the British ruling class and the state's bureaucratic elite. According to Miliband, the objectives of the conspiracy were to maintain the class system and to develop a social institution to serve the capitalist interest. However, the problem with this model is that it fails to see the participation of the ruling class as a cause or effect. State is seen as an agent enveloped in the tentacles of the ruling class.

- (b) **Structuralist model** : According to this model, the state is determined by the structures of society itself rather than the people who occupy positions of power. Poulantzas is regarded as the pioneer of the structuralist view. According to him the state is not an autonomous entity. It reflects the balance of power among, classes at a given time. For Poulantzas, State action does not determine direct participation of the capitalist ruling class. The function of the state is an outcome of the overarching social formation. For Poulantzas, 'elite association within and without the capitalist state are not the cause but effect'. Thus, the structuralist view has a society-centred mode of analysis.
- (c) **Ideological model**: The third model is based on the ideology and mystification of the capitalist reality. This view is Influenced by the Hegelian-Marxist perspective. The approach holds that the state is a mystification, an institution which serves the interests of the dominant class. However, it portrays itself as serving the nation as a whole, by obfuscating the basic line of class antagonism. Thus, the state is seen as an agent of the ruling class but it portrays itself as a homogeneous and inclusive community by delegitimizing class interests. The state rules by defusing different class aspirations and maintains division and inequality in the society.

The above given models have been criticized for their ignorance of several factors. One of the criticisms leveled against the instrumentalist model is that it fails to see the elite as a constituent element of the wider social order which is independent of specific institution and personalities. The structuralist model has also met with criticism based on its ignorance of the historicity of the capitalist state. It understands state only within the context of the contemporary social conditions. Thus, it is unable to distinguish the rationale behind the function of the certain states and their actual behaviour.

Moving on to the views of Miliband and Poulantzas, both were in constant debate during the aforesaid period and thus gave the instrumentalist and the structuralist views of the state respectively. On one hand, Miliband's work. *The State in Capitalist Society* (1969), viewed state as an instrument of the ruling classes formed by the amalgamation of civil servants and other public officials, along with private bankers and business leaders. These two groups represent the capitalist class which makes the state an instrument to serve their interests. Poulantzas, on the other hand, in his work. *Political Power and Social Class* (1968). emphasises on the structure of economic and social power, which, according to him, exerts pressure on state's autonomy. In the capitalist state the role of state, according to Poulantzas. is to serve the long term interest of capitalism even though these actions are resisted by the capitalist class itself. Example can be cited of the extension of democratic rights and welfare reform which is seen as a concession to the working class in order to bind them to the capitalist system.

However, in the later stage, one **can** see convergence **between pluralist** and modern Marxism. The view of the state as, not necessarily the instrument of ruling class came to the fore. Poulantzas recognized **that** there is division among the ruling classes in capitalist states, which is recognized as the Financial and the manufacturing capitalist class. Both the theories see electoral democracy as an important development, which has empowered the interests of the groups outside the ruling class. Thus, state is seen as a terrain where there is constant struggle of classes.

11.4.5 The Theory of the Patriarchal State

The theory of patriarchal state emerged as a reaction against the earlier theories and conception of the state which, according to it, was predominantly assumed to be male in character. This theory came up as a critique, emphasizing that apart from concentrating on the deeper structure of male power, reflection should also be placed on the institution of family, which is seen as a private sphere. Some feminists criticize the state's monopoly of legitimate violence' **by** advancing that violence of the state also comprise', the routine use of violence and intimidation not only in public but also within the private sphere of family and domestic life. The **feminists** criticize the state's denial of equal position **to** woman with that of man.

The state, apart from the theoretical understanding, is also categorized based **on the** kind of role it plays in different societies- Therefore, in broader terms, there **are** four types of roles recognized by the scholars **in** this chapter. These are as follows :

- (a) The minimal state
- (b) The development state
- (c) The social democratic state
- (d) Collectivist state
- (e) Totalitarian state

The conceptualization of state based on its role helps to have a comparative Study among the states existing in various parts of the world. Therefore, it becomes crucial to understand each of them in detail.

- (a) The minimal state :** As explained earlier in the theoretical part, this type of state functions to provide the widest possible freedom to an individual which has its roots in classical liberalism. The minimal role for the state can be summarized as: (i) maintenance of domestic order, (ii) protection of its territory from external attack. (iii) ensuring the enforcement of the contract and voluntary agreement made between private citizens. In this type the state apparatus is limited to the police, the judiciary and the military. Economic, social, cultural, and moral responsibility falls within the individual sphere and not the responsibility of state and thus part of **the civil** society.

However, in modern political debate, the concept of **minimal** state as explained earlier can be seen in the views of New **Right wing**. **Some** of the pioneers **who** subscribe to the **minimal** state **view** are **Robert Nozick, Milton Friedman, and Fredrick von Hayek**. These **scholars** support limited role of the state and rolling back of its frontiers.

- (b) The development state :** This model of state can be found in countries like Japan and Germany. This type of state is seen as an active and forceful agency in development processes. This is different from the socialist system as it does not amount to replace market; rather, it attempts to reconstruct a partnership between the state and the major economic interests. In Japan, during the Meiji period and in the later part after 1945, the developmental role was assumed by MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry). Similarly, in France, the government which is comprised the consensus of both the Left and the Right recognized the economic planning crucial for development. The state bureaucracy assumed the role of the guardian of national interest. Another case of Germany can also be cited here where we see the existence of 'partnership state', East Asia's tiger economies are also an important example of development state. Their role is to implement strategies of national prosperity in the context of growing transnational competition.
- (c) The social democratic state :** **The soul** of the **social** democratic state **lies** in emphasizing social restructuring based on the principle of social justice, fairness, and equality. Austrin and Sweden are two states which follow both the models of developmental as well as .social democratic state. The **UK**, after the Second World War, followed social democratic lined for **some** time. However, there is essentially a positive view of the state in the social democratic model — a little **more** than necessary evil. The social democratic model is ideal for both the modern and the democratic socialist. **The** state plays an important role in eradicating poverty, minimizing **and** rectifying inequality and injustices, which is seen as **an** outcome of the market economy. Social welfare and Keynesianism is a social democratic model. The role of the state is considered crucial—a manager and regulator of capitalism with a view to promote growth, development, and full employment. Thus, it is often regarded as an 'enabling state' **due to its** functionary characteristics mentioned above.
- (d) The collectivist state :** The collectivist state can be said to be a strong state, which fully regulates economic life. USSR, in the cold war period, is the best example of the collectivist state. The state in USSR was based on the orthodox communist principle. It is an alternative to liberal democracy in order to wipe out social injustice and exploitation which has resulted due to capitalist modes of production with its tendency of making huge profits. This type of state abolished private enterprise

altogether and replaced it with centrally planned economy administered by a network of economic ministries and planning committees. This type of state is also called 'command economy'. However, with the disintegration of Soviet Union in the late nineties the command economies have adjusted to the growing demands of the market and therefore, opened its door for liberalization in certain sectors of economy. Russia and China are its examples. These states are also regarded as 'modernizing states' by Sorensen, the explanation of which would be given in the latter part of this chapter.

- (e) **The totalitarian state** : This model represents the most extreme and extensive form of state intervention. An all embracing state, its penetration can be found in every aspect of human existence- The state not only controls the economy but also the sphere of education, culture, religion, and even family life. Hitler's Germany, Stalin's USSR. and Mussolini's Italy are some historical examples of such a state. The central pillars of these states are central surveillance, terroristic policing, ideological manipulation and control. There exist; no civil society in such states. It completely destroys private life. Thus, it is 'totalitarian' in every sense of the term".

11.5 Let us Sumup

After discussion on the theories of the state an extension of the same is needed in its relation with that of society. A clear picture will emerge only when we analyse state in its relation with the social classes. However, at this point, one should mention that side and social classes have been a focal point especially for the Marxist and the structuralist approaches of the state. Let us see what all analysis has been put forth by various scholars.

11.6 Check Your Progress Exercise

1. What do you understand by the term State ?
2. Discuss the Theory of Capitalist State ?
3. Explain the Marxist Theory of State in your own words ?

11.7 Glossary

- Community – A group of people who have something in common.
- Sovereignty – The Ultimate overseen, or authority, in the decision-making process of state and in the maintenance of order.
- Theory – The general idea or principles of a particular subject.

11.8 Answer to Check you Progress Exercise

1. see section 11.2
2. see sub-section 11.4.1
3. see sub-section 11.4.3

11.9 Suggested Reading

- N. Jayapalan, Comparative Governments, Atlantic Publishers, 2000.
- Den L. Clark and Michael Dear, The Problematic of Capitalist State, in state Apparatus; Structures and Language of Legitimacy, London, 1984.
- Jossep, Bob, Recent Theories of Capitalist State, Cambridge Journal of Economics, 1977.
- Tapan Biswal ed., Comparative Politics : Institutions and Processes, New Delhi, 2016.
- Don L. Clark and Michael Dear, The Problematic of Capitalist State in State Apparatus: Structures and Language of Legitimacy (Boston: Allen and Unwin), 1984.
- Bob Jossop, Recent theories of Capitalist State in Cambridge Journal of Economics.

11.10 Terminal Questions

1. What do you understand by the State ? Discuss the Elements.
2. Explain and exercise the Marxian Theory of the state ?
3. Explain the Capitalist Theory of the State ?

Lesson-12

GLOBALISATION AND THE STATE

Structure

- 12.0 Introduction
- 12.1 Learning Objectives
- 12.2 What is Globalization
- 12.3 Dimensions of Globalization
 - 12.3.1 Socio-Cultural-Dimensions
 - 12.3.2 Economic Dimension
 - 12.3.3 Political Dimension
- 12.4 Characteristics of Globalization
- 12.5 Difference between Globalism and Globalization
- 12.6 Historical Back Ground of Globalization
- 12.7 Arguments for and against Globalization
 - 12.7.1 Arguments of Critics against Globalization
 - 12.7.2 Arguments of the Supporters of Globalization
- 12.8 Globalization and Sovereignty of the Nation-State
- 12.9 The state as regulation, enabler and Facilitator
- 12.10 Globalization and its impact on the state
- 12.11 Let us Sum up
- 12.12 Check Your Progress Exercise
- 12.13 Glossary
- 12.14 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise
- 12.15 Suggested Readings
- 12.16 Terminal Questions
- 12.0 Introduction**

This chapter will describe and explain globalization in the context of the role of the state overview of globalization aims to inform on a new era for globalization with new

markets, actors, new roles and norms and new tools. The role and function of the state will be explain. Bilateral donors and multinational institutions' mitigation strategies are based on the ability to deliver the necessary services. The success of interventions depends on the ability the state not only to take the lead, but also to provide the political will, leadership commitment. A short history of the changing concepts of government'srole will provide insight on how the role of the state has changed over time. Presently, the role of the changing under the impact of globalization. Thus lesson explains the multiple globalization and its implications for the nation-state in the first part. Later, it brings dimensions of the transformation of the nation-state. Globalization is in the air. It has now come to be one of the most frequently used terms in Politics and Economics. It is being projected as the common objective of the whole humankind.

12.1 Learning Objectives

The unit examines the state-globalization interface. After going through this unit, you should be able to :

- Define and explain the meaning of globalization.
- Discuss the various dimensions of globalization.
- Discuss the Difference between Globalism and Globalization.
- Understand the Globalization and Its impact on the state

Globalization is in the air. It has now come to be one of the most frequently used terms in Politics and Economics. It is being projected as the common objective of the whole humankind.

12.2 What is Globalization

Globalization is seen as a conscious and achieve process of expanding businesss and trade across the borders of all the states. It stands for expanding cross-border facilities and economic linkages. This is to be done with a view to secure an integration of economic interests and activities of he people living in all parts of the world. The objective of making the world a truly inter-related, inter-dependent, developed global village governs the on-going process of globalization.

Globalisation is the concept of securing real, social, economic, political and cultural transformation of the world into a real global community. It is considered to be the essential means for securing sustainable development of all the people of the world.

Globalisation represents the desire to move from national to a global sphere of economic and political activity". It seeks to transform the existing international economic system into a unified system of global economics. In the existing system national economies are the major players in the new system, the globalised economic and political activity will ensure sustainable development for the whole world.

In the words of *Edward S. Herman*, “Globalisation is both an active process of corporate *expansion* across borders and a structure of cross-border facilities and economic linkages that has been steadily growing and changing.”

In the words of *Baylis and Smith*. “Globalisation is the process whereby social relations acquire relatively distanceless and borderless qualities.”

Globalisation has been defined by some scholars as a multi-faceted phenomenon ‘impacting’ on social, economic and political aspects of human relations and experience. Some others prefer to describe it in terms of more rapid communications, market liberalization and global integration of the production of goods and services.

In fact, globalisation is a concept which stands for the wholesome interconnection of world markets and free flow of goods, services, technology and people across borders. This is projected as the imperative way for securing the objectives of economic growth, spread of technology, sustainable development and better standards of living in all countries—both developed and developing. It is by the ideal of converting the entire world into a global village. Naturally, it involves an assault on the concept of sovereign, territorial, nationalist nation-state system.”

12.3 Dimensions of Globalization

Three dimensions of globalization may be taken note of – socio- cultural, economic and political.

12.3.1 Socio-Cultural Dimension : Globalisation has its definite impact on the social and cultural life of the people Traditional institutions are growing weak and new identities are emerging that do not belong to any community **or** nation in particular. New development in the field of formation technology transform the cultural patterns **of a** people’s life by making them accustomed to wear American garments, eat Chinese food, drink French whisky, listen English pop music **and the like**. It appears that a global society is emerging built **on** shared values and ideals that poses a serious challenge to the fanatics of ‘swadeshi’.

12.3.2 Economic Dimension : Globalisation is very much visible in the sphere of markets, trade, goods and financial investments. It also **extends to flows of** services, technology, information and ideas across national boundaries. Globalisation has its natural linkage with liberalization, because capital is flowing and multi-national companies and corporations are spreading their **network across** the countries of the world. So new terms are coming **into** currency as Disneyfication, McDonaldisation and Coca-Colonisation. Foreign direct investment **is a** world-wide phenomenon. Assisted by more open markets and **reduced costs for** transportation, many MNC’s control assets and make huge profits often rivalling the **GDPs** of the countries in which they do business.

12.3.3 Political Dimension : The political aspect of globalisation has an importance of its own, because it affect the nation-state system that has had its long history since the Westphalia treaty of 1648. It has affected the external aspect of sovereignty and entailed the end of the

welfare state. It is creating a new model of state that acts in collaboration with a number of non-state actors. The borders of the states have become outdated on account of the assault of information technology. Television network has demolished the 'iron curtain' and the 'bamboo curtain'. Political globalisation "may bring about a more peaceful world order, constraining the tendencies towards violent conflict by constraining the capacity and autonomy of states.

12.4 Characteristics of Features of Globalisation

The concept of Globalisation involves within its ambit the following features :-

1. **Liberalisation** :- It stands for the freedom to the entrepreneurs to establish any Industry or trade or business venture, within their own countries or abroad.
2. **Free trade** :- It stands for free flow of trade relations among all the nations Each state grants MFN (most favoured nation) status to ether states and keeps its business and trade away from excessive and hard, regulatory and protective regimes.
3. **Globalisation of Economic Activity** :- Economic activities are governed both by the domestic market and also the world market. It stands for the process of integrating the domestic economy with world economics.
4. **Liberalisation of import-export System** :- It Stands for liberating the import-export activity and securing of free flow of goods and services across borders.
5. **Privatisation** :- Keeping the state away from ownership of means of production and distribution and letting the free flow of industrial, trade and economic activity across holders.
6. **Increased Collaborations** :- Encouraging the process of collaboration among the entrepreneurs with a view to secure rapid modernisation, development and technological advancement.
7. **Economic Reforms** :- Encouraging fiscal and financial reforms with a view to give strength to free world trade, free enterprise and market forces.

Globalisation accepts and advocates the value of free world trade, freedom of access to world markets and free flow of investments across borders. It stands for integration and democratisation of the world's culture, economy and infrastructure through global investments.

12.5 Difference between Globalism and Globalisation

For becoming more clear about the concept of Globalism, let us distinguish between it and globalism. Globalism is a perspective consciously pursued by Internationalists universalists relationists, humanists and socialists It has at its heart several assumptions :-

- (1) The problems being faced by the world are global in nature, e.g. the problem of international terrorism, environmental degradation, population explosion, nuclear war, violation of human rights, problem of securing sustainable development are all global problems.
- (2) Since problems are global, naturally these need global solutions. Only through global level mobilisation of resources and efforts can these problems be solved.
- (3) The above two conditions demand global level coordination on a continuing basis and global consciousness in respect of the problems being faced and the solutions that are needed. Global level consciousness among all the decision-makers of all the states is an imperative need for this purpose.

Globalism as such is a very broad concept which stands for securing global solutions to global problems through the creation of a global consensus and global level efforts. Globalisation, on the other hand, simply means free flow of goods services and information across borders. It is an agenda of the rich and powerful states and the multinational corporations which are the agencies of the big business houses of the rich states.

Globalisation has the potential to favour the rich against the poor as well as to increase inequalities in wealth and resources. Globalism, on the other hand stands for global peace, prosperity, security and development of all through global efforts. Whereas globalisation is from above, globalism is from below and involves all.

12.6 Historical Background of Globalisation.

The progress of industrial revolution in the 20th century was accompanied by a replacement of the police state by a welfare state. The state came to be an active actor in the economic life of the society. In the socialist states, state ownership of means of production and distribution became the rule and state controlled economies were operationalised and regarded as the best means for rapid socio-economic development. In many other countries, nationalisation of key industries and enterprises was undertaken with a view to provide goods and services to the people. State began performing several socio-economic functions. In India the decision to adopt a mixed economic model was taken and ownership and control over key industries was entrusted to the public sector. Even insurance and banking were nationalised for securing a better mobilisation of resources, and consequently for rendering better services to the people. State regulation of economy and industry was practised and the public sector was patronised by the state as the sector committed to provide essential goods and services to the public. The state acting in the name of checking monopolies, undue concentration of wealth in some hands and economic inequalities, formulated and enforced strict regulation and Control systems.

However, the experience with the working of common economies and mixed economic model, with a distinct leaning in favour of public sector was found to be inadequate, slow and unproductive of desired results. Around 1985 Indian economy began showing big strains

The Indian public sector now appeared to be a liability and foreign exchange reserves came to be in very bad shape industrial growth became regressive and inflation was assuming alarming proportions.

Around this time, the world was heading for several big changes. The socialist economies, in particular the Soviet economy and political system, was collapsing. Even Perestroika and Glasnost could not save the USSR it collapsed as a state. The weaknesses of the socialist economic model became fully clear. All the socialist countries of Europe began witnessing a process of overthrow of socialist systems. Liberalisation of politics and economy came to be recognised as the necessity of the day. All countries of the world began realizing the merits of the market economy free trade, privatisation, liberalisation, delicensing and deregulation of trade, industry and business.

In July 1991, the Government of India decided to go in for liberalisation of economy. A new economic policy was formulated and implemented with an emphasis upon new economic reforms. These were governed by the principles of liberalisation, privatisation, market economy, free trade, deregulation and globalisation of Indian economy. It began developing as an outwardly opening economy with the aim of linking integrating and unifying domestic economy with world economy Similar changes were adopted by other states.

12.7 ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST GLOBALISATION

12.7.1 Arguments of Critics against Globalisation

The supporters of Globalisation argue that it alone can secure, for all the people of the world, development and help them to achieve sustainable development. However the critics criticise it as the corporate agenda—the agenda of the big business and the ideology of the developed countries to dominate and control the international economic system in a bigger, deeper and more subtle and intensive manner.

1. Gains of Globalisation for Rich at the Cost of the Poor :- Under the process of Globalisation, big business has done well despite the slackened productivity growth Globalisation has helped the corporate elites to keep wages down, to skim off a large fraction of the reduced productivity gains, thereby permitting elite incomes and stock market values to rise rapidly. As against it for the majority of countries, globalisation has not been productive of good and beneficial results. Income inequality has been rising markedly both within and between countries The gap in incomes between the 20 per cent of the world's population in the richest and the poorest countries grew from 30 in 1960 to 82 in 1995, and the Third World countries suffered deterioration in several aspects Per capita incomes fell in more than 70 countries over the past 20 years; some 3 billion people— half of the world's population, continued to live on under two dollars a day, and 800 million continued to suffer from malnutrition. In the Third World unemployment and underemployment remain rampant, massive poverty exists side-by-side with growing elite affluence, and 75 million people a year or more have been seeking asylum or employment in the North, as the Third World

governments allow virtually unrestricted capital flight and seek no options but to attract foreign investment. Even the economies of the USA and Japan witnessed a trend towards recession in the post-September 2001 months.

2. Source of Economic Crises :- The new global order has been experiencing increased financial volatility, and from the Third World debt crisis of the early 1980s to the Mexican breakdown of 1994-95 to the South East Asian debacle of the 1990s, financial crises have become more and more threatening and extensive. With increasing privatisation and deregulation, the discrepancy between the power of unregulated financial forces and that of governments and regulatory bodies has been increasing and the potential for a global breakdown has been steadily enlarging.

3. Globalisation as an Imposed Decision of the Rich :- The critics of Globalisation even go to the extent of describing it as an imposed decision and not a democratic choice of the people of the world. The process has been business driven, by business strategies and tactics and for business ends. Governments have helped, by incremental policy actions and by larger actions that were often taken in secret, without national debates and discussions of where the entire process of globalisation was taking the community. In the case of some major actions advancing the globalisation process, like passing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) or joining the European Monetary Union (EMU), policies were subjected to massive propaganda campaigns by the interested business-media elites. In the United States, public opinion polls showed the general public against NAFTA even after incessant propaganda, but the mass media supported it, and it was passed. In Europe as well, polls have shown that persistent majorities have been opposed to the introduction of the Euro, but a powerful elite supports it, so it moves forward.

4. Unequal distribution of Benefits :- This undemocratic process, carried out within a democratic facade, has been inconsistent with the distribution of benefits and costs of globalisation. The fact has been that globalisation has been working as a tool designed to serve elite interests. Globalisation has also steadily weakened democracy, partly as a result of unplanned effects, and partly because of the containment of labour costs and scaling down of the welfare state which enabled the business minority to establish firm control of the state and reduce its capacity to respond to the demands of the majority.

5. Strengthened Role of MNCs :- Under the goals of globalisation the business community, particularly the MNC brotherhood, has also mounted a powerful effort to dominate governments, either by capture or by limiting their ability to serve ordinary citizens. By enlarging business profits and weakening labour, globalisation has shifted the balance of power further towards business. The political parties in all countries have been getting decisively influenced by business money in elections.

6. Private Profits at the cost of Social Security :- The efforts of the corporate elite as aided and validated by international financial institutions and by media support, have been regularly causing social democrats and social activists to retreat to policies acceptable to

the dominant business elite Thus, in almost all the countries even the democratic parties, more particularly the social democratic parties, have been accepting neo-liberalism despite the opposed preferences of great majorities of their voting constituencies Democracy is no longer able to serve ordinary citizens, making elections meaningless and democracy empty of substance. The fall in voter turnouts in various democracies reflects the growing alienation of the masses from the political process.

7. Increased Protectionism and Neo-colonialism :- The business elites of various states have also been trying to push for such international agreements, and policy actions by the IMF and the World Bank, that can enhance the ability of democratic politics to act on their behalf for securing their interests in place of traditional protection on the part of the rich and developed countries, globalization has been giving birth to a new system of MNC protectionism, which is doubly injurious to the economic of all the countries, particularly of the Third World countries.

8. Unduly Increased Role of Big Business :- Most of the agreements and demands of the international financial institutions are invariably tuned to the policies desired by the corporate elite. The conditions laid down by them often gives primacy to budget constraint, the inflation control, in line with the neo-liberal and corporate agenda GATT, the WTO, and the NAFTA. also give top priority to corporate investor and intellectual property rights, to which all other considerations must give way In the early 1980s, the IMF and the World Bank took advantage of the Third World debt crisis and used their leverage with numerous distressed Third World borrowers countries to agree to give first priority to external debt repayment, private as well as government, it compelled them to adopt austerity programmes of tight money and budget cutbacks focusing heavily on social expenditures affecting the poor and ordinary citizens. It forced a stress on exports, which was to help generate foreign exchange to allow debt repayment and was to more closely integrate the borrower's economy with the global system It stressed privatisation, allegedly in the interest of efficiency, but serving both to help balance the budget without tax increases and to private openings for investment in the troubled economies. The *IMF* has been doing the same in Asia.

9. Working against Democratic Rights of the Ordinary Citizens :- Further, the IMF-World Bank actions are often a source of denial of democratic rights to non-corporate citizens and elected governments. These are mostly subordinated to the rights of corporate investors—the superior class of global Citizens with priority over all others and Beneficiaries of the new MNC Protectionism. In the NAFTA agreement, governments were denied, in advance, the right to take on new functions, any not asserted functions left to the private sector and to the superior class of citizens. In these agreements also, and even more aggressively in the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, the global MNCs have little responsibilities and virtually no responsibility can be imposed on them. They can fire people, abandon communities, fatally damage the environment, push local companies out of business, and purvey cultural trash at their full discretion. They can sue governments, and disagreements are to be settled by unelected panels outside the control of democratic governments.

10. Globalisation so far has been a Productivity Failure, a Social Disaster and a Threat to Stability :- The claim of its proponents that free trade is the route to economic growth, is also refuted by our experience so far. No country, past or present, has taken off into sustained economic growth and moved from economic backwardness to modernity without large-scale government protection and subsidisation of infant industries and other modes of insulation from domination by powerful outsiders. This includes Great Britain, the United States, Japan, Germany, South Korea and Taiwan. All of these were highly protectionist in the earlier takeoff phases of their growth process. The governments and institutions bargaining on behalf of the MNCs today, through the *IMF*, World Bank, WTO and NAFTA, have been able to remove these modes of protection from less developed countries. This threatens them with extensive takeovers from abroad, through going integration into foreign economic systems as “branch plant economies” preservation in a state of dependence and underdevelopment, and most particularly, an inability to protect their majorities from the ravages of neo-liberal top-down development. On the basis of all these arguments, the critics present a formidable case against globalisation.

12.7.2 Arguments of the Supporters of Globalisation

The supporters of Globalisation, even while admitting some of its current and possible bad effects, argue that it is an imperative necessity. It is, a natural extension of the prevailing and continuously increasing global interdependence.

- 1. The problems being faced today are due to infant stage of Globalisation :-** Presently, Globalisation appears to be threatening global independence. It appears to be threatening the sovereign nation-state system, acting as a source of such crisis as the currency crisis of South East Asian states in 1997, and as a process involving “steep social costs having the potential to threaten the economies of various countries. During the past two decades, division of economic growth, particularly created through globalisation, has been a source of increasing inequalities between the rich and low income countries. Nevertheless, these have resulted due to the developing nature of the process of globalisation. Once the process becomes really global and extensive, it will be a source of sustainable development for the world at large.
- 2. Inevitability of Globalisation :-** Globalisation, the supporters argue *is* inevitable. It is the only way and it alone has the potential to attain sustainable development. It is governable and it can be made more and more effective through an increase in global level understanding and efforts.
- 3. Globalisation is essential under WTO :-** Even before World War II, several institutions and supra-national organisations were created for guiding and regulating international economic relations. Later on, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) were designed to act as structures to manage the

finances in a new international political economy, and were part of a new international order together with the regimes of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the United Nations. GATT promoted standards for tariffs and then tariff cuts, and then turned into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) at the Uruguay Round in 1995, thereby also taking a broader role in shaping much of the international trade agenda. The WTO can, therefore, be seen as an instrument of globalisation, as it surely pushes for free trade and discourages protectionism.

4. **Defects of Globalisation products of selfishness of some States :-** The problems resulting from the WTO and Globalisation have been the result of certain lapses and attempts being made by some developed countries to hijack WTO and Globalisation in their favour. The new global economic regime is still in its childhood. When it becomes mature and fully developed, It would become a real source of prosperity and development for all.
5. **Globalisation is Governable and Dependable :-** What is needed is to check parochial designs and efforts of vested interests through concerted global level campaigns Globalisation is governable, either through direct conduction and promotion of free trade policies and deregulation or through pressure on the majority world from economically powerful hegemony and supra-national organizations and institutions such as the IMF, [he World Bank and the OECD. Although the creation of regimes of international co-operation is an inevitable consequence of natural disasters, need for economic growth for regionalisation, forma; and informal structures to exist at various levels for globalisation to develop—Globalisation is already on. It is to be recognised as a natural and helpful part of contemporary international relations.

However, globalisation has certain potential dangers as through it the corporate elite, the MNCs and the Developed West can attempt to strength, further their current domination of the international system. The need is to check these and not to eliminate Globalisation. The need is *o be prepared to create new structures of global governance, a new international economic regime for regulating globalization and for reversing some of its fatal social, environmental, economic and cultural effects on the states, organisations and individuals. What Is needed is not to end globalisation but to amend it for making it enduringly productive of desired results.

The emergence of Global Economic Recession has brought into focus the problems of unbridled globalization. The world now realises the need for effective state control over their respective economies, banking and insurance institutions. On 19th May 2010, the US Senate passed a comprehensive bill for regulation the US Banking System. World Economic recession has definitely dampened the march of Globalisation.

12.8 GLOBALISATION AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE NATION-STATE

The emergence and success of regional economic associations/unions, and the on-going process of 'globalisation' have together been a source of change in the concept of state sovereignty. Further, the presence of neo-colonialism in which the developing countries, despite being sovereign states, find themselves living under the economic, ideological and cultural control of the developed countries, has also been a source of limitation on the sovereignty of the state. Increasing global interdependence, neo-colonialism, globalisation and liberalisation-privatisation have been together acting as a source of big limitation on sovereignty.

In the 20th century, the emergence of welfare state and the popularity of the socialistic model of economic development acted as inputs for a big increase in the functions of the state. The state began using its sovereignty for becoming an owner, of Industries and determinant of the economic life of the society. Consequently, it began wielding a large amount of power over the socio-economic life of the people.

However, the last decade of the 20th century witnessed the liquidation of the socialist economic model and the consequent emergence of a strong wave of politico-economic liberalisation of economy and politics in all the states. Globalisation emerged in the sphere of international economic and trade relations, and it began replacing the traditional concept of internationalism. The role and functions of the state in the economic sphere began declining. While its role as a protector and promoter of conditions for human welfare continued to operate as before, its economic functions began undergoing a change from the role of an owner and regulator to a role of facilitator, coordinator and supervisor of the economic life.

In fact, several factors have today been acting to place some practical limitations on the sovereignty of the state

1. The acceptance and march of the process of liberalisation-privatisation has acted as a source of limitation on the role of the state in the economic sphere. The failure of the public sector to deliver the desired goods and services, the decline of faith in the ability of the state to organise and manage production of goods and services for the people have led to a decline in the economic functions of the state.
2. The emergence of free trade, market competition, multinational corporations and international economic organisations and trading blocs like European Union, NAFTA, APEC, ASEAN and others, have limited the scope of the operations of state sovereignty in the sphere of international economic relations. The member states of the European Union, for example, have to abide by the rules and policies made by this organisation.
3. Increasing international interdependence has compelled the state to accept limitations on its external sovereignty. Each state now finds it essential to accept the rules of international economic system, the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF.

4. Globalisation has encouraged and expanded people-to-people socio-economic cultural relations among all the people of the world. IT revolution and development of fast means of transport and communication have been together making the world a real Global Community which now appears to be developing towards a global village. The people of each state now deal with people of other states as members of the World Community. The loyalty towards their respective states continues, but now they do not hesitate to oppose those policies of their states which, they feel are not in tune with the demands of globalisation. Even the movement for opposing globalisation has tended to bring the people of world on one platform and instill among them a feeling of community living at the global level.
5. The State continues to maintain its military power as an important dimension of its national power. However, the strength being gained by movement for international peace and peaceful co-existence as the way of life has tended to reduce the importance of military power of the state.
6. Several international conventions and treaties have placed some limitations upon all the states. At the states are today bound by the rules and norms laid down by several such conventions. The need to fight the menace of terrorism and rogue nuclear proliferation as well as the shared responsibilities to protect the environment and guarantee human rights all have compelled all the states to accept such rules and regulations as are considered essential for securing these objectives.

Thus, Globalisation and several other factors have together been responsible for putting pressure on the sovereignty of the state. The role of the state in the economic relations has undergone a big change. It has got reduced. The operation of the new international economic system with globalisation as its objective has been further reducing the role of the state sovereignty.

12.9 The State as Regulator, Enabler and Facilitator

Globalisation, the emergence of new public management, the collapse of the communist states and the subsequent end of the cold war as well as the enormous increases of inequities within and between developing and developed countries have all contributed to the debate of the changing role of the state. The classic functions of the state are nation building, defence, maintaining law and creating conditions for wealth accumulation, and some core functions such as and monetary issues, security, environment, education, health, investment and trade and infrastructure. Functions such as "taxation security" formation have been outsourced to private companies, but certain core service-health services and education remain with the state. The state can also play a role in the promotion of technology, marketing, the creation of financial incentives and the management of policies. The primary goal of the state is to promote the general welfare of society. Aristotle said that the state exists not only to make life possible, but also to make life good. The state's primary role is not only a political one, also has moral obligations towards its citizens by providing services in making life good.

The role of the state as regulator differs from its role as participant in providing services, being a producer and a sponsor. In its capacity as regulator, it develops a system of rules designed to resolve conflicting ideologies and protect the rights of individuals and institutions. The state as regulator uses coercive powers to permit or forbid certain activities in the private sector. The state as regulator of different sectors of society also ensures that the public service attains the goals of the state. In a globalised world, the state has an important role to play in the establishment and maintenance of a fair competition base and also an enabling environment for private enterprise, individual creativity and social action.

Through the provision of a supportive environment for economic growth and social stability, government plays the role of a facilitator. Eventually all these roles and functions would add up to the government's role as enabler for private sector development. As the state diminishes its operational role, a partnership relationship with the private sector should emerge where the private sector should play a leading role in development and service provision; and government in turn should create an enabling environment for the private sector to deliver services and to grow its operations. As facilitator, the government could unify different spheres of the public service to ensure good governance. Improved governance requires that the role of the state be that of a facilitator and a mediator, therefore the state's endeavours are being directed to basic health, education and social safety nets. Ultimately, government will be evaluated through the effectiveness of its role of regulator, facilitator and enabler.

12.10 Globalisation and Its Impact on the State

Globalisation has been producing a subtle change in the functions of the State. Its role in the ownership and production of goods has been getting reduced. However, this does not in anyway mean a return of the Laisses faire state.

In the era of globalisation, the functions of the State began undergoing a change. With the increasing disinvestment of public sector, privatisation was encouraged. Public sector was made to compete with the private sector, and as a whole open competition, free trade, market economy and globalisation were practiced. State ownership of industries came to be rejected. The role of state began emerging as that of a facilitator and coordinator. The exercise still continues. In this era of Globalisation, several changes have been taking place in the functions of the State :

1. Decreased Economic Activities of State:-

The process of liberalisation- privatisation has acted as a source of limitation on the role of the state in the economic sphere. Public sector and enterprises are getting privatized and state presence in economic domain is shrinking.

2. Decrease in the Role of the State in International Economy:-

The emergence of free trade, market competition, multinational corporations and international economic organisations and trading blocs like European Union, NAFTA, APEC, ASEAN and others, have limited the scope of the role of state in the sphere of international economy.

3. Decline of State Sovereignty:-

Increasing international inter-dependence has been compelling each state to accept limitations on its external sovereignty. Each state now finds it essential to accept the rules of international economic system, the WTO, the World Bank and the IMP.

The role of MNC/TNC has also been growing in national and local politics as they play a significant role in shaping the state decisions and policies. Their key objective behind influencing the state decision and policy-making is to promote their vested interests.

4. Growing People's Opposition to their Respective States;-

Globalisation has encouraged and expanded people-to-people socio-economic-cultural relations and cooperation in the world. As IT revolution and development of last means of transport and communication have been together making the world a real Global Community.

The people of each state now deal with people of other states as members of the World Community. The loyalty towards their respective states continues, but now the people do not hesitate to oppose those state policies which are held to be not in time with the demands of globalization.

5. Reduced Importance of Military Power of the State;-

The state continues to maintain its military power as an important dimension of its national power. However, the strength being gained by movement for international peace and peaceful coexistence as the way of life has tended to reduce the importance of military power of the state.

6. Increasing Role of International Conventions and Treaties:-

Several international conventions and treaties have placed some limitations upon all the states. All the states are now finding it essential to follow the rules and norms laid down by such conventions. The need to fight the menace of terrorism and rogue nuclear proliferation as well as the shared responsibility for protecting the environment and human rights, have compelled all the states to accept such rules and regulations as are considered essential for the securing of these objectives. Thus, Globalisation and several other factors have been together responsible for influencing a change in the role of State in contemporary times.

7. Decline in Public Expenditure on Public Welfare Policies :-

Most advanced western states appear committed to reducing social expenditure on public welfare programs, and to introducing measures such as labour market deregulation and labour tax rates which facilitate greater economic competitiveness, but impact adversely on rates of poverty and inequality. These economic and political initiatives have coincided with a period of intense economic globalisation. The growing significance of international trade, investment, production and financial flows appears to be curtailing the autonomy of individual nation states. In particular, globalization appears to be encouraging, if not demanding, a decline in social spending welfare programs and policies.

12.11 Letus Sum Up

In this unit, you have read about the state in the context of globalization. The meaning and both the terms have been explained. Various dimensions of globalization economic-cultural have been touched upon. It is hoped that now you are better placed to comprehend the term globalization in its various nuances, especially its interface with the sovereignty nation state.

12.12 Check Your Progress Exercise

1. What do you Understand by Globalisation.
2. Write a short note on either economic or Political globalization.
3. Examine the globalization-culture interface.

12.13 Glossary

- **Globalization** : It is the connection of different parts of the world.
- **Unequal** : not fair or balanced.
- **MNCs** : Multinational Companies.
- **WTO** : World Trade Organisation.
- **IMF** : International Monetary Fund.

12.14 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercise

1. See Section 12.2
2. See sub Section 12.3.2 and 12.3.3
3. See sub Section 12.3.1

12.15 Suggested Readings

- Tapan Biswal, ed., *Comparative Politics: Institutions and Processes*, New Delhi, 2016.
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- Petras, James and H. Veltmeyer, *Globalisation Unmasked: Imperialism in the Madhyam* Books, Noida, 2001.
- Sassen, Saskia, *Globalisation and its Discontinent: Essays on the New Mobility Money*, New York, The New Press, 1998.

12.16 Terminal Questions

1. What is Globalisation ? Discuss the difference between Globalism and Globalisation?
2. Define Globalisation ? Discuss its features ?
3. What is Globalisation ? Examine the arguments for and against globalization ?
4. What will be the impact of Globalisation on Sovereignty of the Nation State ?

Assignments
M.A. 2nd Semester (Political Science)
(New Syllabus)
(Comparative Political Analysis: Concepts and Recent Theories)

Course Code - POLS-202

Marks=5x4=20

Note: Attempt any four Questions.

1. What is Political culture? Discuss the kinds of Political Culture.
2. What is Political Socialization? Describe the agencies of Political Socialization.
3. What is Political development? What are the indicators (Positive & Negative) of Political development?
4. Define Political Elite? Discuss briefly the theories of Political Elite as discussed by Vilferdo Pareto and Mosca.
5. What is Globalisation? Discuss the features of Globalisation.

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*M.A. IInd Semester
Political Science*

Course Code - Pols-202

Comparative Political Analysis Concepts and Recent Theories

Lesson 1-12

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CONTENTS

L.NO.	TITLE	PAGE
	Unit-I	
Lesson-1	Political Culture	3
Lesson-2	Political Socialization	14
Lesson-3	Political Development and Political Delay	25
Lesson-4	Political Modernization	49
Lesson-5	Classical Political Elite Theory	58
	Unit-II	
Lesson-6	Theories of Modernization	80
Lesson-7	Depending World System Theory and Theory of Unequal Exchange	90
Lesson-8	Process of Democratization and Wave of Democratization	113
Lesson 9	Debate on Democracy and Development	130
	Unit-3	
Lesson 10	Constitutionalism: Meaning, Evolution, Characteristics and Problems	139
Lesson-11	Concept of State as Theories of State	160
Lesson-12	Globalization and the Stete	175
	Assignment	191