

MODERN POLITICAL ANALYSIS AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

STUDY MATERIAL

FIRST SEMESTER

CORE COURSE : PS1C01

For

**M.A.POLITICAL SCIENCE
(2017 ADMISSION ONWARDS)**



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

Calicut University P.O, Malappuram, Kerala, India 673 635

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PS1C01 : MODERN POLITICAL ANALYSIS AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

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MODULE – I

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Political Sociology studies the relationship between, man, society and the state. Consequently, it embraces a diverse field of topics that range from that the impact of taxation on the arts to the separation of church and state. Political Sociology has no fixed boundaries for issues. Differences of opinion among experts in the field are broad and there is no single approved way to go about studying political sociology.

Political Sociology was not an explicit science until the late 19th century, when men such as Barrington Moore Jr., Max Webber and later Christopher Dawson began to examine the complex interactions between state and society. What started as a semi-philosophical inquiry into the combined nature of government and society gradually evolved into narrower focuses upon particular issues of civic reform. As of the early 21st century, very few political sociologists engage the discipline as a theoretical study, preferring to evaluate and interpret statistical data.

Although not an explicit study until the late 19th century, political sociology's roots stretch back thousands of years. Classic texts in politics, such as Plato's 'Republic' and Aristotle's 'Politics', examine the relationship between man and the state, but principally with a concern as to the ordering of the state. Later texts, such as Niccolo Machiavelli's 'The Prince' and Thomas More's 'Utopia', likewise examine the relationship between society and politics, but in a more explicit manner than their Grecian predecessors. Finally, works such as John Locke's 'Two Treatises on Civil Government', Jean Jacques Rousseau's 'Social Contract' and 'The Communist Manifesto' of Karl Marx concern themselves principally and predominately with the establishment of just relations between society and government.

In the early 21st century, political sociology narrowed its scope to particular issues of wealth, ethnicity, gender, cultural pluralism, totalitarianism, legislation and representation, insofar as each of these issues play a role in the interaction between society and government, the role within and influence over society that any government ought to have, and the extent of a government's responsibility to society.

In studying the relationship between politics and society, many circumstances need to be considered: the histories of the government and society, the influences upon society that are independent of government, the foundational principles of the government and the issues of conflict within the government and within the society. Many conservative sociologists, such as Christopher Dawson, have expounded the necessity of a broad perspective in any sociological study, while more progressive proponents, such as Max Weber, advocate specialization.

The end purpose of political sociology, as a scientific study, is to better inform the student about the complex relationship between society and politics. Oftentimes this is confused with political activism, the finding of ways for social and political improvement through effective socio- political methods. Genuine political sociology aims at the comprehension of cause and effect in the frequently convoluted dynamic between society, a product of cultural force, and the governing and legislative political force of a country or political body.

NAURE OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS

An approach, in simple terms, may be defined as a way of looking at and then explaining a particular phenomenon. It provides a framework for explanation and prediction of political problems.

Political Analysis may be broadly classified into two categories- Normative and Empirical. While the former is said to be 'value-laden', the latter is known for being 'value-neutral'. In other words, while normativism is the hallmark of the former, empiricism is that of the latter. Fact value relationship is, therefore, the basis of our classification in this regard. On this basis, we may say that while traditional approaches lean to the side of 'values', the latter do the same for 'facts'. The result is that 'fact-value-dichotomy'(a difference between two completely opposite ideas or things) becomes the determining factor.

Value-Laden Analysis of Politics

The Traditional approaches have a historical- descriptive and prescriptive character with a dominating place for values and goals. Their different varieties may be discussed as under.

Philosophical Approach,

Historical Approach,

Institutional Approach,

Legal Approach,

Normative Approach.

1. Philosophical Approach

The oldest approach to the study of Political phenomena is philosophical, that is also known by the name of Ethical approach. According to Von Dyke, the word "philosophical" refers to thought about thought. So this type analysis is idealistic, normative, speculative and deductive in nature (from general to particular). They observe and study different facts and then comes to certain generalizations. This approach concerned with 'what the state should be' or 'what the state ought to be' rather than 'what it is a state'. Philosophical approach is generally identified with value preferences. The emphasis is on moral and rational premises. This approach is based on the view that values are inevitable and essential for evaluating political phenomena. Plato, Rousseau, Kant, Bosanquet, JS Mill, Sidwick and Leo Strauss are some of the exponents of this approach. Almost all the political thinkers, who wished to organise an ideal state, adopted this method. Thus the philosophical period is noted for its general trend of setting standards based on values like justice, freedom and happiness.

Advantages

This approach helps to distinguish good from bad.

It helps in value laden study of Political Science, 'Value' according to Leo Strauss, "cannot be excluded from the study of politics. A theory is regarded as good or bad only from the angle of its value".

Limitations

- a. This approach is imaginative, impracticable and utopian in nature.
- b. This approach possesses academic value only.

- c. This approach takes into account bigger issues and ignores smaller ones.
- d. This approach ignores the role of sociological environment and the behavior of the individuals play in conditioning a political phenomenon.
- e. This approach is speculative and abstract in nature. It is said that such type of approach takes us far away from the world of reality.

2. Historical Approach:

Second important approach of studying political phenomena is historical. This approach stands for an attempt at understanding political process through a historical account of political thought of yester years. The distinguishing feature of this approach is focused on the past or on a selected period of time as well as on a sequence of selected events within a particular phase so as to find out an explanation of what the institutions are, and are tending to be, more in the knowledge of what they have been and how they came to be, what they are than in the analysis of them as they stand. Montesquieu, Seeley, Maine, Freeman, and Laski are some of the eminent exponents of this approach. The best example for historical approach in political science is George H. Sabine's 'A History of Political Theory'. History serves as a best kind of laboratory for political phenomena. It is the store house of incidents pertaining to human life. It keeps in secret the record of the progress and downfall of human civilization and culture. The origin of every political institution can be traced in the pages of history. The historical approach stands on the assumption that the stock of political theory comes out of socio-economic crisis and the reactions they leave on the minds of the great political thinkers. The conditions of ancient Greece created Plato and Aristotle; likewise the conditions of the 17th century England produced Hobbes and Locke; the capitalist system of the 19th century created Mill and Marx. Obviously in order to understand political theory, it is equally necessary to understand clearly the time, place and the circumstances in which it was evolved.

Limitations

Like other methods, historical approach also has its limitations.

- a. James Bryce has warned us against superficial resemblances. (As such, historical parallels may sometimes be illuminating, but they are also misleading in most of the cases.)
- b. David Easton holds that historical approach degenerates into historicism. By historicism, he means that researchers mix up their own values with history. They try to uphold their own values on the basis of historical evidences.

3. Institutional Approach

Here a student of Political Science lays stress on the formal structure of political organization like legislature, executive and Judiciary. In this approach, political thinkers restrict the study of political science to political institutions. In that study, they include state and government, classification of governments (Monarchy, tyranny, aristocracy, oligarchy, polity and democracy, dictatorship, parliamentary and presidential, unitary and federal etc.) identification of levels of government (central, state, local) etc. are the chief concerns of this approach.

This trend may be discovered in the writings of a very large number of political scientists from Aristotle (Aristotle who had analysed 158 constitutions of the ancient Greek city states) and

Polybius in the ancient to Bryce and Finer in the modern periods. However, the peculiar thing about modern writers is that they also include party system as the 'fourth estate' in the structures of political system, while contemporary writers like Bentley, Truman, Latham and VO Key go a step further by including numerous interest groups that constitute a infra-structure of a political system. That is why, institutional approach is also known by the name of Structural approach.

Limitations

- a. It ignores the role of individuals who constitute and operate the formal as well as informal, structures and sub-structures of a political system.
- b. It neglects the fact that the institutions are conditioned by sociological factors.
- c. This approach does not clarify as to what is to be included or excluded from its study, therefore it has not been considered as a standard approach.
- d. It does not help in formulating a theory.
- e. It ignores the study of International institutions and limits itself to the study of national institutions which is only a half way approach to the problem.

4. Legal Approach:

Legal approach stands for an attempt to understand politics in terms of law. This approach treats the state primarily as an organisation for the creation and enforcement of law. It focuses its attention on the legal and constitutional framework in which different organs of government have to function and their powers and procedure which makes their actions legally valid. For instance, legal approach to Indian politics will proceed to analysis legal implications of various provisions of the Indian Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court of India, procedure of formation and legal position of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies, procedure of elections, powers and position of the President, Prime Minister, Governors etc. The view was that the formal institutions were more than the individuals. It is worthy of notice that the institutional and the legal approaches in politics are complementary and not contradictory. They are closely related to each other.

In this context , we may refer to the works of Jean Bodin, Hugo Grotius and Thomas Hobbes of the early modern period who propounded the doctrine of sovereignty (Hobbes considered the head of the state as the highest legal authority) .The works of Jeremy Bentham, John Austin, Sir Henry Main and AV Dicey may be referred to in this connection. The result is that the study of politics is integrally bound up with the legal processes of the country and the existence of a harmonious state of liberty and equality is earmarked by the glorious name of the rule of law.

Legal approach, applied to the study of national as well as International politics, stands on the assumption that law prescribes action to be taken in a contingency and also forbids the same in certain other situations; it even fixes the limits of permissible action. It also emphasizes the fact that where the citizens are law abiding, the knowledge of law provides a very important basis for predictions relating to political behaviour of the people.

Limitations

The Legal approach may prove inadequate in understanding the complex political forces, processes, behaviours which might operate outside legal-formal framework, yet it is not entirely insignificant.

5. Normative Approach

Normative approach describes how things should be, Its ideal type. It is to be distinguished from descriptive theory. This approach views facts from the moral and ethical perspectives. The descriptive approach is saying what is the case, normative approach is saying what ought to be the case. Thus considered, the normative approach in political theory, is theorizing about values in politics. With it, the emphasis is on the prescription of values and standards of conduct; 'what should be' becomes more important than 'what is'. There is a direction, a purpose, a vision and a frame of reference which guides all normative enquires. None of the normative theorists (Plato, Aristotle, to some extent, Rousseau and like) have ever lost sight of projecting the idea of the best of government. Idealism, thus, may rightly be said to be a part of normative commitment. Most of the earlier Western Political thought was prescriptive. The political philosophers, following the normative approach, have either justified a system that was existing or have proposed an entirely different system. Accordingly, they are either conservative(Edmond Burke, Oakeshott) or idealists (Plato, Rousseau, Hegel)

Limitations

Like the philosophical approach, the normative approach is subjective, speculative and partisan.

Traditional approaches may be said to have five main varieties as discussed above. Their outstanding feature is that value – laden system dominates. Normativism assigns to them a peculiar and distinctive character. As a result of this, political theory is said to have become abstract, hypothetical, speculative , even metaphysical. On the whole, normativism lays stress on the significant discussion.

Positivism

Positivism in social sciences emerged mainly out of the tremendous influences of Isidore Auguste Marie Francois Comte, who is regarded as the father of Positivism. Determined to formulate 'sociology' as a new master science of human beings, he asserts that only experiences derived from senses is real. Metaphysical, ethical and ideological theories have little or no use. Positivism emphasizes precision constructive power and relativism. In this context, political theory lacks meaning. Positivism contends that analytical statements about the physical or social world fall into three categories-

first, such statements can be useful tautologies, meaning repeating the same things through different words, and purely definitional statements that give specific meaning to a particular concept of phenomenon, second, statements are to be empirically tested by observation to assess its truth or falsity and third, statements that do not fall into the aforesaid categories and lack analytic content have to be dropped. In short, the positivists understand meaningful analysis are possible only through useful tautologies and empirical statements. This precludes metaphysics,

theology, aesthetics and ethics, for they merely introduce obscurity in to the process of enquiry. Positivism aims to be 'value free' or 'ethically neutral' patterning itself after natural sciences in deciding about the right and wrong of the issues. Empiricism, which believes that observation and experience are source of knowledge, is central to the many shades of positivism. Comte integrates this assumption with two more- first he reviews the development of the sciences with a view to ascertaining the thesis of unity among sciences, natural and social, whereby they are integrated into a single system of knowledge and second, with the idea of a unified science, he finds sociology in the belief that scientific knowledge offers the requisites clues for control over both nature and society. With the help of these three tools of analysis-empiricism, unity of science and control- positivism in the 19th century focuses itself on society in general in the hope of overcoming the present malaise and realizing a better future.

Fact-Oriented Analysis of Politics

Behaviouralism

Behaviouralism emerges in the early years of the 20th century though its full import became clear in the 1950s. Its philosophical roots lay in the Comte's writings and logical positivism of the Vienna Circle. It reaffirms many of the basic ideas of American political science in spite of initiating significant changes in the research programmes within the discipline, and hence represents a conservative revolution. Behaviouralism, according to Easton, tries to organise research in political science on the model of natural sciences. It emphasises on the need to develop a pure science of politics giving a new orientation to research and theory building exercises within the discipline. In the process, it rejects political theory as a merely chronological and intellectual history of ideas with no practical relevance in comprehending contemporary political reality. Throughout the fifties those who remain committed to evaluative and prescriptive analysis and the study of the classical tradition perceive scientism of behaviouralism as a threat to political theory. The behaviouralist, on the contrary, claim that normative political theory is a serious hindrance to scientific research. Charles E Merriam of the Chicago University is rightly called the intellectual father of behavioural movement. He along with a group of political scientists (Harold Lasswell, VO Key, David Truman, Herbert Simon and Gabriel Almond) began to develop methods of research derived from the methodology of psychology, sociology, economics and mathematics. The behavioural movement gained momentum in the years preceding the World War II. A number of writers like Gabriel Almond, Robert A Dahl, David Easton, Harold Lasswell and Karl Deutsch evolved a large number of theoretical framework and research designs.

The Behavioural approach was, in fact, a protest movement within political science because American political scientist were thoroughly dissatisfied with the achievements of the traditional study of Political Science, particularly through historical, philosophical and descriptive- institutional approaches. American political scientists believed that these approaches totally neglected the political phenomena. So the behaviouralism emphasizes scientific, objective and value- free study of political phenomena as conditioned by the environment, particularly the behaviour of the individuals involved in that phenomena.

Behavioural approach

- a. Movement of protest:- Behaviouralism as has already been explained, is a sort of protest movement against the inadequacies of conventional Political Science mainly led by American political scientists. Therefore, behaviouralism has shifted its emphasis from the ideal state, government and political institutions to the day to day problems of the citizens.
- b. Focus on behaviour:- the behaviouralist thought that though the behaviour differs from individual to individual, yet it shows certain qualities of uniformity. So they believe that behaviour can be expressed in general terms and it can be made predictive also.
- c. Scientific outlook and objectivity:- Behaviouralism stresses the special importance of the scientific outlook and objectivity. Behaviouralists overlook the ethical values because they cannot be studied scientifically and objectively. Instead they advocate value-free science of politics
- d. Methodological Revolution:- Where as the traditional political scientists employed philosophical, historical or comparative methods for their study, the behaviouralists emphasizes such techniques are observation, interviews, survey, research, case studies, data collection, statistical analysis, quantification, etc. In order to be expert in behavioural methods, one has to possess sound knowledge of statistics and model building.
- e. Inter-disciplinary study:- The political behaviour of an individual is a part of the total social behaviour of all the individuals. In order to get a proper understanding, a modern researcher in political science has to take the help of various social sciences like Sociology, History, Economic and Anthropology and so on.
- f. Invention of scientific theory:- The main aim of the behaviouralist is to build a scientific theory with the help of observation and experimentation, which may be able to predict things and be applied universally.
- g.

Characteristic of Behaviouralism- David Easton

David Easton, one of the most important exponents and founder of the behaviouralist school of thought, has given certain salient features of behaviouralism. He calls them as **Intellectual foundation stones of Behaviouralism**. Those are Regularities, Verifications, Techniques, Quantifications, Values, systemization, Pure science and Integration.

1. Regularities:-

As regards regularities, there are certain discernible (visible) uniformities in political behaviour which can be expressed in generalisations or theories in order to explain and predict political phenomena. Political behaviour is more or less similar in certain respect under given circumstances. The task of the researcher is to find out the existence of regularities. That will help to explain and predict the political phenomena and ultimately make political science a truly scientific discipline with explanatory and predictive value.

For eg:- Voting behaviour is the most striking example in this respect. It has been observed that the voters belonging to a particular caste, social status, economic position or profession vote for the same political party in successive elections. From this some generalization can be made and the regularities in political behaviour can be predicted.

But Political Science may not be comparable to physics and chemistry in regard to the exactness of its results but it can be compared with astronomy or biology.

1. Verification:-

The behaviouralist do not accept anything as guaranteed as the traditionalists did. They do not believe in abstract theories. They insist on verifying and testing every thing. What cannot be verified or tested is merely dogmatic and unscientific. They believe in empirical or scientific results only which can be achieved after scientific verifications.

2. Techniques:-

The behaviouralists emphasizes the adoption of correct techniques for acquiring and interpreting the scientific data. A researcher must make use of sophisticated tools like sample surveys, mathematical models, simulation (a model of set of problems or events that can be used to teach someone how to do something) , multi variate data analysis (multivariate data analysis refers to any statistical technique used to analyze data that arises from more than one variable) etc.

3. Quantification:-

The researcher must not only collect the data but also measure and quantify the same. Quantification and measurement are absolutely essential. To quote David Easton, "Precision (accuracy) in the recording of data and the statement of their findings requires tables, graphs and curves are drawn in behavioural research".

4. Values:-

Behaviouralist believe in separating facts from values . In order to be valid, Scientific inquiry must be free from ethical or moral orientations. In order to be objective, scientific inquiry must be value-free. The research should be value-free so that the researcher may not be in a position to reexamine a political issue from his own subjective standpoint of judgment. Moral and ethical questions should be discarded in order to give a scientific explanation.

5. Systematization:-

The behaviouralist believe that research in political science must be systematic. It must be theory oriented and theory directed. Theory and research should form part of a closely inter-related, coherent (logically ordered) and orderly body of knowledge. Theory should be of casual nature. It should consist of analysis, explanation and prediction and not speculation and introspection

6. Pure Science:-

The behaviouralist insist on what they call "pure science" approach. Research should be of pure type. It should perfectly verifiable by evidence. It may or may not be applicable to a specific social problem. The ultimate aim should be to make social science like natural science.

7. Integration:-

The Behaviouralist advocates inter-disciplinary approach. They believe that social and political phenomena cannot be studied in isolation.

It is difficult to draw the exact dividing line between man's social, economic, political, cultural and other activities and they can be understood only in the wider context of the entire social life of the society. So they do not treat political science as a separate and distinct discipline. According to them, political science is one of the social sciences and hence should be integrated with other social sciences like sociology, psychology and economics. Political behaviour can be studied only by understanding how other social, economic and cultural factors influence it.

Achievement of Behaviouralism.

1. Research Methodology:- The behaviouralist made significant achievements in the development and refinement of the tools and techniques of research. Developments in the fields of
Content analysis
Case analysis
Interviewing and observation
Statistics are particularly remarkable.
2. Theory building:-

Criticisms of Behaviouralism.

- Behaviouralism more concerned with Technique than Results
- Behaviouralism as pseudo politics Behaviouralism emphasizes the importance of behavioural effect at the cost of institutional effects.
- The study of political science can never be value-free.
- Behaviouralism emphasizes static subjects rather than current situations.
- Difficulties in ever changing behaviour of the man because the emotions, ideas and thinking go on changing continuously.
- Behavioural research too much depends on other social sciences so that the identity and autonomy of political science may be lost.
- No emphasis on applied research.
- Demarcation of boundaries amongst different social sciences. There must be a clear cut boundaries amongst different social sciences because the sociologists, economists and historians have no adequate knowledge of political science. The scholars belonging to other social sciences cannot be allowed to dominate Political Science.

Post-Behaviouralism

There was a general dissatisfaction with the achievements of behaviourists as they had failed to solve any practical problems of the world. Hence Post behaviourism arose a protest movement against behaviouralism. David Easton who himself at one time was an ardent supporter of behaviouralism, made a serious attack on the research techniques of the behaviourists. In his presidential address to the annual convention of the American Political Science association held at New York in 1969, David Easton declared that "he felt dissatisfied

with the political research and teachings made under the impact of behaviouralism. The behavioural approach was trying to convert the study of political science into a discipline based on the methodology of natural sciences.

Causes for the growth of Post-Behaviouralism

- Failure of Behaviouralism to look to the practical problems of the world.
- Over emphasis on the Behaviouralists on research methods and tools.
- Failure of the behaviouralists to convert political science into a problem solving science.

Characteristics of Post behaviouralism

- Opposition to value-free social science:- The post behaviouralist are deadly opposed to the attempts of the behaviouralists in making political science as value free science.
- A protest movement:- Post behaviouralism arose a protest movement against behaviouralism and asserted that political science must be relevant to society.
- Intellectual Movement:- Post- Behaviouralism is a intellectual movement and its followers can be found amongst all sections of the society.
- Post-Behaviouralists look to the future well-being of the society:- They wanted to make the methods and technology of the behaviouralists related to the future well-being in society.

Characteristics of post Behaviouralism

David Easton Calls the features of Post-Behaviouralism as **‘Credo of Relevance’ or a ‘Distillation of Maximal Image’**- They can be summarized as follows-

1. Substance must have precedence over technique:-

According to David Easton, substance must have precedence over technique. It is good to have sophisticated tools for investigation but we must not forget the purpose for which those tools were applied. Research was not worthwhile unless it was relevant and meaningful for solving the social problems of contemporary world. The view of the behaviouralist was that **‘it was better to be wrong than vague’**, but the view of the post-behaviouralist is that **‘it is better to be vague than non-relevantly precise’**.

2. Emphasis should be on social change than social preservation:-

The view of post-behaviouralist is that political science should put emphasis on social change and not social preservation as the behaviouralist were doing.(The behaviouralist had lost touch with the brute realities of politics and post-behaviouralism arose to find out a solution of the ills of the society and mankind.)

3. Political Science should not lose touch with brute realities of politics:-

The behaviouralists had lost touch with ‘brute realities of politics’, while the post-behaviouralists put emphasis on substance instead of on methods. They emphasize relevance and press for radical social change

4. Political Science should not be value free:-

The behaviouralists laid special emphasis on scientism and value-free approaches and totally ignored the role of values. The people did not like it because all knowledge had

stood on value premises. Mad craze for scientism should be discarded, because social sciences cannot be converted into pure or natural science.

5. Political Scientists should protect the humane values of civilization:-

The post-behaviouralists argue that the political scientists, being intellectuals must protect and promote the human values of civilization. If the political scientists continued to keep themselves away from the social problems, they would become mere technicians, mechanics, for tinkering with society. Under these circumstances, they would be unable to claim- the privilege of freedom of enquiry.

6. Emphasis for action in place of contemplative science:-

The post behaviouralists stand for action-oriented research relevant to social conditions. They argue that the contemplative science might have been good in the 19th century when there was a broader moral agreement among nations, but it was completely out of place in the contemporary society which was sharply divided over ideals and ideologies. They says that the behaviouralists should concentrate their attention more and more upon action and not only on contemplative sciences. Their entire research should be oriented towards studying the social and political ills of the society and the methods to remove them.

7. Urgent need to politicize the profession:-

Post-behaviouralism is future-oriented. Once it is admitted that the political scientists, being intellectuals, have a positive role to play in society, then on order to achieve that goal it becomes inevitable that all the professional associations as well as universities must be politicised. ie; The political scientists should present the knowledge of their discipline in a way that it is useful to the administrators of the country. So the researches in political science must relate to the study of the relevant social and political problems.

Traditional, Behavioural & Post-behavioural Political Analysis

Traditional	Behavioural	Post-Behavioural
Inter-relates facts and values	Separates facts and values	Facts and values tied to action and relevancy
Prescriptive and normative	Non-prescriptive, objective and empirical	Humanistically problem-oriented
Qualitative	Quantitative	Quantitative and qualitative
Concerned with irregularities and regularities	Concerned with uniformities and regularities	Concerned with regularities and irregularities
Focus on European countries	Focus on Anglo-American countries	Focus on third world countries

Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralism

Behaviouralism	Post-Behaviouralism
Emphasis on the study of individual or group behaviour as it is.	Emphasis on relevance and meaningfulness so as to make theory full of substance and close to social reality.
Use of cross-disciplinary or inter-disciplinary approach to the study of politics.	No blind adherence to fact/value dichotomy, hence assignment of some place to norms goals and values.
Greater attention to the techniques of precision, measurement, and quantification so as to formulate empirically tenable theories.	Abandonment of the obsession for hyper-factualism or scientising the discipline of politics.
Separation of facts from values in theory building.	Impartial borrowings from diverse sources like Liberalism, Platonism, Existentialism and Marxism.
Attempt to scientise the discipline to make systematic political theory.	Study to be in the context of present as well as future perspective.

Liberal Analysis:-

The conciliation of interest is the main characteristics of liberal political analysis, liberals either classical or contemporary. The classical liberal theory (especially as it came to be understand in the writings of Locke, Smith and Bentham) thought of politics as one that seeks to resolve the conflicting interest as they exist among the individuals.

The cotemporary liberal theory (especially as it has come to be understood in the writings of pluralists such as Robert A Dahl and libertarians like Nozick etc.) attempts to bring about conciliation of antagonistic interests as they exist among the groups. Explaining the liberal view Mourice Duverger says, “Politics is an attempt to resolve the individual and group conflicts without physical violence”

Liberal view of politics can be summed up as under

1. It is natural for an individual to have his/her own interest. Equally natural is the fact that the individual must seek ways and means to attain and maximize them.
2. Individuals live together so as to satisfy their interests, making groups.
3. It is natural that the interest of individuals/ groups should clash among themselves.
4. It is natural for the individuals/ groups to compete among themselves for attaining the maximum satisfaction of their interest
5. Politics comes to resolve and conciliate the conflicting interest of the individuals or the groups. It becomes the law-maker, the law-enforcer and the arbiter posted with the task of maintaining law and order.
6. Groups (social, economic, political etc..) when weak are managed by politics, but when grow strong and powerful manage politics, and in the process, the role of politics as an umpire diminishes.

Marxian Analysis

Marxian approach has a place of its own that may be regarded as basically different from both the traditional and the modern approaches in several important respects, though we may discover certain points of resemblance with both as well. The astonishing (very surprising) feature of this approach is that here 'state', being the central theme of political Science, is conceived as an inevitable (unavoidable) consequence of class contradiction (opposite). Instead of keeping the focus of study confined to the formal structure and sub-structure of a political system, it lays emphasis on going at the roots. Thus it holds that the economic system determines the class structure and as there is a change in the means of production, distribution and exchange, so there is a corresponding change in the relations of the masters and the slave, the feudal lords and the serfs (slave), the capitalists and the workers- the dominant and the dominated classes. Struggle for power constituting the bedrock of politics should, therefore, be studied in the context of conflict between two antagonistic classes. This state of contradictions can end only in the establishment of a socialist society.

This approach is not only exposes the inherent weaknesses and defects of the existing capitalist system, it also informs the exploited and the oppressed class of workers, peasants and toilers (laborers) to unite so as to break the chains of slavery and win the whole world. Thus it treats state as an instrument of exploitation and oppression by one class over another and lays down that class character of the state can not come to an end until the classless society culminated in the stateless condition of life.

The Marxist Analysis of Politics:-

The Marxists (Marx, Lenin, Mao and the like), unlike the liberals (of either yesteryears (recent past) or of today), do not regard individual or group interest and conflicts as natural. According to Marxists, The conflicts among. the individuals/ groups are man made. If liberals believe that the conflicting interests among the people / groups are resolvable, the Marxists hold the view that these conflicts are irreconcilable.

Marxian concept of politics is based on the historical-materialistic approach developed by Karl Marx and Engels in the 19th century. Marx says, the material conditions of the society very often determine the nature of political power in a given period of time. Politics, being conditioned by economic conditions in the society, also supports corresponding system. Every state has an instrument of coercion as well as of administration with which it protects and upholds the existing social order. According to Marx the state is a class institution and thus it protects the interest of the 'Have's' in a society, ie; economically dominant class. . Thus it treats state as an instrument in the hands of hands of the ruling class to exploit the working class.

The characteristic features of the Marxian view of Politics can be summed up as under.

1. The Conflicts among the individuals and groups are not natural. They are the feature of the class society.
2. The common interest is nothing but the interest of the economically dominant classes.
3. The state is not, and in fact, never, a neutral institution: it protects and promotes the wishes of the Possessing classes and exploits and suppresses the non possessing classes.
4. Politics arises in the class society. It is not a fundamental activity as the liberals assert, But is an activity of the possessing classes, and among those who have the economic power.
5. Politics is a competition among the people of the possessing classes. Among themselves, they clash for power; against the non possessing classes, they wage the class war.
6. The class war is a phenomenon that exists only in a Class society. In a classless society there is no class struggle. (The capitalist society which follows the class society and the communist society which follows the socialist society.)
7. Revolution is the final stage of class struggle, serve as the locomotive of history, pushing the lower stage of social development of society to its higher stage. ie; from the class society to the establishment of the classless society.
8. The state as an institution withers away (cease to exist) in the classless society, ie; in a socialist society, the State will withers away and members of the society works in accordance with the Principle of each according to his ability and each according to his needs.

In this way , Marxian approach claims itself to be scientific as well as progressive. It rejects the present as oppressive, exploitative and inequitarian and instead desires a new set up in which exploitation and oppression are replaced by the glorious virtues of co-operation and harmony.

MODULE – II

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Political science is associated with the words like state, government, society, power and authority. Political Science has been considered as “science and art of statecraft” . The term covers the entire field of political life and behaviour. It takes into account the relationship between the state and the individual. The most popular way of describing the field of political science is that it is the study of government or political institutions. Towards the middle of the 20th century there appeared a new dimension of power as the central subject of political science. So Political science is essentially a study of the state, the development and organization of state power, the way it operates through a network of political institutions, the manner of its affecting the individuals life by means of manifold functions are the things political science enquires and explains

Sociology is the science of society. It studies about the operation of social variables in the working of the society. It is the mother of all social sciences. Sociology focuses its attention exactly on the area ignored by political science. Society being its central concern, Sociology searches the pattern and operation of interactive social relations, looks into the growth and working of social institutions and attempts at an evaluative description of social power and social progress

Political science and sociology are disciplines with a common origin. Political Science is concerned with the study of both state and society. The term Sociology is coined by Auguste Comte, one of the founding fathers of the discipline, means the study of society. But the concept ‘political’ does not exist in isolation. After the 1st world war the belief was began to grow that ‘political’ can’t be explained without borrowing from ‘social’ and vice versa. This interdependence resulted in an inter charge between political science and sociology. This interchange became so prominent that a new discipline called ‘political sociology’ emerged.

It was only after the middle ages that the distinction between society and state came to be referred by the writings of Machiavelli, Luther, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau etc. But they gave over emphasis to state than society. At the end of the 18th century writings came up emphasizing the importance of society. WG Runciman fixes 1840 as the moment of first empirical delineation of the discipline which he calls ‘ Political Sociology’. In his work, ‘Social Science and Political Theory’ Runciman says that the emergence of modern society in Europe under the impact of industrial revolution exhibited clearly the difference between state and society; with Political Sociology originated. So it is comparatively a new subject. It is also a subject which is not yet fully developed. It is still developing in nature. It tries to comprehend the interaction between social and political structures and behavior.

Political sociology is a connecting bridge between sociology and political science. It believes in a two-way relationship between sociology and political science, giving equal emphasis on social and political variables.

Since the Second World War there started a tendency among the western scholars especially the American scholars to undertake empirical research of various political phenomena with a touch of sociology in it. The more and more this type of research activity expanded the wider and wider was made room for Sociology in it. It was realized that these novel research findings were neither pure politics nor pure sociology and, therefore, they were eventually placed under the new rubric (paper) called Political sociology.

Political sociology is as a child from the marriage between Sociology and Political science and ,as in human issues, cannot be solely characterized by its parental qualities alone In other words, the distinction between political science and sociology clearly corresponds to the distinction between state and society.

“ Political science starts with the state and examines how it affects society, while political sociology starts with society and examines how it affects the state.”-Bendix & Lipset.

Political sociologists came to argue that the state is just one of many clusters of social institutions and clusters of institutions are the subject of sociology in general, and that the relationship between political institutions and other institutions is the special province of political sociology. Political Sociology was, however, was not born by accident. The following factors worked behind its emergence.

1. Growing dissatisfaction with the nature of traditional Political science.

Political Scientists in America did not find any charm in academic exercise because they were totally fed up with Political Science. Their dissatisfaction arose from two facts,

Firstly, was about the long tradition of political science being steeped in highly normative prescriptions. Western Political Science till the end of 19th century had been mostly concerned with the question of ‘ought’ and had taken itself to a lofty (moral standards) abstract attitude where from it sought to analyse political realities. (This approach concerned with ‘what the state should be’ or ‘what the state ought to be’ rather than ‘what it is a state’). But after the second world war, when fantastic scientific progress and technological advancement had greatly scientificised the general intellectual atmosphere, political scientists in the west finally decided to abjure (not agree) the a priori political speculations and began looking into political realities in the light of hard scientific empiricism. While doing so they were naturally attracted by sociology, which had already established itself as a positive and scientific discipline and learned more and more towards it in order to provide a scientific brush up to their discipline.

Secondly, Traditional Political Science had always viewed the state as its star attraction. The authority of the state had been given different explanations at different times, but always in terms of political relations. The operational changes in this authority had been sought to be interpreted against the back ground of a set of enquiry as to how the state could effectively meet or fail to compact the continuous challenges of social change. But this social change could have an important role in influencing a changes in the position and pattern of authority had been treated as a question lying beyond the jurisdiction of political science. In other words traditional political science has refused to accept a two way relation between the state and society. One of the obvious

consequence of this attitude was to over emphasize the importance of laws and institutions as the only available means for comprehending Political phenomena. Since the thirties political scientists began to be aware of the limitations of these legalistic and institutional approach. There was a growing realization that politics is not an independent variable that political questions could best be answered only when they were placed against the wider background of the societal whole.

2. Role of Eminent Political Scientists

Contribution of eminent personalities like that of Arther F Bentley, Graham Wallas, Lawrance Lawell, Charles E Merriam, GEG Catlin etc. too accelerated the development of this discipline

AF Bently has provided a two fold contribution to the new discipline

1. The idea of 'group' as the true level of reality for political understanding and integration.
2. The concept of 'process' as the only valid approach to the under standing of this reality.

He says, " The raw material of govt can be found in actually legislative, administrative and judicial activities of the nation and in the streams and currents of activity that gather among the people and rush into these spheres". Thus he brought the behavioural and sociological factors on the working of the governmental structures

Prof. Graham Wallas, in his 'Human nature in Politics' highlighted the enormous role that psychology played in the conduct of human affairs. He suggested the political students to cease the mere study of political institutions, and to come to study the actual behavior of human beings conditioned by the psychological feelings.

Lawrance Lowell, another political sociologist says for the ' real mechanism of the government can be understood only by examining it in action.' Thus he stressed the functions of government rather than its institutions.

Charles E Merriam, the intellectual god father of behavioralism in his 'New Aspects of Politics' stressed the utility of scientific methods in the study of politics.

GEG Catlin appreciated and encouraged the interdisciplinary approach in the study of politics. Man and his different aspects of his life are to be the centre of his political and social sciences. Thus the inter disciplinary approach is became a correct tool in analyzing social and political phenomena.

3. Inter-war development

During the inter war period the American Political scientists came to know about the errors and short comings of the US democracy. They became aware of the role of pressure groups, lobby etc and the power of media and mass communication in their political system. There a few scholars were drawn to scientific experimentation and studied in depth the relation between the social structure and political structure , social behavior and political behavior. Unfortunately they have studied only the American political system (separation of powers) and the British political

system (fusion of powers). They totally ignored the non-democratic countries and considered them as a temporary political disorder in the history

4. Arrival of European Scholars in USA

Yet another factor that contributed to the development of Political Sociology was the arrival of a number of European Scholars. Particularly the German refugees in 1930,s who brought with them a sociological and interdisciplinary approach in to the study of political science. That strongly reflected the specific influence of Max Webber and the general influence of European Sociology. Moreover, since the fifties western social scientists started heading towards the unification of social sciences with the aid of an inter disciplinary approach

5. Impact of the Second World War

Political Sociology as a formal Science has come into being after the World war II. Then the emergence of a large number of nations in Asia, Africa, and the middle east with a bewildering (confusing and difficult to understand) variety of cultures, Social institutions and Political characteristics demanded a new focus and fresh approach. Political Sociology met the demand to a large extend, political scientists started to study the problems of the III rd world countries from a new point of view. There they gave due importance to social, ecological, geographical and cultural factors.

6. Demand for Scientific outlook

After the world war two, then fantastic progress and technological advancement had greatly scientised the general intellectual atmosphere. Political Scientists want to make political Science more scientific. So they began to look on the political reality by using various scientific methods and techniques. In the effort of making Political Science more effective scientific, political scientists were attracted by sociology and leaned more and more towards it. Then it was realized that this novel research is neither pure politics nor pure sociology. Therefore they were placed under the title of 'political sociology'.

7. Emphasis on Inter- Disciplinary Approach

Finally the need for inter disciplinary approach propelled political sociology to new horizon. After studying the problems of third world countries of Asia and Africa the political scientists understood that politics is not an independent variable. As a result of this, there had been a growing realization that politics is not an independent variable, ie; political questions could be best answered only when they were placed against the wider background of the societal whole. There fore political problems can be solved very effectively only when they are placed against the wider background of the social whole. The compartmentalization has no meaning because man is the centre of study in all social sciences. Since the fifties western social scientists started heading towards the unifications of social sciences with the aid of an inter-disciplinary approach. This was also contributing towards the development of political sociology. In this inter disciplinary approach they gave more emphasis to sociology in the study of politics.

Both Lipset and Runchimen have fixed the timing of the birth of political sociology at about the middle of 19th century when under the impact of industrial revolution the traditional

European social order gave in to modern society. Their thesis is that the emergence of modern society in Europe abundantly (more than enough) exhibited the difference between state and society when political sociology originated. But Political Sociology as a formal discipline began flourishing clearly a hundred years later than the time marked out by Lipset and Runciman.

Political sociologists like Bendix and Lipset argued two features of political sociology, first, that political sociology studies the relation between the social and the political and, second, that the political aspects cannot be understood unless it is related to the social.

The whole argument amounts to this definition of political sociology: political sociology is a discipline that tries to understand political phenomena by necessarily relating them to their social determinants. Political sociology believes in a two way relation between sociology and political science, giving equal emphasis on both the social and political variables.

Essential features of political sociology are:-

- (1) Political sociology is not political science since, unlike the latter, it is not a state discipline or a study of the state craft.
- (2) Political sociology concerned with not only with social but with the political as well.
- (3) Political sociology revolves round the belief that there exists an identity between the social process and the political process. Political sociology tries to resolve the traditional dichotomy between state and society.

Political sociology may, therefore, be defined as the product of cross-fertilization between sociology and political science that studies the impact of society on politics and also the reverse, although viewing the substance of politics in a social form. Political sociology ensures the stability of the democratic political system by bringing in consensus out of conflicts.

Definitions of Political sociology

According to A.K. Mukhopadhyaya “political sociology is the child from the marriage between sociology and political science and as in human issues, cannot be solely characterized by its parental qualities alone”.

According to Robert. E. Dowse and John .A. Hughes; “political sociology is the study of political behaviour within a sociological perspective of framework”.

In the opinion of As Smelser N. J. says, "Political Sociology is study of the interrelationship between society and polity, between social structures and political institutions".

Scope of political sociology

Political sociology is concerned with the way in which political arrangements depend on social organisations and cultural values. This subject is in fact less concerned with the formal aspects of government and law than with the underlying support of these institutions. Political sociologists are also interested in studying the participation of individuals in politics. The discipline is concerned with why and how an individual's vote has public opinion, form and belongs to political associations and groups that support political movements. The scope of the discipline also includes different types of organised groups in politics and the interactions among them, and the influence of parties and movements in changing or bringing about stability in the

political system. An important concern of political sociology is the decision-making process through public means. In this process, it takes into account not only the social forces but also includes the economic factors that are regulated by forces such as money, market and other resources scarcities. Political sociology also analysis whether the person occupying the decision making process has enough grip over the people on whom they are exercising power.

Political sociology also includes the concept of political system, which introduces dynamism in political analysis. It not only stress on the study of the major structures of the government such as legislature, courts and administrative agencies, but also embassies on all the structure in their political aspects such as caste groupings, kinship groups and formal organisations such as parties and interest groups. The political system deals with the political phenomena in any society without taking into account its size, culture and degree of modernisation. Political sociology deals with the analysis of the functions of various political structures in the political system from a structural functionalist perspective.

1. Political sociology concentrates on the phenomenon of power and its related aspects. Power is a universal and an important aspect of social interaction, which is necessary in shaping the relationship between individuals and members of a group.

2.. Political sociology also deals with the study of elites and their leadership styles. These elites govern the masses as well as provide them leadership. The discipline also concentrates on the patterns and styles of leadership exhibited by the elites, which are necessary to maintain their positions of power.

3. The study of the political process is also the domain of political sociology. Political process refers to activities of those underlying propensities (tendencies) in society that give meaning and order to the political system.

4. Another major concern of political sociology is to study the impact of the political culture on the political system. The concepts of political culture refer to those underlying propensities that accelerate or retard the pace of performance of the political system. Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and acquired by man as a member of the society. Political culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values of a society that relate to the political system and political issues.

5. Another major concern of political sociology is Political socialization. “It is the process by which the political culture are maintained, changed and shaped at the individual level and also community. It is also passed from generation to generation”.

6. Political participation and political mobilization also form the scope of political sociology. Political participation is an integral part of democratic political system. More the number of people participate in the political process and political institution more that reflects the health of the system. Maximum participation means more legitimacy to the activities of the government and political stability and respect for the authorities. Political participation denotes a series of voluntary activities which have a bearing on the political process that involves issues like selection of rulers and various aspects of the formulation of public policy. Political participation is

the mother and politics is the child. The former creates and determines politics. "Participation is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled".

7. Political sociology also analysis the political dynamics, which consists of the study of political parties, pressure groups, interest groups, public opinion and propaganda that influences and manipulate the attitude and political behavior of individuals.

8. The process of change, which in the social dimension refers to 'Political Modernisation', is also another focal point of political sociology. It is process based upon the rational utilization of resources and is aimed at the establishment of modern society. In other words political modernization stands for the transformation of the political culture in response to the changes in social, political and physical environment.

9. Political development is an important area of discussion in political sociology. It refers to a process through which a political system acquires new roles and value in a society.

The relevance of Political Sociology

The relevance of political sociology has been discussed on different wavelengths. To Duverger, the term 'political sociology' and 'political science' are synonyms. The term political Science reflects a certain tendency towards isolating the study of political phenomena, limiting its contact with other branches of the social sciences. The term political sociology on the other hand, indicates a desire to restore political phenomena to their proper place within the broad spectrum of social phenomena, to remove barriers between disciplines, and to emphasize the essential unity of all social sciences. It also implies a firm intention to use empirical and experimental methods of research instead of philosophical reasoning.

Political Sociology is relevant to political science in many ways, Political sociology has broadened the area of our enquiry by widening the scope of what is considered political phenomena today. It has established that political variables influence social, cultural, and economic variables as the latter influences the former. In grappling with the new demands of discipline, political sociology has opened new frontiers of research and has experimented with new methods of analysis.

Political Sociology involves an ongoing search for a more comprehensive scope, as well as more realistic, precise and theory conscious analysis. The non western studies which have appeared recently break new ground in a theoretical as well as methodological sense. They analyse comparative politics as a political theorist would, basing their analysis on the empirical data gathered from the specific area of their investigation. They formulate generalizations on aspects of politics which have significance for the general theory of political systems.

Contemporary Political Sociology

Contemporary political sociology is concerned with cultural politics as what we might call the "politics of politics." From this perspective, what events mean to those who interpret and act on them is what matters. Contemporary political sociology is also concerned with cultural politics in a wider sense: what is made "political" is not simply confined to what takes place

within government, political parties, and the state. The perspective of cultural politics also helps us make sense of how the meanings of social relations and identities are consistently challenged wherever they are framed as unjust, exclusionary, and destructive of the capacities of individuals and groups. The substantive issues of contemporary political sociology fall into six major areas: (1) State, citizenship and civil society, (2) social cleavages and politics, (3) protest movements and revolutions, (4) surveillance and control, (5) state-economy relations, and (6) the welfare state.

1. *State, Citizenship, and Civil Society*: The modern nation state emerged from the demise of feudalism and was coincident with the rise of industrial capitalism. Political sociologists examine this process to understand state structures and processes of state transformation. Post modernisation theories of change emphasize the significance of warfare and state consolidation of control over territory and people, especially in seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Europe. In addition to the importance of geopolitical conflict, resource extraction, and power consolidation, these developments helped form a civil society with a public sphere. They also contributed to expanding citizenship, including franchise expansion.

2. *Social Cleavages and Politics*: Since the classic era, political sociologists examined how social cleavages get expressed politically, and class was the most salient cleavage with the “democratic class struggle thesis”. They retain an interest in social class but also examine other social cleavage. They argue that class remains important but has changed form and is not alone in affecting voting. Thus, increased female labor force participation generated a new gender effect on voting, new religious cleavages appeared, professionals and managers differ in voting, and racial differences are salient. Several political scientists argue that social class is no longer relevant, and it has been replaced by cultural divisions (e.g., religion, no materialist values such as environment or health) and status differences (e.g., gender, race, ethnic group). The debate over class versus cultural cleavage effects on voting appears at an impasse. New inquiry has moved in several directions. One considers nonvoters; another reconceptualizes class and other social cleavages; and a third examines the effect of class on no electoral forms of political mobilization.

3. *Protest Movements and Revolutions*: The study of collective behavior changed as studies on movements merged with political sociology. By the 1970s, collective protest was understood to be a political phenomenon, and the resource mobilization approach explained movements in terms of their ability to acquire and use key resources. An offshoot of resource mobilization theory, the “political process model”, placed movements firmly within political sociology. It looked beyond internal movement organization to include micro mobilization processes, follower identity transformation, and the broader political environment. Others conceptualized environmental conditions as “political opportunity structures”. The political opportunity model was expanded to account for waves or cycles of protest over time and to more closely tie the study of movements to historical processes. A symbolic- cognitive dimension was added with cognitive liberation and movement frames;. Later research synthesized movement frames, political opportunities, and organizational forms. Some studies examined “new social movements”—that is, movements

focused more on cultural issues or identity affirmation than traditional political protest. The significance of media attention, police responses to protests, and “spillover” from one movement to another highlighted movements’ dynamic-interactive politics.

4. Surveillance and Control: political sociologists examine surveillance and social control to understand how state authority penetrates into and regulates many spheres of social life, including activities to count, monitor, and regulate its population. Traditionally, criminal justice was treated as an apolitical, technical-administrative field, but political sociologists see the legal system and the criminalization of behaviors as mechanisms of domination and tactics deployed in power struggles. They consider targeting certain social sectors for criminalization, historical and international patterns of imprisonment, felon disenfranchisement, and political ideological agendas that shape crime policy. The tension between politicized legal criminal issues and technical-scientific processes is itself an issue.

5. State-Economy Relations: The state’s relationship to the class of investors/capital owners and market operations has been an ongoing political sociological concern. Studies examined how political-institutional arrangements (e.g., laws and taxes, property ownership, investment and regulatory policy) and business political activism shaped corporate capitalism’s expansion. This included noting how institutional arrangements, including their idea systems, shape economic outcomes. Others examined how defacto industrial policy and business regulation in specific areas, including military-industrial expansion, altered economic affairs and politics. Related studies looked at corporate welfare as an alternative to industrial policy in the United States and, specifically, at the U.S. savings and loan bailout. After the dissolution of communist regimes’ command economies, neoliberal ideology and state-economy arrangements diffused in a post Cold War environment, and political sociologists shifted to discussing “varieties of capitalism.” They examined alternative structural state economy arrangements among the advanced capitalist nation-states that form integrated. Alternative arrangements and state policies developed historically and reinforced specific patterns of corporate capitalism with implications for economic expansion, interstate relations, and domestic labor relations and business practices.

6. The Welfare State: Measured as total social spending, the percentage of the population covered, or range of different programs, the welfare state expanded in all advanced capitalist democracies. This became a major area of comparative research and the focus of competing theoretical explanations.

As political sociology advances into the twenty first century, four lines of inquiry are posed for further development: (1) legitimacy and identity, (2) governmentality, (3) politics beyond the nation-state, and (4) a synthesis of new institutionalism, rational choice, and constructionism.

Political sociologists examined legitimacy since the nineteenth century, but issues of social identity and culture are increasingly a concern. Racial-ethnic, sexuality, life- style, religious, and other value-based cultural identity affirmations are potential sources of political division that can be triggered under certain conditions. The ways such identities evolve, get expressed, and overlap take place within political structures and involve power/dominance relations. Nation-states and

other political structures try to regulate and prevent conflicts among the identities to uphold their legitimacy. This suggests reviving or adjusting Gramsci's notion of hegemony. Repressive social control and state surveillance continue to interest political sociologists. Their attention has shifted to more subtle forms of domination and coercion, such as that captured by Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence or Foucault's of governmentality. There is also a shift from treating the state apparatus as the sole site of concentrated power and domination to examining how power gets accumulated and exercised throughout numerous social institutions and relationships. In addition to examining the state's policing, taxing, and other powers, interest is turning to how coercion and power are embedded in the relations of a workplace, courtroom, classroom, shopping mall, hospital, television programming, religious community, and so forth. This moves attention to the symbolic-cultural-idea realm. It includes how collective memories, communication messages, and institutional arrangements impose social-ideational dominance and constrain free and autonomous public sphere for open participation and discourse, an idea elaborated by Habermas.

Few political sociologists expect the nation-state to disappear in the twenty-first century, but they expect changes and greater salience for non state politics. New global political structures are arising from accelerating cross-national border flows of information, investments, culture, and people in governments and nongovernment institutions (e.g., corporations, NGOs, social movements). New local multicultural or hybrid forms are emerging both in cities and small-scale units as well as in global institutions larger than the nation-state.

Nature of Political Sociology

The origin and development of Political Sociology was through inter-disciplinary approach. Eminent writers in the different branches of social sciences like Sociology, Political science, Anthropology, Psychology etc. contribute much for the development of Political Sociology. As a result of inter disciplinary approach, Political Sociology evolved new concepts and theories. As a result of this the focus of the study of Political Science had shifted from legal and institutional to empirical, scientific and behavioural studies. This situation necessitated the application of knowledge from different disciplines for the development of Political Sociology. All though many have contributed to the growth and development of political sociology, Marx Weber and Karl Marx are said to be the founding fathers of political sociology.

1. Marx Weber's contribution.

Max Weber was born in 1864 in Erfurt, Province of Saxony, Prussia. He is often cited, with Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx, as among the three founders of Sociology. His ideas profoundly influenced the social theory and social research. He believed that social science should be studied in the same manner as employed in the study of natural sciences, they should aim at the rigour and precision available in the natural sciences. For this purpose he invented a methodology which would be applicable and useful in the study of both social and natural sciences. Max Webber has given his unique definition of Sociology and specified the scope of the subject in his own way. His definition of sociology is to be found in his book 'The Theory of Economic and Social Organisation.' In this book Webber has defined sociology in the following words: "Sociology is

the science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at casual explanation of its course and result.” This definition of Max Webber brings into relief three important facts.

Firstly, we may assert that according to Weber the chief purpose of sociology is to understand the nature and cause of social action.

Secondly, it tries to map out the casual pattern of social action.

Thirdly, it aims at knowing the results of social action.

A study of the social thought of Marx Weber clearly reveals that in his conception of sociology, it is intimately connected with social action. Therefore in order to comprehend the conceptual frame work of Max Weber, it is very necessary to discuss his idea and meaning of the term ‘social action.’

The concept of social action is the centre of all social ideas of Max Weber. According to him all social concepts hinge upon the central conception of social action. Defining social action, Max Webber observes that the social action is that action of an individual which is some how influenced by the action and behaviour of other persons and by which it is modified or its direction determined. Thus it is clear that by the term social action we mean the actions of the individuals which are some how influenced, guided or determined by the actions of other individuals. Weber has made a very subtle analysis of the concept of social action. The significant characteristics of his ideas are the following:

1. Social Action may be influenced by an action of Past, Present or Future.

It should be by now quite obvious to the reader that a social action is a result or modification of some action of other person or persons. But it needs to be made clear here that the modifying action need not necessarily be contemporaneous with the modified action, that is , it may not be occurring at the same time or just before in order to influence the action of an individual. Indeed such an action may be a past occurrence of even an expected action in future.

This fact can be explained by certain illustrations. For example A lends B rupees one thousand, B may return these at some future date. Thus here the social action of B is due to a past action of A. In another example, we can visualize a man giving alms to the poor man and the poor man wishing him well. This will be case of a present action. As regards the future action we may think of a man decorating his premises in order to impress his friends and relatives who he expect to visit him in near future. Thus we may conclude this point by pointing out that a social action is necessarily a result or a modification of some action of some other individual, but the casual or modifying action may be an occurrence of past, present or future.

2. Social action presupposes the existence of other individual and some action by him.

As we have remarked earlier, a social action is a result of some action by some individual whose action, in turn, results in an action by some other individual. This means that there can be no social action in isolation, that is, an individual living in complete wilderness removed for all inter-personal contacts cannot do a social action. Therefore, social action is possible if and only if there

is another human whose actions or behaviour is promoting any given individual to act in a particular manner.

3. Necessity of Subjective meaning.

In a social action it is necessary that it should have subjective meaning to the doer of a particular social action. If two persons collide accidentally and with out any motive whatsoever the collision will not be a social action. On the other hand, if a notorious smuggler causes a collision of a truck with a police jeep resulting in injuries of death, then such a collision would be a case of social action. Even if an accidental collision is followed by some quarrel or tendering of apologies to each other, then, too, the action will be social action. A blind imitation without any understanding of the nature of act being imitated is no social action.

The above discussion makes plain the meaning of social action. The primary task of sociology according to Max Webber is the study of social action. Besides clarifying the meaning of social action, Weber has also described the various stages of social action. The stages of social actions are determined by the patterns of social behaviour. According to Weber there are four stages of social action. These are:

- a. Traditional stage. This stage is concerned with long standing customs, traditions and usages. Thus all those actions which are influenced, guided or determined by these customs or traditions are covered under this stage.
- b. Emotional stage. An emotional reaction to the action of other come under this stage. If there is expression of love, hatred, sympathy, compassion or pity in response to the behaviour of other individuals, the consequent social actions are covered by this stage.
- c. Valuational. The social actions pertaining to values are considered valuational. The religious and ethical actions come under this category.
- d. Rational-Purposeful. The actions covered by this category are primarily guided by reason and discrimination. The pursuit of goals is a corollary of the fact that rational choice involves consciousness of end or goals.

Individual as the Unit of Sociological Study

According to Max Weber, individual is the unit of sociological study. Weber has made clear this point in the following words, “Interpretive sociology considers the individual and his action as the basic unit, as its atom...In this approach, the individual is also the upper limit and carrier of meaningful conduct...in general, for sociology such concepts as the state, association, feudalism and the like designate certain categories of human interaction. Hence it is the task of sociology to reduce these concepts to understandable action, that is, without exception to the actions of participating individual man.”

Social Organization

Max Weber has given his own unique analysis of the concept of ‘ Social Organization’ . He discusses the concept of social organization along with the concept of social class. He regards economic factor important in social organization but he does not regard the economic factor exclusive. He considers other social factors as also relevant. These cannot be disregarded.

Explaining the concept of social organization, Weber tries to explain first of all to make clear the concept of 'power'. The power, he says, is that situation of an individual or individuals in which they can experience and apprehend their goals and easily achieve them. In other words, power is the capacity to achieve one's objective with ease. On the other hand, a man who has no power cannot achieve his objective smoothly and easily. Thus power is a means to accomplish the desired ends. After making the meaning of power clear, Weber tries to explain the types power. The power has relevance to status. The social status is both a means and an end of power. The distribution of social status determines the social organization. The hierarchy of status is vital in social organization. The social organization can be of three types: 1. Economic Organization, 2. Social Organization, 3. Legal organization.

The social organization gives birth to social class. The persons having similar status form one social class. According to Weber the most crucial factor in social stratification is economic. The people belonging to one class share more or less similar opportunities. Thus a class of salaried professionals will be constituted by persons having more or less amount of salaries. The economic power also belongs to persons who are already well off and have control over the means of production and distribution. On the other hand, persons having no economic power belong to one class. Only those persons belong to a particular class who are more or less similar status and indeed a class does not let persons of unequal opportunities to become its member. Thus economic factor plays important role in the social stratification.

Theory of Bureaucracy

Max Weber has discussed in detail the concept of bureaucracy. He has discussed this concept in the context of social power and prestige. Indeed bureaucracy is an administrative organization in which the distribution and classification of power is a particular kind. It is hierarchical. He has enumerated seven features of bureaucracy. These are as follows:

1. **Importance of impersonal rules.** The bureaucratic set up is strictly governed by rules and regulations. These rules and regulations are impersonal and impartial. This lends permanence and continuity to the bureaucratic functioning. In bureaucracy no person is indispensable. The bureaucratic set-up is like machine in which the parts can be easily replaced without impairing the work of machine. Thus it is the laws not persons that make the bureaucracy work.
2. **Clear and specific functions.** In bureaucratic set up each member whether low or high in the hierarchy has his functions determined and specified. There is clear and unambiguous division of labour in bureaucracy. The basis of the division of labour is efficiency and ability. The more able and efficient persons occupy higher wings in the hierarchy. If this principle is violated, the bureaucratic set-up is liable to break up.
3. **Hierarchy of positions.** In bureaucracy there is a hierarchical arrangement of posts and positions. In bureaucracy there is one chief functionary and under him there are several assistants, each of whom has in turn, many assistants under him.

4. **A Bureaucracy has Rules of controls.** In bureaucratic set-up the superior officer exercises control over his juniors. However this control is not due to personal qualities of the officer but is on account of rules and regulations.
5. **Separation between administrators and proprietors.** In a bureaucratic set-up the owner of an enterprises is not necessarily the highest officer. Indeed if an organization requires highly technical personnel the owner may have no role in actual operations of that organizations.
6. **Lack of monopoly.** In bureaucracy no person has monopolistic control and therefore no person is indispensable. If need, any person can be replaced or transferred.
7. **Rules, Decisions and Commands are Written.** In a bureaucratic set-up all rules, regulations and decisions are reduced to writing in order to avoid ambiguity and misuse. To write down all laws and decisions is very necessary for smooth functioning of bureaucracy.

Authority

According to Weber authority is related power. Indeed legitimate power is authority and authority is nothing but legitimate power. Therefore the various forms of legitimate power will be the various forms of authority. According to Weber authority determines the social action and the social organization. Webber recognizes three kinds of authority. We shall come to the concept of authority in detail in the next module.

2. Marxian contribution.

Karl Marx was born in Germany in 1818. He studied at university of Weimar, mixed with revolutionaries, went to Berlin and began to study economics there. He was then asked to leave Prussia. He went to Paris, met Proudhon and read the writings of some French radicals there. Marx was very considerably influenced by Hegelian dialectics and by the English socialists and Economists like Adam Smith, Ricardo and William Thomson etc. His contributions to political sociology are as follows-

Social Class Theory

Social class analysis was the first major attempt to explain political life in terms of sociological variables. Karl Marx was the first major social theorist to base his work primarily on a class model, although many of his ideas can be traced back to the one or another of the earlier writers. It is the Marxian formulation of class analysis which has had the greatest influence on political sociology and which will be dealt with here. Marx's work was not limited to political sociology; indeed, much of the genius of his work lay in his attempt to comprehend the entire course of human history. Since he concluded that the basic dynamics of history could be found in economic life, his most detailed work was in economics. But his ultimate goal was to develop a theory of social change was the basis of all his work. We will begin by summarizing that theory, following closely a well-known summary that Marx himself made in the introduction to one of his works.

Marx argued that men enter into social relationships independently of their wills and their beliefs and behaviours are largely determined by the social conditions in which they find themselves. The most important of these conditions are those which are directly related to economic production, and these relationships tend to determine other aspects of social behaviour and beliefs. Only in a highly affluent, technologically advanced society could men and women choose to be free. The economic conditions which determine people's social relationships vary from epoch to epoch, as economic conditions change. However, in all previous history (excepting pre-historic tribes) there has been a polarization oppressor and oppressed. As the oppressors become better organized and more efficient, they change the economic system to make it even more exploitative. They must do this, otherwise they themselves would be destroyed by others who would. This increase in the efficiency of exploitation is the source of progress. It brings about increase in wealth and economic productivity, as well as financing advances in science and culture. However, there is a negative side as well. Social tensions increase because the non-economic organization of society fails to change rapidly enough to fit the new economic conditions. Classes which are no longer economically useful, such as feudal lords or small businessmen or craftsmen, fight against progress in order to defend their privileged position. When these social tensions become sufficiently acute, an era of social revolution ensues and the society is changed to a more modern form. In this way the transition was made from a feudal to a capitalist society in France with the revolution of 1789. Marx expected that when economic conditions advanced fully enough there would be a similar revolutionary period and capitalist societies would be transformed into socialist societies.

Marxist theory differs on a very basic level from sociological theories- such as functionalism- which consider social order to be self-sustaining and disorder to be unusual and undesirable. Marxist theory expects tension, conflict, and change as necessary for human progress. Conflict between social classes, in particular, is viewed by the Marxist as the basic source of social evolution. Marx viewed political life as a reflection of the class struggle. When he analyzed political struggles, he viewed each of the participating parties and leaders as representatives of social classes, and he explained their behaviour as resulting from their class interests. In its basic form Marxist theory has an elegant simplicity and grandeur, similar to many religious doctrines. It can be readily understood by people who are not professional social scientists. Indeed, Marx and his comrade Friedrich Engels wrote 'The Communist Manifesto' precisely to communicate their theory of factory workers. This simplicity is often criticized by academics who are pre-occupied with the subtleties and complexities of the world and mistrust any theory which seems to be guilty of 'oversimplification'. Marx was not concerned with the objections of these academicians, indeed he felt that their devotion to pedantic details often served to obscure basic truths about society.

Concept of Social Change

In their struggle against nature, and to gain their livelihood through associated labor, men create specific forms of social organization in tune with specific modes of production. All these

modes of social organization, with the exception of those prevailing in the original stage of primitive communism, are characterized by social inequality. As societies emerge from originally undifferentiated hordes, the division of labor leads to the emergence of stratification, of classes of men distinguished by their differential access to the means of production and their differential power. Given relative scarcity, whatever economic surplus has been accumulated will be preempted by those who have attained dominance through their expropriation of the means of production. Yet this dominance never remains unchallenged. This is why "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." Free men and slaves, patricians and plebeians, barons and serfs, guild masters and journeymen, exploiters and exploited have confronted one another from the beginning of recorded time. Yet Marx, insisted on the principle of historical specificity, that is, he thought it essential to note that each particular class antagonism, rooted in particular productive conditions, must be analyzed in its own right. Each stage in history is conceived as a functional whole, with its own peculiar modes of production, which give rise to distinctive types of antagonisms between exploiting and exploited classes. Class antagonisms specific to each particular mode of production led to the emergence of classes whose interests could no longer be asserted within the framework of the old order; at the same time, the growth of the productive forces reached the limits imposed by previous productive relations. When this happened, the new classes, which represented a novel productive principle, broke down the old order, and the new productive forces, which were developed in the matrix of the old order, created the material conditions for further advance.

Relations of Production and Forces of production

Relations of production are a concept frequently used by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their theory of historical materialism, and in *Das Capital*. It is first explicitly used in Marx's published book 'The Poverty of Philosophy', although the concept is already defined in 'The German Ideology'. Relations of production are the sum total of social relations which human beings establish among themselves in the production of their material lives.

'Forces of production' is a central idea in Marxism and historical materialism. In Karl Marx and Frederick Engels's own critique of political economy, it refers to the combination of the means of labor (tools, machinery, land, infrastructure and so on) with human labour power. All those forces which are applied by people in the production process (body & brain, tools & techniques, materials, resources and equipment) are included in this concept. Human knowledge can also be a productive force. Forces of production refers to the physical means and techniques of production to which laborers add value and transform capital into products for sale. Forces of production include instruments of production and raw materials, as well as the productive faculties of producing agents manifested by strength, skill, and knowledge.

Mode of Production

Mode of production includes everything that goes into the production of the necessities of life, including the 'productive forces' (labor, instruments, and raw material) and the 'relations of production' (the social structures that regulate the relation between humans in the production of

goods. Marx used the term mode of production to refer to the specific organization of economic production in a given society. A mode of production includes the means of production used by a given society, such as factories and other facilities, machines, and raw materials. It also includes labor and the organization of the labor force. The term relations of production refers to the relationship between those who own the means of production (the capitalists or bourgeoisie) and those who do not (the workers or the proletariat). According to Marx, history evolves through the interaction between the mode of production and the relations of production. The mode of production constantly evolves toward a realization of its fullest productive capacity, but this evolution creates antagonisms between the classes of people defined by the relations of production. According to Marx, the combination of forces and relations of production means that the way people relate to the physical world and the way people relate to each other socially are bound up together in specific and necessary ways. People must consume to survive, but to consume they must produce, and in producing they necessarily enter into relations which exist independently of their will.

For Marx, the analysis of social order and the causes of social change must be discovered in the specific mode of production that a society has. He further argued that the mode of production substantively shaped the nature of the mode of distribution, the mode of circulation and the mode of consumption, all of which together constitute the economic sphere. To understand the way wealth was distributed and consumed, it was necessary to understand the conditions under which it was produced. Normally a mode of production shapes the mode of distribution, circulation and consumption, and is regulated by the state. New productive forces will cause conflict in the current mode of production. When conflict arises the modes of production can evolve within the current structure or cause a complete breakdown.

The major types of modes of production are as follows:

Primitive communism

Human society is seen as organized in traditional tribe structures, typified by shared values and consumption of the entire social product. As no permanent surplus product is produced, there is also no possibility of a ruling class coming into existence. As this mode of production lacks differentiation into classes, it is said to be classless.

Asiatic mode of production

This is a controversial contribution to Marxist theory, initially used to explain pre-slave and pre-feudal large earthwork constructions in China, India, the Euphrates and Nile river valleys. The Asiatic mode of production is said to be the initial form of class society, where a small group extracts social surplus through violence aimed at settled or unsettled band communities within a domain. Exploited labour is extracted as forced curve labour during a slack period of the year. Exploited labour is also extracted in the form of goods directly seized from the exploited communities. The primary property form of this mode is the direct religious possession of communities and all those within them. The ruling class of this society is generally a semi theocratic aristocracy which claims to be the incarnation of gods on earth. The forces of

production associated with this society include basic agricultural techniques, massive construction and storage of goods for social benefit.

Feudalism

The feudal mode of production is usually typified by the systems of the West between the fall of the classical European culture and the rise of capitalism, though similar systems existed in most of the earth. The primary form of property is the possession of land in reciprocal contract relations: the possession of human beings as peasants or serfs is dependent upon their being entailed upon the land. Exploitation occurs through reciprocated contract. The ruling class is usually a nobility or aristocracy. The primary forces of production include highly complex agriculture with the addition of non-human and non-animal power devices.

Capitalism

The introduction of the capitalist mode of production spans the period from Mercantilism to Imperialism and is usually associated with the emergence of modern industrial society. The primary form of property is the possession of objects and services through state guaranteed contract. The primary form of exploitation is wage labour. The ruling class is the bourgeoisie, which exploits the proletariat. Capitalism may produce one class (bourgeoisie) who possess the means of production for the whole of society and another class who possess only their own labour power, which they must sell in order to survive. The key forces of production include the overall system of modern production with its supporting structures of bureaucracy, and the modern state, and above all finance capital.

State capitalism and corporate capitalism, is a universal form encompassing all recent actually existing economic forms based on the nation state and global process of capital accumulation, whether avowedly capitalist or socialist, which was known only in its more or less pure capitalist forms in Marx and Engels time. Fredrick Engels hypothesized that state capitalism would emerge as the final form of capitalism before the contradictions reach a point where capitalism cannot sustain itself and socialism emerges as its successor.

Class Conflict and Class Struggle

For Marx, the analysis of social class, class structures and changes in those structures are key to understanding capitalism and other social systems or modes of production. In the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels comment that the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Analysis of class divisions and struggles is especially important in developing an understanding of the nature of capitalism. For Marx, classes are defined and structured by the relations concerning (i) work and labour and (ii) ownership or possession of property and the means of production. These economic factors more fully govern social relationships in capitalism than they did in earlier societies. The main classes in capitalism are the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

However, other classes such as landlords, petty bourgeoisie, peasants, and lumpenproletariat also exist, but are not primary in terms of the dynamics of capitalism.

A. **Bourgeoisie.** The bourgeoisie or capitalists are the owners of capital, purchasing and exploiting labour power, using the surplus value from employment of this labour power to accumulate or expand their capital. It is the ownership of capital and its use to exploit labour and expand capital are important here. By employing workers, industrial capital created the surplus value that could take on the various forms such as profit, interest and rent.

B. **Proletariat.** The proletariat are owners of labour power and mere owners of labour power, with no other resources than the ability to work with their hands, bodies, and minds. Since these workers have no property, in order to survive and obtain an income for themselves and their families, they must find employment work for an employer. This means working for a capitalist-employer in an exploitative social relationship. This exploitative work relationship recreates or reproduces itself continually. If the capitalist-employer is to make profits and accumulate capital, wages must be kept low. This means that the proletariat is exploited, with the surplus time worked by the worker creating surplus products. While the worker produces, the products created by this labour are taken by the capitalist and sold – thus producing surplus value or profit for the capitalist but poverty for workers. This occurs each day of labour process, preventing workers from gaining ownership of property and recreating the conditions for further exploitation.

The antagonistic and contradictory nature of this system is evident as capitalists attempting to reduce wages and make workers work more intensively, while workers have exactly the opposite set of interests. Work and the labour process in the capitalist mode of production are organized so that workers remain property less members of the proletariat. The surplus products and value created by workers turns into capital, which is accumulated. While the relationship between workers and capitalists or between labour and capital may appear to be no more than an economic relationship of equals meeting equals in the labour market, Marx shows how it is an exploitative social relationship. Not only is it exploitative, it is contradictory, with the interests of the two partners in the relationship being directly opposed to each other. Although at the same time, the two opposed interests are also partners in the sense that both capital and labour are required in production and an exploitative relationship means an exploiter and someone being exploited.

This relationship is further contradictory in that it is not just two sets of interests, but there is no resolution of the capital-labour contradiction within the organization of capitalism as a system. The contradictory relationship has class conflict built into it, and leads to periodic bursts of strikes, crises, political struggles, and ultimately to the overthrow of bourgeois rule by the proletariat. Class conflict of this sort results in historical change and is the motive force in the history of capitalism. In Marx's view, the dialectical nature of history is expressed in class struggle.

With the development of capitalism, the class struggle takes an acute form. Two basic classes, around which other less important classes are grouped, oppose each other in the capitalist system: the owners of the means of production, or bourgeoisie, and the workers, or proletariat. When people have become aware of their loss, of their alienation, as a universal nonhuman

situation, it will be possible for them to proceed to a radical transformation of their situation by a revolution. This revolution will be the prelude to the establishment of communism. It is important to recognize that Marx viewed the structure of society in relation to its major classes, and the struggle between them as the engine of change in this structure.

The key to understanding Marx is his class definition. A class is defined by the ownership of property. Such ownership vests a person with the power to exclude others from the property and to use it for personal purposes. In relation to property there are three great classes of society: the bourgeoisie- who own the means of production such as machinery and factory buildings, and whose source of income is profit, landowners- whose income is rent and the proletariat- who own their labor and sell it for a wage. Class thus is determined by property, not by income or status. These are determined by distribution and consumption, which itself ultimately reflects the production and power relations of classes. The social conditions of bourgeoisie production are defined by bourgeois property. Class is therefore a theoretical and formal relationship among individuals. The force transforming latent class membership into a struggle of classes is class interest. Out of similar class situations, individuals come to act similarly. They develop a mutual dependence, a community, a shared interest interrelated with a common income of profit or of wages. From this common interest classes are formed, and for Marx, individuals form classes to the extent that their interests engage them in a struggle with the opposite class.

At first, the interests associated with land ownership and rent are different from those of the bourgeoisie. But as society matures, capital and land ownership merge, as do the interests of landowners and bourgeoisie. Finally the relation of production, the natural opposition between proletariat and bourgeoisie, determines all other activities.

As Marx saw the development of class conflict, the struggle between classes was initially confined to individual factories. Eventually, given the maturing of capitalism, the growing disparity between life conditions of bourgeoisie and proletariat, and the increasing homogenization within each class, individual struggles become generalized to coalitions across factories. Increasingly class conflict is manifested at the societal level. Class consciousness is increased, common interests and policies are organized, and the use of and struggle for political power occurs. Classes become political forces.

The distribution of political power is determined by power over production. Capital confers political power, which the bourgeois class uses to legitimize and protect their property and consequent social relations. Class relations are political, and in the mature capitalist society, the state's business is that of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the intellectual basis of state rule, the ideas justifying the use of state power and its distribution, are those of the ruling class. The intellectual social culture is merely a superstructure resting on the relation of production, on ownership of the means of production.

Finally, the division between classes will widen and the condition of the exploited worker will deteriorate so badly that social structure collapses: the class struggle is transformed into a proletarian revolution. The workers' triumph will eliminate the basis of class division in property

Through public ownership of the means of production. With the basis of classes thus wiped away, a classless society will ensue and since political power to protect the bourgeoisie against the workers is unnecessary, political authority and the state will wither away.

Contributions to Elite Theory.

The study of elite theories cannot begin without a reference to the theory of Karl Marx to refute which was, indeed, the central purpose shared by all the exponents of the classical elite thesis. Besides, a search for understanding the pattern of the distribution of political power cannot be made without taking due note of the Marxist theory since it represents one of the earliest attempts to throw light on how political power is distributed in a society. One of the major premises in the Marxist thesis is that in every society, save for the most primitive, political power is unevenly distributed. In such a society there is a ruling class, which monopolises the possession and exercise of political power over the subject class or classes. This concentration of the political power at the hands of the ruling class is to be explained by the pattern of the ownership of means of production. The ruling class is politically dominant just because it owns the major instruments of economic production. The ruling class thus is not only a political ruling class, but an economic ruling class as well. And it is by virtue of its economic power that the ruling class is able to consolidate its position by establishing its hold over military force and over the production of ideas. Marx thus views the political leader as invariably a representative of the dominant class and considers socio-economic factors as the major determinant of the distribution of political power.

Marx, however, does not take this uneven distribution of power as final and unchangeable. Such an order, he argues, is marked by perpetual conflict between the ruling class which owns the means of production and hence rules the society and the subject class or classes whose untold sufferings impel them to organise in antagonism to the ruling class. The nature and course of such conflict is primarily conditioned by the development of productive forces. Thus in modern capitalist societies where the divergence of economic interests is the sharpest, where the excessive concentration of wealth at the hands of the ruling class meaning abysmal poverty for the working class sharpens the polarization of classes, this class conflict becomes intense leading, eventually, to the overthrow of the ruling class and the victory of the working classes- a victory to be ultimately followed by the emergence of classless society. Thus Marx not only analysed the allocative pattern of political power in terms of socio-economic factors, but also envisaged the inevitability of radical change in this distribution of power.

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MODULE – III

STATE, INFLUENCE, POWER AND AUTHORITY.

STATE

The state is the pivot of political theory and politics, as the latter is derived from the Greek word 'polis', which means 'city-state' or organized community. Its correct meaning, however, is city community rather than city state. The word 'State' is derived from the Latin word 'status', which means a situation or state of being. Machiavelli is the earliest to use the term state as an impersonal entity but does not define it. In political theory, the concept of state is used to convey a historical or philosophical idea, an eternal form of political community, which is a specifically modern phenomenon. A basic divide exists between those who comply with right based theory of politics as espoused by Aristotle, Locke and Hegel that use the concepts like rights, obligation, law and justice to describe and explain the political system from those who subscribe to the power theory as delineated by Machiavelli and Weber. Both accept the distinction between state and society and consider law as fundamental to the state but not so in the case of society. However, beyond the differences in the descriptions about the nature and role of the state, it is possible to define the state with reference to its basic components. A state is defined as a political entity that possesses people, territory, government and sovereignty.

Political Sociology looks on society as essentially characterized by the continuous emergence of conflicts and their settlement. Why do conflicts continuously emerges in a society?. They do because diversities and disagreements are the permanent condition of man's social life. These diversities and disagreements are the result of scarcity of resources. In every society resources are invariably scarce. This leads to uneven distribution and consequently conflicts. Besides scarcity of resources, there are some other reasons also which increase the intensity of this uneven distribution-

1. Modern society which works on specialization of functions. One engaged in a specialized function has more access to resources than one engaged in a less specialized function. Eg: Doctor and Nurse.
2. Differences in biological and social endowments at birth tend to create different opportunities for having control over resources. Eg: Male and Female, rich and poor etc.
3. Sometimes just a claver factor may serve as a cause for the possibility of having a greater share of resources. Eg: Winning a lottery.

Therefore, we can see that for these and many other reasons resources are never equally distributed in a society. In political sociology resources are understood as a means by which a person can influence the behavior of other person. Thus to understand the net impact of the uneven distribution of resources in a society one has to study the nature and operation of influence.

INFLUENCE

The exercise of influence consist in affecting the policies of others than the self. To have influence is to occupy a high position with respect to all the values, important in the society.

Influence is affected when its possession affects inter-personal relations of those active in the shaping and enjoyment of the values. In other words Influence is a persons capacity to affect others behaviour in away willed by the former. Influence, thus understood, would reveal two of its important characteristics.

Influence involves on inter-relation between individuals, group, associations, organizations or state etc. An actor said to have influence not over his own self, but over others. A's influence makes sense only in relation to B,C and D. In solving political conflicts, influence play a big role. It is an action which is invisibly exercised and is more moral than legal in nature. There is no Society or political system which functions without influences. These influences are exerted both at the national as well as international level and both at individual and institutional level. It is just possible that the charisma of a leader may be responsible for influencing the people in taking a decision in a particular manner or that the leader himself may use the legal and extra constitutional authorities which make him so influential and powerful that none dare to challenge that. Influence can also be at collective level. The group as a whole can be influential and play the role which a powerful leader plays in some societies. pressure groups, trade unions, religious leaders, influential social reformers all have their on political life in their own way.

Types of Influence

It is necessary to distinguish an actors actual influence from his potential influence. The potential influence may be determined by taking into account the amount of resources at the disposal of an actor. Actual influence is the capacity to the utilization of potential influence or actual influence is the skill to the utilization of potential influence.

Since resources are unevenly distributed, influence in a society naturally varies from person to person. Some persons are more influential than others and many are without any influence at all. Without such a situation influence would not make any sense at all. Uneven distribution of resources is further intensified by other factors. One among these factors is the variation in skills. But mere possession of resources does not automatically ensure the necessary skill, which depends on once up-bringing, training, opportunities and incentives which are conditioned by the type of family and the social atmosphere he lives. Again influence is differ because of difference in motivation to use resources. Two actors possessing equal amount of resources may not like to use these resources to the same extent because they may have different attitude with regard to the possible gains to be had from the use of such resources.

Method to Measure Influence

To measure influence one has to take note of its weight, its domain, and its scope.

The weight of influence is the degree to which policies are affected.

The domain of influence means the number of persons whose policies are affected.

The scope of influence means the values implicated in policies.

In order to determine the influence of an actor one has take note of the amount of change in the position of the actor influence. But a mere objective assessment of the amount of change is not always true indicator of the weight of influence. The domain of influence, refers to the number of persons influencing. To assess influence, it is useful to know how many actually respond to the

influence. But too much emphasis on the domain of influence alone may some times give us a deceptive picture. A may have influence over 10000 persons while B may exert influence over a 1000 persons only. But B's influence may cover a range of issues which wider than A. Hence side by side with analyzing the domain, one has to take a careful scrutiny of the scope of influence, that is issues involved, if the areas covering the issue is wide the influence naturally will be high. Thus a village school master's scope of influence covering mainly the school matters is much narrower than that of the President of the Village Panchayath, who's influence extends to various social and political matters of the village and hence the later is more influential than the former.

There are instances of influence where the probability of compliance on the part of the influenced is very high, requiring little effort on the part of the actor influencing to establish his influence. This kind of influence, like that of an affectionate father over his children in the family, may be called Spontaneous Influence. Here little influence is needed to influence. Again there may be situations where the probability of compliance being extremely low it requires a considerable effort on the part of the actor influencing to establish his influence. This efforts invariable involves an actual use or threat of the use of sanctions. Such kind of influence is called coercive influence and power is the name of this coercive influence.

POWER

Power is a special kind of influence. It is the use or threat of the use of sanctions that differentiates power from influence in general. The sanctions involved in power need not always have to be an actual or threaten deprivation, inflicting penalties and losses on others, they may also be applied in the form of giving or promising to give rewards like wealth or honor. The former is an instances of negative sanctions while the later is a case of the use of positive sanctions.

Power is thus the capacity to affect others behaviour by the use or threat of the use of positive sanctions. Positive sanctions is in the form of a promise of reward and honor may in some cases may transformed into negative sanctions.

Since power is the capacity to affect others behaviour it is basically relational and not a simple personal property. One can have power only over others. Power is relational is also implies that it is behavioural. If power consist in an inter- relation between two actors certainly that inter relation can only be understood in terms of one actors manifest behaviour as affecting the manifest behaviour of others. It is because power is thus behavioural that it is liable to measurement and comparative assessment.

Power in addition to being relational and behavioural, is also situational that is to say, two know power one has necessarily to relate it to a specific situation or a specific role and an actors power in one particular situation or role may vary from that of others. The speaker of Lok Sabha, who has power over the members of Lok Sabha in the context of parliamentary sessions and does not have power at all over other aspects of their social and political life.

In his 'Modern Political Analysis', Robert A Dahl discusses three different ways of detecting power relations in a particular situation-

1. One may try to measure power by necessarily relating it to an office. Here the assumption is that power operate only within the framework of a formal office. He who holds no office will be treated as having no power. Those occupying the major offices will be regarded as a powerful and he who holds highest office will be regarded as the most powerful.
2. The second technique is to record the observations and impressions of those who have had the opportunity of keeping in close touch with the formal office holders and hence of fully watching the whole process of the operation of power in and around a formal office taking due note of the role of outside forces in the exercise of power buy a formal office holder.
3. The third method is to avoid all consideration about the exercise of power in and around a formal office and to concentrate on the actual decision making process.

Then how shall we define power?

According to Robert A Dahl, “ A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do”. It means that A does not have power over B, when B does X which he normally does. A has power over B only when B does not do X, which he normally does but instead of does Y.

Meaning of power

There is no agreement among the scholars regarding the meaning of the term power. According to Herbert Goldhamer and Edward Shill, “Power is ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one’s own ends.”

Hans J Morgenthau defines politics as a struggle for power, as a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is exercised. It gives the formal control of certain actions of the latter. To quote him, “ By power we mean the power of man over the minds and actions of other men.”

According to Samuel Beer, “ One person exercises power over another when he intentionally act in such a manner as to affect in a predictable way actions of others.”

MG Smith says that, Power is the ability to act effectively over people and things using means ranging from persuasion to coercion.”

In the words of George Schwarzenburger, “ Power is a capacity to impose one’s will over another by reliance on effective sanctions in case of non-compliance.”

David Easton defines power as the “ relationship in which one person or a group is able to determine the actions of another in direction of the former’s own ends.”

Power is invariably used to produce certain desired effects. Bertrand Russell refers to power as “the production of intended effects”.

Characteristics of Power

There are certain characteristics of power. Power is the capacity to influence the behaviour of others. An individual wields power to the extent he is capable of changing others behaviour according to his wish. Power is the capacity of an individual to get things done from others according to his desires.

Power is situational. It depends on situation, circumstances and position. An officer may use his power on his subordinates, but they may not accept his power when he retires. Hence, power depends upon the situation circumstances and position.

Power depends on its use. The President of India has powers but he does not use them as he is merely a constitutional head. The President of United States has vast powers and he actually use them.

Power must be backed by sanctions. If the capacity of a person to get work done from others is devoid of coercion, that capacity or ability cannot be called as power.

In the opinion of Lasswell and Kaplan, power is always relational. It is not the property of one single individual. At least two actors required, one who exercises the power and the other upon whom the power is exercised.

Another characteristics of power is that it is not absolute but relative only. If an individual has power, it is essential that there should be someone who is prepared to accept its use as well. Power depends upon time. Power-relation changes with the changing circumstances.

Power has two aspects, actual and potential. There is the actual power of a person and a community and also the potential power of a person and a community. By actual power we mean that power which a person or community actually uses. Potential power is that power which a person or community can exercise although the same may not be actually exercised.

Sources of Power

There are many sources of power. The major source of power is knowledge which helps us to move from darkness to light. It helps us in investigating, learning, thinking and development of mind and soul. The capacity for leadership comes through knowledge. Hence knowledge is an important source of power.

Another source of power is organization. It is great power in itself. When people work together, there power and strength increases. Likewise, when a person enjoys the support of the leader of an organization, his power increases. Political parties are organized to capture power and exercise the same.

Another source of power is the status of individual. Economic status helps a person to attain power. A rich man can put pressure even on the highest officials and ministers and get things done in his own way. The status of a person in the religious field is also a source of power as the followers of that religion support him.

Another source of power is the skill of an individual. A tactful person can get more powers than others.

Another source of power is faith or belief. Power cannot be based on repression or brute force. It is necessary to win over the faith of the people also. A government enjoying public faith is more powerful than others.

Another source of power is mass media like newspapers, radio and television. The owners and editors of the news paper can easily influence others and are admittedly powerful.

Another source of power is the personality of an individual. The personality may due to of his wisdom, courage, oratory, organizational ability and capacity to take quick and proper decisions. A leader who possesses a charismatic personality is more powerful than others.

Another source of power is authority. Authority means legitimate power. When a person occupies a political or legal post legitimately, his power increases automatically. Authority not only adds to power but also makes it effective. When a person becomes a minister and gets the authority of a minister, he becomes more powerful than others.

Methods of Exercising Power

Power may be exercised in different ways. Persuasion is the most effective and widely used method of exercising power. Most of the work of international organizations consists of the efforts of the various delegates to persuade one another. Another method of exercising power is by offering rewards. Rewards may be Psychological, material, economic or political. Punishment is another method of exercising power. Rewards and punishments are closely related. Another method of exercising power is the use of force. Punishment is threatened as a preventive measure but when it is actually carried out, it becomes the use of force.

Political Sociology studies political power in the background of the understanding of power in general. The peculiarity of power of the state is that it has the strongest power. It reserves for itself the right to apply the severest sanctions like imprisonment, capital punishments etc. To understand the character and operation of political power, political sociology places it in the perspective of social variables. Ie; it insists that political power is necessarily conditioned. By the social processes that political power will differ according to the variations in nature and working of social process. Thus the same set of political institutions produce different results in different social environments.

AUTHORITY

In every system Political power ensures smooth and continues working of the society without any difficulty. But how this political power derived this stability?. Power in the political sphere tends to be stable, permanent and effective not only because it is based on sanctions but also because it is strengthened by legitimacy. Authority regulates behaviour mainly by speech and words, not force. Authority is inevitable in any society. Men are “rule following animals.” They talk and regulate their own behaviour and that of others by means of speech and framing rules. The term authority is essential to indicate the people who are considered to have the right to make pronouncements or announce decisions. Authority has a double implication. It implies not only that someone with the capacity to reasoned elaboration has the right to issue regulations and make final pronouncements. It also implies that someone has the right to receive obedience. So when political power is clothed in legitimacy it is called authority. Therefore authority is a special kind of power; power when legitimized gives rise to authority. On the other words, “ Authority is the faculty of inducing to assent to follow authority is a voluntary act. Authority ends were voluntary assents ends. When legitimacy is added to power it becomes a right to use power and authority emerges. It is authority which runs society and brings stability in it. Every power is not authority, it is legitimate power which can be called authority.

Meaning of Authority

According to MacIver, "Authority is often defined as being power, the power to command obedience."

Robert A Dahl writes, "A commands B and B feels A has perfect right to do so and which he has a complete obligation to obey. Power of this kind is often said to be legitimate. But when B feels A has absolutely no right to ask him to obey, which he has no obligation to obey, and which perhaps he actually has no obligation to resist. Power of this kind is often said to be illegitimate. Legitimate power is often called as authority. An important element of authority is legitimacy."

Characteristics of Authority

There are certain characteristics of the concept of authority. The most important is legitimacy. It is legitimacy which determines the effectiveness of authority. Legitimacy is very essential for authority. Another important characteristics of authority is dominance. Authority is the capacity of the individual to command others. An individual or group which posses authority, exercises dominance over others. Yet another important characteristics of authority is responsibility and accountability. The individual or group which possess authority is also answerable to some higher authority. In a democracy, responsibility or accountability is an important characteristic of authority.

Types of Authority

Max Webber has pointed out to three sources of the validity of authority- rational, traditional, and charismatic. According to these three sources of authority, one finds three types of authority-Rational-legal, Traditional and Charismatic. The description of these in brief is as follows:

1. Rational-legal Authority.

It is a type of authority which is linked with the position and status of a person. In this the person is obeyed because he has got some legal authority to get his command obeyed. In this type of authority the charisma of a person or tradition do not play very significant role. Defining this form of authority, Max Webber has written, " It extends to the person exercising the authority of office under it only by virtue of the formal legality of their commands and only within the scope authority of office." For example authority of a Prime minister in a state is not by his personal power but due to his political post. The constitution of a state lays down the rights and duties of every post in the government. an official may use his authority only within limits of these prescribed rights. Thus a government notification is impersonal. It is based upon the law of the state. This form of authority is considered to be the best. In modern societies, the the authority must be rational and legal in order to be accepted by the people. It is known as constitutional authority. Rge rules of constitution alone may criticize the propriety of the action of an official. Most of the modern democratic countries have this type of authority. Among these also, in comparison to the developing countries, the developed countries have more rational-legal authority. In India, at present, the political authority is rational-legal, though during the prime ministership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her father Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru the authority was more charismatic.

2. Traditional Authority.

In this form of authority, as is evident by the nomenclature, the basis of authority is the traditional norm. For example, the political post in the government in the tribe is sanctioned by the traditions. The government is obeyed due to the respect of the traditions. According to Max Webber, “ Here the obligation of obedience is not based on impersonal order, but is a matter of personal loyalty within the area of accustomed obligations.” Clearly, the political authority of this type is found in very undeveloped groups. An example of this may also be found in the rule by kings in some states. In ancient times, however, this type of authority was the most prevalent though today it is hardly seen in any civilized country.

3. Charismatic Authority.

As has been already pointed out, tough constitution leads in every developed country today, some political leaders inspire the followers not by their constitutional status but due to their personal qualities. This is charismatic authority. It is based upon the personal qualities of the leader. In the words of Max Webber, “ It is the charismatically qualified leader as such who is obeyed by virtue of personal trust in him and his revelation, his heroism or his exemplary qualities so far as they fall within the scope of individual’s belief in his charisma.” For example, the disciplined following of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Indira Gandhi like the following of state laws, was not due to their personal qualities and characteristics. It is due to this reason that one finds a difference in the political influence of so many leaders occupying the same post. For example, one may note the difference in the political influence of the presidents of Indian Union Dr. Rajendra Prasad and VV Giri. On the other hand some presidents have chosen to act like a rubber stamp of the Prime minister as may be seen in the case of the Indian president Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed. The status is the same, its rights and duties are identical but its use changes in the personal charisma of the leader. Thus the charismatic authority is very much personal.

According to Max Webber the above mentioned three types of authority are ideal type and in practice one generally finds a mixtures of these types. Therefore as Webber pointed out, “ In case of legal authority, it is never purely legal. The belief in legality comes to be established and habitual, and this means it is purely traditional, violation of the traditional may even be fatal to it. Furthermore, it has a charismatic element, at least in the negative sense that persistence and striking lack of success may be sufficient to ruin any government, to undermine its prestige, and to prepare the way for charismatic revolution.”

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FACTS –VALUE DICHOTOMY

Every Social Scientist studying a particular social phenomenon can study either what is happening or take up the question as to what should be there?. In case he takes up the former he studies facts and in case the latter, he concerns himself with value. Various social scientists take up either of these two or even simultaneously both these questions in their study of the social phenomena. This has been true of political scientist also. However after the coming of Behaviouralism- whose advocates emphasized the study of facts and only facts to the exclusion of values in Political Studies. There emerged a sharp controversy ,when several traditionalists

advocated the view that values were crucial and inevitable in all political studies. This controversy came to be known as Fact v/s value, Empiricism v/s Normatism, or the Great debate in Political Science. The issue became so hot that many Scholars like Kauffman observed “No methodological Controversies in Social Science have been more embittered (make more hostile) than one relating to the facts and values”.

On the one hand the legal-historical and normativists emphasize that Politics is and should continue to be a study of values. On the other hand the empirical analysts or the Scientific Behaviouralists emphasize that Politics must be a study of facts. Robert A Dahl calls the latter as Empiricists and the former as the Trans-empiricists. The empiricist wants to build an empirical Scientific theory of Politics. The trans-empiricist advocates that the study of politics neither is nor can be nor even should be purely empirical and scientific, it has to be normative. The empirical approach is wedded to scientific method while the normative approach is wedded to philosophical methods as norms and values can only be determined philosophically and not through scientific study. These two are diametrically opposite orientations to study Political Science has resulted in the birth of fact-value dichotomy. To analyse the issues and judge the way it stands today let us examine the two views individually as well as the arguments of the one against the other.

A. The view of Empiricists:

Scholars belonging to this school of thought are also known as positivists, behaviouralists, factualists. They want to eliminate all values that are personal preferences from the study of political science. The value-neutral political scientists want to study political events, activities, groups, and organization in the way scientists study natural facts. They want to give social phenomena a specific, continuous and discrete shape. While doing so, they keep their personal value consideration from the investigation. If human or social facts are treated in this objective manner, they hope, in due course of time, to develop a value-free human science. According to logical positivists, there can be no last or ultimate values, as they cannot prove any values as the highest or ultimate. Scientific method requires that values should be kept apart, failing which no social science, including political science, can attain the status of ‘science’. A social scientist has to remain value-free and value-neutral. Objectivity is the basis of scientificity. The empiricist view holds that in order to make politics a science it is essential to study only facts. Only a factual view; empirical study can be scientific and correct. To understand their view, let us know the meaning. Goode & Hatt, define fact as, “Empirically verifiable observations”

John Madge writes, “The criterion of facts is confirmability”

P V Young observes, “Facts must be seen as a physical or mental phenomena which can be affirmed with certainty and accepted as true in a given world of discourse”

Vernon Von Dyke says, “Facts are true and real”

What people really do or believe or desire. Factual statements are descriptive and deal with what is and not with what ought to be.

Facts are such empirically verifiable observations which can be empirically tested, which are variable, whose accuracy can be tested. Factual or empirical statements embody scientific

observations ie; the observations whose accuracy can be verified. Study of Politics must be empirical because only they can we build a scientific theory of politics.

The Empiricists argue that it is possible to isolate and test the empirical facts of politics without the necessity of going into value laden question whether the empirical propositions are true or false. What is needed is to have correct decisions ie; decisions which are empirically true and whose validity stand established by scientific study. The validity of popular government can be established correctly only through an empirical study of facts, systematically collected and analysed. It can't be done realistically on the basis of values because values are subjective preferences whose validity can't be scientifically established and which can't be scientifically verified. Values colour the research and produce biased conclusions and hence leads to an unscientific theory. Max Weber puts forward the view that for a researcher all values are to be equal.

All empiricists reject the view of the normativists as unobjective (subjective), unscientific, parochial and biased. Only value free empirical study of the "facts of politics" can lead to scientific theory building. The main supporters of empirical view of politics are Max Weber, Simmer Rickert, Arthur F Bentley, Herbert Simon and other behavioralists.

B. The views Normativists or Trans-empiricists :-

The Normativists on the other hand hold that being a social Science, Politics is and should always be a study of values. . They always talked of ubiquitous role of values and value preferences. They had them from religion, nation, philosophical meditation, axiomatic postulates, introspection, history, law and morality. The relationship of values with the individuals was based on faith, belief, confidence, intuition, superstition or ignorance. Further, facts and values are so intimately related that these can't be separated. Hence the study of only facts is not possible. It is not even desirable because Politics being a social Science has to serve a social purposes. Value judgments and value questions are basic to all studies of Politics and infact all the Political scientists are continuously engaged in making value judgments at all the time

The main supporters of Normatism are Leo Strauss ,Walter Berns ,Storing, Gunnar Myrdal etc.. Myrdal says "A disinterested Political Science is pure nonsense "

To be fully clear about the views of Normativists, it is essential for us to know the meaning of values –

1. David Easton conceptualize values as preferences which form an integral part of the human mind and personality
2. Wasby holds that values denote What should be done or what should not be done
3. Goode and Hale says that Values define what is right, good, proper, desirable and worth doing
4. Vernon Von Dyke observes , "Value statements express conception of desirable. They indicates value preferences. They concern not what is but what ought to be endorsing ends, purposes or norms.

In other words value denotes preferences or ends or norms, which ought to be secured in society. These are objectives which guide and bind all social relations and phenomena

Hence the study of politics, a social phenomenon can't be made without the study of values. Politics has a role to play to help the society to achieve its desired values, it itself create authoritative values .Like other social sciences, in Politics also observations of facts depends upon values. Criteria of Relevance can't be established and used with out values. A value free Science of Politics is, as such, impossible. A comprehensive theory of Politics must inevitably contain evaluations not mere of the empirical validity of factual statements in the theory but also of the moral quality of the political events, processes, or systems as described in that theory. Politics can not ignore or neglect value judgments. A purely empirical Science of Politics can be imagined but can't be developed.

C. Arguments of the Normativists / Trans-empiricists :-

- 1.Values and facts are so intimately related that these can't be separated. Hence to conceive a purely empirical study of Politics is impossible.
2. The study of Politics:- A Social Science has to be purposeful. It must enable the society to take proper and right decisions. Hence Politics must involve a study of values.
3. The Empiricists is focusing upon facts , have no criteria of relevance, Since no criterion of relevance can be based only upon empirical knowledge.
4. The Empiricists in striving for neutrality and objectivity have gone in for a new complicated and ridiculous Jargon. (special words or expressions used by a profession or group that are difficult for others to understand.)
5. Even while professing neutrality, the Empiricists themselves prescribe a value empirical study of facts (and only facts)
6. The empiricists are biased in favour of liberal democracy in so far as collection of data can be possible only in liberal democratic systems. The Totalitarian and Authoritarian rulers always censor facts before these are made known to the people
7. Empiricists are wrong in saying that values can't be scientifically studied. They take a narrow view of Science.
8. In the name of precision (accuracy)and comprehensiveness (the ability to understand something) the Empiricists remain pre occupied with initial investigations and methods. They ignore the subsistence of their own efforts, ie; theory building.
- 9 As all social scientists kept away from value in politics, they started living in ivory towers and become arm chair philosophers. Their output, being value- neutral, had no use for practical politics. They could now live and survive in any kind of regime, democracy or dictatorship

On all these grounds the Normativists or Trans-Empiricists strongly criticize and reject the Empiricists advocacy of Politics as a value free study of only facts.

D. Reply of the Empiricists :-

The Empiricists on the other hand take strong exception to the views of Normativists and hold them guilty of their own biases and prejudices. The normativists, they hold, reject their view of empirical Political Science without understanding its correct meaning, nature and objectives. They wrongly interpret Weberian view of equality of all values and ignorantly level the charge of creating a 'Ridiculous Jargon' . The Empiricists advocate that precision (accuracy) in defining concepts is essential for Scientific Research. As such the new terms and concepts devised by them

do not constitute a Jargon. These form the scientific vocabulary of modern Political Science. The formulation constitutes a hold and essential attempt to make Political Science scientific. Because of non understanding of these terms and their purpose the Normativists call these jargon

Likewise the empiricists strongly refuse the charges leveled by Leo Strauss and the followers and hold that guilty of misunderstanding Weber. Weber, as Brecht holds, did not treat values as equal but merely that their validity was equally understandable and this also he wrote with reference to the ultimate values, not all values. Weber also didn't believe that Science could not contribute every thing to the value problem. He never wanted to deny the scientific methods for determining issues of value judgments.

Empiricists fully realized that values can't be totally separated from all discussions .What we needed is that a researcher must be able to distinguish between facts and values and keep the latter away from his objective of research . Only those values can be taken into consideration whose truth and validity can be scientifically demonstrated.

Further the Empiricists reject the charge that they have no criteria of relevance and that they are biased. They advocates that while collection of facts must be empirical, the making of generalization can be taken up on the basis of Scientific values is correct that data based empirical research is possible only largely in liberal democratic societies, because only such systems are capable of maintaining the freedom of enquiry necessary in empirical theory. However, here too the empiricists advocate, a researcher has to maintain value neutrality. In case he gives a bias to his empirical findings, his 'research' should merit no attention and place in Political Science.

The empiricists also reject the charge of getting into trivial investigations (little value importance). Because of their commitment to the comprehensiveness, realism and precisions the empiricists have to analyses all factors and forces which affect the process of politics.

On all these grounds the empiricists not only reject the charges levelled by the Normativists but also defend their own view. They further reject the charges of remaining engaged in trivial investigations. They justify their concern for the 'details and roots' of bringing on comprehensiveness in their research and realism in their theory.

Thus there appears to be a wide spread disagreements between the normativists and the empiricists, as Kauffinman holds, on three crucial questions

1. Can the study of Political Science be possible with out any consideration of values?
2. Is it desirable to make the study of politics value -free ?
3. How far a value free study of Politics be useful ?

The Normativists answer these questions in the negative and hold that neither politics can be only a study of fact and value free, nor it is desirable to make it so because a disinterested Political Science is bound to be a nonsense and of no use to society. The empiricists, however answer all these three questions in the affirmative and holds that politics can be and it should be a study of facts and value-free, only an empirical Political Science can be Scientific ,correct and really dependable.

But, Arnold Brecht, in his theory of 'Science-value relativism' strongly advocated the need and possibility of the scientific study of values. Science is not in a position to point out the supremacy of specific ultimate values or throw light on the source of those values. But it can

analyses their nature and scope. It can also be known empirically which values are mostly preferred by a particular set of people. Non-observability or unverifiability of ultimate values does not mean that all attempts to analyses are futile, or all values are equal. Scientific analysis of values opens many vistas:

- (i) we can know the exact and precise nature of our value judgments;
- (ii) we can analyses the consequences of those values and prepare a value scale;
- (iii) by separating facts and values, we can understand the related problems and their reactions and implications

E. The points of Agreements between the Empiricists & Normativists:-

The above account of the views of Empiricists and normative tends to give to the impression that both are totally opposed to each other. However, when we examine their views in detail we find that there, as Robert A Dahl puts it several points of agreements between them which provide a sound basis for reconciliation and integration. Neither of two really deny that values can be totally kept away from studies of Politics. Both agree that.....

1. Values, interest and curiosity of the investigator influences his choice of topics- in social science as much as in natural sciences
2. Criteria of importance and relevance can't be entirely established on empirical facts alone. One requires value of some kind to decide with areas of research he regards as more important than others
3. The value of truth in any case has to be necessarily accepted before any objective analysis of Politics is undertaken.
4. Certain assumptions regarding the existence of things the "Pre- Scientific knowledge" not requiring any proof have to be accepted before empirical research is undertaken
5. The biases of the investigator can't be so easily kept out of Social Science research as in natural science

These points of agreements between the Normativists and Empiricists can provide a basis for resolving the controversy. Infact, in the contemporary era of Post-Behaviouralism, it stands reconciled. The Normatives now accept the need of empirical research and the Empiricists no longer believes that for developing neutral and empirical explanation of Politics and they are not indifferent to values. Most of the empiricists now agree with the views, as held by Arnold Brecht in his theory of 'Science-value relativism', that values are beyond science but that some kind of empirical knowledge which alone is amenable to scientific method is a necessary condition for wise moral value. No one now desires or can deny the importance and role of values in Politics. No research can be completely value free. While collecting and analyzing the facts of politics he must keep his as well as his universe's value aside , at least, as far as possible. Further the criteria of relevance can't be based entirely upon empirical facts. Hence in arriving at his generalizations the researcher has to take into account certain pre-set standards / values.

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ELITE THEORY

The core of the elitist thesis is that in any society, there is, and must be, a minority of population which makes the major decisions in the society and rules over the majority. This minority is 'political class' or the 'governing elite', includes the wider circle of those who influences the governmental decisions as well as those who formally decide policies. The minority gain its dominant position means beyond ordinary elections. Its influence may be due to its embodying certain social or religious values, heredity or certain personal qualities. Elite theory is based on the idea that in no walk of life all are not equal. So this theory of 'elite rule' represents the repudiation of the sanctified norm of the "rule of the general will". Thus Maurice Duverger advises that the formula 'government of the people, by the people' must be replaced another formula; 'government of the people by an elite sprung from the people'. Obviously, elite theory stands on the classical doctrine of the natural inequality of mankind and there by leads to the tendency of irresponsibilism and self perpetuation of political absolutism in clear negation of the norm of general participation as conceived by the doctrine of a liberal democratic state.

Politically society is divided into political elite and non elite. The former enjoys both political respect and privileges, where as the latter do not. The elites are of different classes and categories. In addition there are also counter elites. Broadly speaking elites are those successful persons who come to life in any walk of life. All are not equal and enjoy equal right and respect. Those who are superior to others become elites in a walk of life in which they actively participate. If their chosen area is area is politics they are called political elites. In this category fall politicians at different levels. They come to the top in politics either because of their intelligence, qualities, family background, influence or hard labour etc. The elites of the society holding leading positions in the strategic hierarchy and consists of organized minority which dominate unorganized majority. They are usually form the upper classes and control all the sources of production and distribution. They enjoy position, prestige and authority.

Meaning

The term Elite has come from a Latin word 'Elegene' which means 'selection by choice'. But the meaning of Elegene in English mean is leadership. Though the term elite was first used in 17th century, yet it got currency only in the present century. Political philosophers have from time to time recommended rule by a special class to fit into the ideal political system they preferred to prescribe. Plato's ideal state was entrusted to a small group of philosophers, especially brought up and tutored, and they constituted the ruling elite, the 'Philosopher Kings'. Pareto says it 'Governing Elite', Mosca says it 'Ruling Class', while Robert a Dahl says it Ruling Elite Hypothesis. According to them some were born to rule and where as others were born top be ruled.

Definitions

Some definitions of Elite are given below:

According to Ortega Y Gasset, “ A nation is an organized human mass, given structure by a minority of select individual s ”

According to G Mosca, “Elite is an organized minority obeying a single impulse which holds domination over the unorganized majority”

According to C Wright Mills, “We may define the power elite in terms of the means of power as those who occupy the command posts”

According to Pareto, “Elite consists of those successful persons who rise to top in every occupation and stratum of society; there is an elite of lawyers, an elite of mechanics and even an elite of thieves”

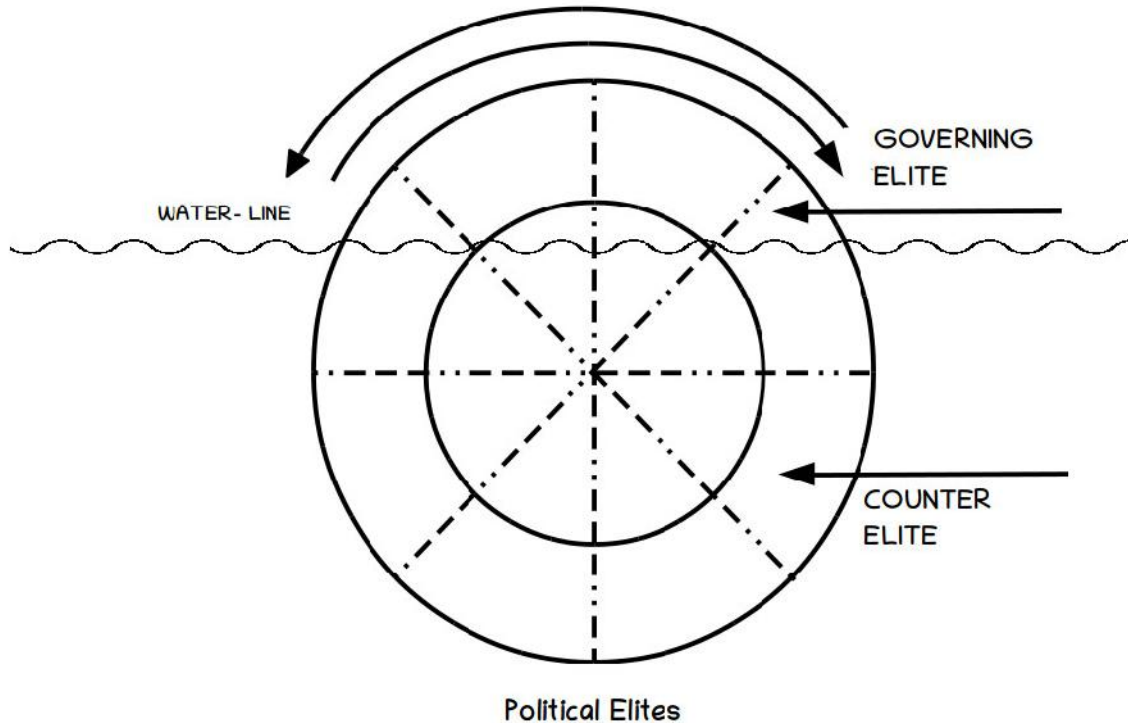
According to Michels elite consists of those “ few persons who are able to control the apathetic, indolent, and slavish people who are susceptible to flattering and obsequious (sevilier obedient) in the presence of strength”

According to Laswell, “Elites are the power holders of the body politic.” They are “ the holders of a high position in a given society”

Elites and Counter Elites

In every society or political system there is elite as well as counter elites. Ie; If there is an elite, there are counter elite as well. Interaction and interpenetration go on to make changes in the statusquo. So the elites are not permanent. They change from place to place, society to society and system to system. They also change with change in the values of the society and also with the change in the mood of the masses.

Elites grow and develop in every society and compete for power that creates data for a study of political culture. In such a situation sharing of power become unequal to substantiate the views of Lasswell that “most influential are called elites; others are mid-elites and rank and file.” Finer illustrates this position by the simile of orange having slices in floating water.



In this figure, water represents the political system. The orange which floats in the water represent the elite of the political system. The skin of the orange which is above the water level represents the governing elite, and the segments which it covers represents those associations in society which have succeeded in the competition to have their leadership participate or hold office in the government. All those segments under the water-line, however represents those associations which have lost this competition, and whose policies are temporarily being subordinated to those of the victorious one, and the portions of the peel that cover them represent, for society as a whole, the counter elites that seeks to displace the governing elite at any point of time.

Characteristics of Political Elites

The elite in every society are in minority but control all strategic points of power. They almost come from the upper classes of society and ensure that all decisions taken by them are implemented. The characteristics of elites are given below-

1. **Minority- High Class:** In every system of government, whether parliamentary or presidential, democratic or totalitarian, there are certain leaders who enjoy considerable respect, power, position and authority in political circles. They are usually minority in nature .
2. **Majority is Ineffective:** Mosca says that in reality, it is always the few who rule. The minority is cohesive and organised, and its domination over the unorganized majority is

therefore inevitable. The larger the political community, more difficult it is for the majority to organise itself for reaction against the minority.

3. Elected by the People: In democracy, Elites come into the power through election. They stand in the election and go to the people to cast the vote in their favour. After win the election they try to live in power for ever.
4. Interest of the Elite is different from the interest of the public: The elites believe in the theory of natural inequality and thus in a negation of the norms of general participation as conceived by the doctrine of liberal democratic state. On account of their superiority elite sit on the top of the society over others, some of whom are at bottom whereas others in the middle strata and influence every walk of life no matter whether they belong to the walk or not.
5. Special position: The elites come to position either by their ability, or by tradition, economic status, control of economic and natural resources or even by physical strength. Political elites are those who come to prominence in the political field, though by virtue of that they indirectly influence other walks of life as well.
6. Elite is Dynamic: Political elites are not permanent. An elite of today may not be so tomorrow. He may be disowned by the masses at any point of time. An elite is elite only as long as he is so accepted by his group and the people. Once he is disowned he losses his position as elite.

Kinds of Elites

The Elites are found in administration, religion and among the intellectuals. +In every field they are considered superior over the masses and thus unequal to them both in position and intelligence. They are considered as top men in society. They are elite in their respective field.

1. Political Elites: In every system of Government, whether parliamentary or presidential, democratic or totalitarian, there are certain leaders who enjoy considerable respect, power, position and authority in political circles. These people have considerable followers and their view point is listened with attention in the political circle to which they belong. Similarly their opponents give due weight to their view point as well. These people are usually in small minority but come to prominence due to the qualities of their head and heart or because of the peculiar and particular situation in which they have been placed. These people are called political elites of the society.
2. Administrative Elites: Though everyone associated with administration, in one way or other is required and supposed to implement the decision, but those in administration can broadly be divided into two categories; namely, those who are participant in decision making processes and those who are required to implement decisions. The former fall under the category of administrative elite. They participate in decision- making process by giving advice, providing consultation, supplying facts and suggesting plans. They maintain contacts with others and assess their viewpoints and so on.

3. Religious elites: In the religious institutions and organizations there is a definite and clear hierarchy. It is followed in every religion and religious institutions. The role of religion in every walk of life in every society is quite visible. In some societies it is less visible than the others. But religion and religious institutions have always been dear to man.
4. Economic elites: They dominate and control all economic activities of the state. They are top industrialists, traders and business magnates. They enjoy monopolies in several aspects and have vast resources of production and distribution at their control. These days their role has very much increased but success or failure of every political programme and policy is measured in terms of economic gains which it gives to the people. There has always been close cooperation and understanding between economic and political elites because interests of two are closely linked with each other.
5. Intellectual elites: These days their importance is very much increasing because they are real brain behind every political activity, planning and movement. They initiate suggestions and break new ideas for the considerations of the political elites. With the help of their writing they mould societies and create an atmosphere both in favour of and against the existing political systems, institutions and structures. In this category fall artists, scientists, authors and several others.
6. Traditional elites: In this category fall those elites who have all along been considered as elite of the society. They derive their elite character or their elitism is based on customs, religion, family, wealth etc. Examples, Brahmins, landlords, zamindars etc.
7. New elites: Traditional elites are being replaced by the new elites. They are modernities and possess liberal ideology. Some of them are western typed educated, while others are under the influence of Marxism and communist ideology. Mostly they are the product of national movements in their respective countries and are opposed to exploitation in every walk of life. In the political field they wish to push the old political guards in the background, as they feel that they cannot deliver the goods under the changed circumstances.

Leading Elitists Theorists

Let us briefly discuss the ideas of leading elite theorists in the light of the central theme of their contributions. Within the grand theory of political elite there are different varieties which can be classified, after Geraint Parry, in the following way:

1. The Psychological Approach represented by Vilfredo Pareto
2. The Organizational Approach represented by Gaetano Mosca and Roberto Michels.
3. The economic approach represented by James Burnham
4. The institutional Approach represented by C Wright Mills

1. Psychological Approach

VILFRED PARETO (1848-1923)

Vilfred Pareto, in his 'The mind and society' seek to explain the elite theory in terms of certain fundamental psychological factors. He argued that individuals invariably, differ from one

another in their basic abilities, thus making inequality inevitable in the society. According to him, men are not equal some are more intelligent, efficient and capable than others. So he has presented the concept of elite in an original way. Pareto gives a very general definition of the elite. The persons whom with highest qualities in all branches of life together known as elite. This elite may further be sub-divided into governing elites and non-governing elite. Governing elites means those people who directly or indirectly play an important role in the administration of government. Non governing elites are the elite whose activities are not significant to politics.

According to him, in every society there is an increasing movement of individuals and elites from higher to the lower level and from lower to higher levels resulting in a considerable increase of the degenerate element in the classes which still hold power and, on the other hand, in an increase of element of superior quality in the subject classes. Psychological changes in the characteristics of the elites occur from time to time that lead to the changes in composition and operation of different elites so much so that some elites are replaced by others that sometimes causes political instability. Pareto finds that elites makes both logical or rational and illogical or irrational actions for the attainment of their ends. On the closer analysis, attempt to present non logical actions as logical is to be composed of two elements, which are residues and derivations. Residues are the qualities of the elites, ie; the manifestation of sentiments on instinct and derivations are the rationalization or justification of these residues. Elites justifies the use of force with the help of myth and the use of it for the suppression of every activity which goes against their interest. These justifications are derivatives.

According to Pareto there are six types of residues. They are

1. Residue of combination- tendency to invent and embark on adventures;
2. Residue of persistence of preservation- (aggregation)- tendency to consolidate and make secure;
3. Residue of expressiveness (activity)- tendency to make feelings manifest through symbolization
4. Residue of sociability- tendency to affiliate others;
5. Residue of integrity- tendency to maintain a good self-image; and
6. Residue of sex- tendency to see social events in erotic terms.

Among these residues, first two classes of residues are relevant to the question of elite control. As a matter of fact, Pareto makes use of the first two residues and on that basis lays down his doctrine of 'innovation' and 'consolidation' what are the substitutes of his 'instinct for combination' and 'persistence of aggregate'. Pareto continues that men have a predominance of residue of combination are 'foxes' for they show the qualities like cunning and cleverness. They are, generally bold and adventurous and are ready to bear risks for maximum profit. Men who manifest the residue of persistence of aggregate are lions. They are on the other hand solid, conservative, tradition loving, loyal to family, church and nation and always preferring to rely on force rather than on cleverness. They are satisfied with the small returns from safe investments and willing to gamble. The elite is composed of either foxes or lions depending on the sort of residues that happen to prevail. History reveals constant alteration between an elite of foxes and an elite of lions.

Pareto on Circulation of elite

“History is a graveyard of aristocracies” asserted Pareto, and with this assertion he propounds his well-known theory of ‘circulation of elites’. According to him in every society there are two main groups. The one is concerned with the government and usually controls the means of production and is therefore rich. The other group is constituted by those who are poor and governed. This fact is expressed by saying that in every society we find upper and lower classes. The upper classes are elite and the lower the non-elite. However, the distinction of elite and non-elite is neither permanent nor fixed. There is up and down movement of members of elite and non-elite class. An elite may degenerate into non-elite and a non-elite may rise to the level of elite. This exchange between the classes is technically known as circulation of elite. According to him though the existing elites make every effort to check the entry of non-elite to their group. But quite often such efforts fail. He has pointed out that this upward and downward movement of elites takes place in two ways. One is the sense of replacement of one type of elite by the another. Other is the sense of being a process by which individuals circulate between the elite and non-elite. This process of replacement takes place either by gradual infiltration or by violent revolution. Pareto explains these in psychological terms. When the elite no longer possesses the residue necessary for keeping them in power and at the same time, the non-elite sufficiently manifest residues. Then the declining elite recruits new elements from the non-elite and thereby restores its validity. Such a process is never ending because the classes which hold power begin to degenerate after some time. This ultimately results in the disappearance of the old elite group and the appearance of new groups.

Stability of elite group, however, depends on several factors and as such there can be no fixed duration of elite group. It depends on how much honest the members of the groups are, what is their integrity, devotion to duty, work worship, method of their coming to power, their contacts with the masses and the extent to which their approach has mass appeal and acceptability.

2.The Organisational Approach

Organisational approach to the elite theory is put forward by Gaetano Mosca and Roberto Michels
(A) GAETANO MOSCA (1858-1941)

Pareto’s theory was further developed by Gaetano Mosca, another scholar from Italy. He presented his elitist theory in his work, ‘The Ruling Class’, a distinguished work in political science. Like Pareto, Mosca fervently believed that regardless of their outer form, all governments were essentially ruled by a minority, and this conviction led him to deride the traditional classification of governments into monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. According to him, “Among the constant facts and tendencies that are to be found in all political organisms, one is so obvious that it is apparent to the most casual eye. In all societies.... two classes of people appear—a class that rules and a class that is ruled.” The ruling class counts upon the ruled class. The political elites lead the masses by their free choice. According to Mosca the ruling class, ‘is a near category of top people’. The first class, always the less numerous performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that however brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class is directed and controlled by the first. This small group of power holders has been

called, by him as elite. They are the centers of power and others try to reach it. But the elite group does not allow the new comers to share their power, It does not hesitate to use violent or unfair means and methods.

What is special attention in Mosca's theory of two classes is that one class counts on the cop-operation of another. While the ruling class needs the support of the ruled class, the latter provides protection to the former. The people can only act politically under the direction of a small group of leaders. A minority, Mosca affirms, "has advantages simply because it is a minority". He, however, says that political elite themselves are divided into two higher and lower parts. While dealing with higher part of the ruling class Mosca says that it is not every thing. It is directed by the bosses which form elite group. These bosses in fact enjoy and exercise the power of picking up candidates for elections and decide the way in which campaigns should be launched so that their candidates succeed at the time of general elections. They also decide from which sub-group each candidate should be picked so that no sub-group within the elite group becomes very powerful and threatens any other sub group. The elite group controls all political life, after their candidates have been returned to parliament or legislative assemblies. Pareto makes us believe that the minority enjoys power because it is minority. It is capable of taking quick decisions and misunderstandings, if any, can be quickly removed. System of communication among them is both easy and quick and communication gaps almost non existent. If there are any gaps it is easy to remove these.

Political formula

The elite class successfully used their power by using what Mosca called 'political formula'. He says that in every society there are certain recognized beliefs and doctrines. According to this formula political elite make the masses believe that they are upholding these and for the purpose they try to give moral recognition to their actions on the one hand and the legal on the other. (The political formula means an attempt on the part of the political elite to provide a moral and legal basis to its power). Thus political formula is a strategy of rule which is necessary in addition to the physical force to the elite. So Mosca's 'political formula' is equivalent to the Pareto's 'derivations'.

Like Pareto, Mosca also believed in the theory of 'circulation of elites'. The elite possess certain attributes which set out to separate it from others in the society, the chief among these being 'the aptitude to command and to exercise political control'. It is primarily because some individuals possess this aptitude and others do not that the former acquire control over the latter and emerge as the ruling class. Once this aptitude begin to decline- which is inevitable- and people outside this group cultivate it in sufficient number- which, too cannot be prevented- the existing ruling class faces the sure prospect of displacement; and others endowed with this aptitude acquire power. Short-lived will also be the glory of these new masters, for they too would lose the 'aptitude' in course of time thus yielding place to newer ones. This cycle is interminable, thus giving sustenance to the theory of circulation of elite. A society is governed by a minority: though the actors change, the character of the government remains unaltered. According to Mosca, no governing elite can have eternal life, and many factors may account for

its replacement and overthrow. It may, as stated earlier, lose the aptitude to command and to exercise political control. Or, its services to the masses may not be considered to be valuable. Or, some change in the social forces may take place, making change in the governing crew inevitable. One may thus note that while Pareto was emphasizing the interplay of only psychological factors Mosca brings in sociological reasons also for a change in elite.

(B) ROBERT MICHAELS (1876-1936)

Robert Michaels was an Italian political scientist who made a deep study of the European socialist political parties and trade unions, especially of German Socialist Party and found them unmistakably oligarchic in their power dynamics. He has given his ideas about political elites in his work titled 'political parties'. According to him, 'Whosoever talk of organization, he talks of Oligarchy'. To him, in the present day society no activity can be succeed without organization. According to him it was another name of Oligarchy. It is thus that he propounded the famous 'Iron Law of Oligarchy'. It is called 'iron law' because no society and no party can escape from it. It is called 'oligarchic' because all organizations come to be controlled by a small minority. As the size of the organization increases with that inner circle of leadership is given more and more functions. As the time passes with the power and position of this inner leadership so much increases that their followers can not control their leaders. 'Power Breeds Power' and it is the bases of elite system. Michael's opinion is that the very structure of modern organized society give birth to elite rule. No organization can work without giving benefits to a few who are its leaders. He has also said that leadership is needed both for survival and progress of the society and is linked with the dynamic character of leadership. Powerful leaders try to control sources of production and distribution and also help each other. Power comes to the leaders because they take interest in organizational affairs where as the masses do not.

The growth of this type of oligarchy is supported by Michaels by his concept of 'mass mind'. The majority of human being according to Michael are apathetic, indolent and slavish and are permanently incapable of self government. Leaders easily take advantage of these qualities to perpetuate themselves in power. They employs all kinds of methods- oratory, persuasion, playing on sentiments in order to fool them. Michael's was of the opinion that flattery and oratory are two powerful weapons with the elites, who try to win over the people by justifying their actions. The masses have a psychological need for guidance. Hence they are only too glad to have others assume political responsibilities for them. Once the leaders reached the pinnacle of power nothing could bring them down. If the laws are passed to control the dominance of leaders, it is the law which gradually weaken and not the leaders.

The elite class will be therefore ever. They may sometimes adapt new elements from the non-elite class. But it will not affect the structure of the society. Even when a revolution takes place, and is successful. It does not mean the end of the elite rule because the masses can't revolt without leadership and after the successful completion of the revolution the leaders will come into power and become the elite class.

3.The Economic Approach

JAMES BURNHAM (1905-1987)

He is another political thinker who has given his ideas about political elite. He has focused his attention on one important issue namely how the people become elite. He does not contribute to the idea that the people make elite or that they come to position on account of their abilities. He also does not agree with the idea that they continue in position with mass support and that the masses can change their political elite.

Burnham in his work , 'The Managerial Revolution' explains the economic approach to the elite theory. The sources of power of the elite, in every system is economic. He says a group achieve dominance in a society by means of its control over the means of production and distribution. This economic control provides political power and social prestigious and thus the elite is formed. They remain in power as long as these sources remain with them. New political elite come to power when these resources go out of their control and are controlled by new group of people. It is this new group which becomes political elite. So there can be a change in the composition of the elite but can never be an end to its rule. Thus he refutes Marx's conclusion of classless and egalitarian society.

Burnham continues, every capitalist society after a long period the capitalist class retire from financing and remain only as leisured class, spending the profit from their enterprises without making any contribution to product. Thus gradually, the capitalists are totally divorces from production and the managerial class occupies the position. By controlling the means production, and enjoying the preferential elite and they secure political power too. It will happen in every declining capitalists society.

4.The Institutional Approach

C WRIGHT MILLS (1916-1962)

C Wright Mill in his 'Power Elite' says that the political elite or the power elite is the product of the institutional landscape of the society. In every society, he continues, there are certain institutions which hold a pivotal position and persons placed at the topmost rank of the hierarchy in these institutions occupy the command posts of the social structure and therefore, they are the power elite. According to a study in the America he locates, the elite in three major institutions- the military, the big corporations and the political executive. The persons who are at the top of these institutions, constitute power elite. It is a conscious, cohesive and conspiratorial group because of the similarity of their social origin and shared life. In the face of this power elite, the mass is fragmented, subdued and even unaware of the part it can play in the total structure. It only fulfils the routines that exists.

It thus appears that all the elite theorists, agree on certain fundamental points. That is, " the political power is invariably concentrated in a few hands in every society". Again the elite rules always as a self- conscious, cohesive and conspiratorial group. Finally the elitists consider the power as cumulative, ie; power is a means of securing economic wealth or social prestige and that is in turn, can be transmitted into further power.

Criticisms of Elite theory

The political theory of elites has its own weaknesses that may be enumerated as under:

1. Either the elitists lay too much stress on elite politics, or they have failed to offer a viable alternative to the Marxian doctrine of class war. It appears that the elitists seek to offer an ideology of their own in a sharp reply to the Marxian ideology- ‘ a political theory of middle class’. By all means, such a political theory is a negation of the celebrated principles that democracy is a government of the people. Democracy implies political movement of the lower classes of society against the dominance of the aristocratic or wealthy groups.
2. The elitists take a wrong view of power. In this respect they blur the distinction between terms like power , authority and influence. The concept of legitimacy has its essential relationship with authority. The people may be coerced or terrorised by the display of power, but they accept only that amount of power that is legitimate and, for that reason, may be better designated as authority.
3. Elite theory justifies the existence and operation of the politics of secrecy and manipulation. Its understanding takes us very close to the appreciation of what Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes said in the early modern period. In other words it ignores the better and nobler aspects of politics as advocated by the great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi. The moral and spiritual aspects human life cannot be discarded in the realm of politics.
4. The elite theory presents a wrong equation of the relationship the leader holding power and the led who are his ardent and most trusted followers. It does not take into consideration the role of the factor of motivations that binds both the leader and his followers.
5. The political elite need not always a conscious cohesive and a conspiratorial group as the elite theorists claim. Democracies, especially in presidential democracy, the power is not in the hands of a conscious cohesive group.
6. Above all, those who have all appreciation for the classical notion of democracy, cannot agree with the fundamental contention of the elitists that the will of a very small minority counts in all matters of decision making and, for this reason, the most celebrated maxim of ‘will of the people’ is just a myth. They do not deny the existence and role of the elites, but they certainly refute the view that all importance should be attached to the will of the very chosen persons only.

Despite these points of criticism, we can agree with the elite theorists that the political power is unevenly distributed in society and political decisions are made only by the few and not by all. And way, the elite theory refers to an observable and testable social phenomena and successfully seek to explain social and political change. Therefore many political events of the world can be explained with the help of this theory.

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MODULE - IV

SYSTEM ANALYSIS

Systems analysis was first developed by biologists, physical theorists and engineers before it could attract the attention in political science. As early as 1932, Cannon developed the concept of 'homeostasis', which is a vital property of the biological systems. Ludwig Von Bertalanffy, the famous biologist, developed the general systems analysis. The political scientists were directly influenced by sociologists like Talcott Parsons, Homans, Roethlisberger, and Dickson etc. Political science was equally influenced by public administration scholars like Chester I Bernard and Herbert A Simon. In short, Political Science is indebted to all these disciplines and derived from them terms like input, output, equilibrium, resources, support etc.

There is a subtle but sure distinction between Systems Theory and Systems Analysis. The Systems Theory has as its building blocks the various concepts, such as, political system, inputs, outputs, feedback, environment, etc. When the Systems Theory is applied to a specific situation, it becomes Systems Analysis. Systems Analysis is, thus, Systems Theory in action in a specific setting. Bertalanffy, defined system as "a set of elements standing in interaction". This concept is based on the idea that objects or elements within a group are in some way related to one another and in turn, interact with one another on the basis of certain identifiable processes. The term 'system' is useful for organizing ones knowledge about many social objects and the use of the system approach to politics allows one to see the subjects in such a way that "each part of the political canvas does not stand alone but is related to each other parts", or that "operation of the one parts cannot be fully understood without references to the way in which the whole itself operates".

Political System

A change from the study of the governments to the study of the political systems should be attributed to the shift in the emphasis from that of formal political institutions to that of the real political processes. It has occurred owing to certain developments indigenous to the discipline of political science in which more and more writers have sought to study political system in relation to the role of 'extra governmental' agencies. The term 'Political System' refers to the study of a government in its empirical dimensions and also form a strictly interdisciplinary standpoint. Political System thus becomes 'a set of interrelated variables conceived to be politically relevant and treated as if they could be separated from other variables conceived to be politically relevant not immediately relevant to politics.'

Political system has been defined differently by various writers;

According to Max Weber, It is "a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory"

According to David Easton, "Political System is a set of interactions as abstracted from the totality of social behaviour, through which authoritative values are allocated for a society"

According to Robert A Dahl, "A political system is any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves to a significant extent, power, rule and authority".

Properties of Political System

According to Almond, A political System has three main properties. They are as follows

1. **Comprehensiveness:** It implies that a political system includes all the interactions-inputs as well as outputs. Political system includes not merely the government structures, like the legislature, executive and judiciary but also other structures like political parties, pressure groups, interest groups, media of mass communications etc.
2. **Interdependence:** It implies that a change in one subset of interactions produce changes in all other subsets as the working of the political parties and pressure groups and the functioning of the legislative and executive departments. Example, A change in the electoral system may cause a change in the structure and functions of the legislature and also the executive and to the political parties.
3. **Existence of Boundaries:** It implies that there are certain points where the political system ends and other systems begin.

Characteristics of Political System

1. **Universality of political Systems:** It implies that all political systems, whether primitive or modern, or whether developing or developed, have political structures, i.e, they have a legitimate pattern of interaction by means of which internal and external order is maintained.
2. **Universality of political structures:** All political systems have same structures that perform same functions, though with varying degrees of frequency.
3. **Universality of political functions:** All political systems performs same type of functions. But it does not mean that the functions are performed in the same manner and same degree. The system may differ in their capacity to perform the functions.
4. **Multi-functionality of Political Structures:** All political structures, irrespective of the degree of specialization in point of time or space, are multi-functional. The model of the western political system has over-stressed the functional specificity of political structures, while that of the traditional system has over-emphasised the undifferentiated and diffuse character of political and social structures.
5. **Culturally Mixed Character of Political Systems:** All Political systems are 'mixed' in the cultural sense. Certain kinds of political structure usually considered to be peculiar to the primitive are also found in modern political systems. In other words, it may be said that all political systems have formal and informal structures. No political system is quite modern or western in the same sense as no individual is fully mature or emancipated from the ties and diffuse dependence. It means that all systems combines traditional and modern elements of culture.

INPUT OUT PUT ANALYSIS

David Easton is the first major political scientist who has developed a systematic frame work on the basis of systems analysis approach for the study of politics instead of merely adapting it from anthropology or sociology. He has selected political system as the basic unit of analysis and concentrated on the intra-system behaviour of various systems as principal areas of social

science research and investigation. David Easton's system analysis is also known as input-output analysis. The input-output analysis of Easton has three main variables in the form of demands, supports and feedbacks. The most important feature of input-output analysis is, the conversion of the inputs into output by the system. For him political system absorbs the inputs in the form of demands on authorities and supports from institutions and the political community and produces out puts in the form of policies and decisions

System analysis is an approach which consider politics as a set of interactions which take place within an environment, but the system is analytically distinct from the latter (i.e, environment). It is a particular method of describing and analyzing political behaviour, and while doing so it has evolved a number of concepts like system, sub-system, boundary, environment, Input, output, conversion process, feedback, etc. System Analysis is thus an approach to the study of political structures, institutions and processes. Its first and foremost proponent is David Easton. In 1953, David Easton published his, 'The Political System, an Inquiry into the State of Political science' followed by ' A Framework for Political Analysis' and 'System Analysis of Political Life'. Easton develops his conceptual approach in these three books. In his first work he criticizes the traditional approaches for the study of politics and argues that the subject is too legalistic and restricted to the study of formal political institutions. In the next two works he evolves his model of political system.

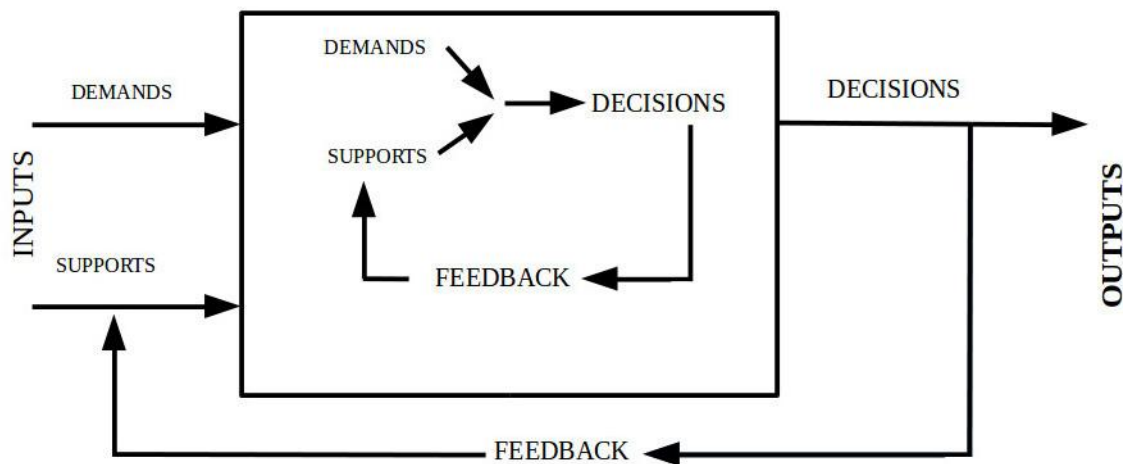
A given society is full of interactions of all kinds, but it is a particular set of such interactions which may be said to constitute the political system. What distinguishes the political from the non political is the binding nature of political decisions. Politics, as Easton defines, deals with the, "authoritative allocation of values for a society". By this Easton means that the political decisions are of over-riding validity and, what is more, are accepted as binding on all subject to the political system. The family, political parties, student's organisations, etc. are also making 'authoritative' allocation of values for their members, but Easton calls them parapolitical sub-systems. Easton is concerned with the authoritative allocation of values for the society as a whole, and this is what a political system deals with. He excludes the politics of the parties and other organizations from his definition of political system. An intelligent reader would, how ever easily discover that traditional terms like 'state' and 'sovereignty' reappear though anonymously in Easton's Political system. Easton's political system is frankly government even though he does not use this term. Easton's notion of political life is that of "a system of behaviour embedded in an environment to the influence of which the political system itself is exposed and in turn reacts." What this means is that outside the political system exist other systems such as social, psychological, economic, biological etc. All these outside systems constitute the environment of the political system. The political system is in constant interaction with its environment and yet is different, distinguished as it is by its authoritative allocation of values the society as a whole.

The environment may be divided into two parts- the intra- societal and the extra – societal. The first consist of those systems in the same society as the political system but excluded from the latter for the reason of not being engaged in authoritative allocation of values. The intra-societal system includes economy, culture, social structure or personalities. These are segments of the

society of which the political system is itself a part. They shape and influence the conditions under which a political system itself must operate.

The second part of the environment includes all those systems, which lie outside a given society. They are the components of the emerging international society, which may be called supra-society. The international political systems and the international economic systems would be in the category of extra societal system and they have their impact on a given political system. Inputs- Outputs model of David Easton may be described in the following diagram-

MODEL OF EASTON'S POLITICAL SYSTEM



Black Box Model of the Polity

Easton's concept of systems analysis makes use of a number of new terms like system, sub system, boundary, input, output, conversion process and feedback, etc. A system refers to patterned interactions among political elements. A system which is part of a bigger system is called a sub-system. A system functions within a particular setting, which is known as environment. The analytical line which separates the political system from its environment is known as boundary. A political system begins functioning as a result of inputs received from the environment, and the inputs are in the form of demands made on the system and support in their favour. The political system begins processing the inputs which is known as conversion process. The conversion process leads to outputs in the form of rules to be enforced and policies to be implemented. The outputs affect the environment and even modify the inputs, feedback occurs.

A political system is linked with the environment through the process of inputs and outputs. The inputs are in the form of demands and supports, each having four categories of activities.

Demands are of the following four types:

1. Demands for allocation of goods and services such as wages and hour laws, educational opportunities, housing and medical facilities, etc.

2. Demands for regulation of behaviour such as control over markets, provisions for public safety, rules relating to marriage, health and sanitation, etc.
3. Demands for participation in the political system such as right to vote, to seek election, to hold office, to organise processions, to petition public officials etc.
4. Demands for communication and information such as communication of policy intent from the political elites or display of the power of the political system in periods of threats or on ceremonial occasions.

Support is of the following four types:

1. Material support such as payment of taxes
2. Obedience to law, rules and regulations;
3. Participatory support such as voting, political discussion and other forms of political activity; and
4. Attention paid to government communication and giving respect to public authority, symbols and ceremonials.

David Easton defines demands as “the raw material out of which finished products called decisions are manufactured,” and support as “energy in the form of actions or orientations promoting and resisting a political system, the demands arising in it, and the decisions issuing from it.”

The ‘outputs’ of the political system- decisions and policies- fall into four categories:

1. Extractions such as taxes or personal services,
2. Regulation of behaviour,
3. Allocations or distribution of goods and services, opportunities, honours and the like, and
4. Symbolic outputs such as policy statements, affirmations of value, display of political symbols.

Central to Easton’s model of political system is his concept of feedback, which is basically a communication process. The feedback is a dynamic process through which information about the performance of the system is communicated back to it in such a way as to affect the subsequent behaviour of the system. Outputs are not the terminal points; they feedback into the system and thereby influence its subsequent behaviour.

Criticisms

The Eastonian Model of systems analysis suffers from several weaknesses and shortcomings, both theoretical and empirical. Easton’s systems analysis has been criticized variously by critics. . It is said to be too abstract and too far from empirical reality. Though David Easton describes the equilibrium approach, his theory is conservative and status-quoist in nature. The countries of the third world passionately seek changes in all spheres of life, economic, social, cultural; and Easton’s systems analysis cannot comprehend to the pace, scale and nature of changes in them. Systems analysis has as its central goal system maintenance, and it is absolutely silent on the justice of the system. The third world nations are in fact questioning the very justice of the inherited system and even want a fundamental remodeling of it. Easton’s theory is too mild in its range and capacity and plainly unsuited to the developing countries of the world.

Secondly, Easton dwells but little on the 'conversion functions' in his model. The reader for, instance, does not come to know about what happens to demands when these enter the political system as inputs and when they come out in the forms of rules, law and decisions. The conversion functions- that is, the governmental institutions- were the dominant concern of the traditional comparative politics.

The Eastonian systems analysis provides a framework for examination of politics. It focuses on the broad implications of political acts and institutions as well as the inter-relatedness of events rather than on their particularistic meanings. It enables the political scientists to place a particular phenomenon in its proper context and helps to relate institutions to one another in a systematic way.

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

Structural Functional Analysis is an offshoot of the systems analysis. In political science the structural functional approach is one of the famous approach for the study of comparative politics. This approach arose primarily because traditional political theorists failed to examine and explain the phenomenon occurring in the third world countries. It is an attempt to develop political theory on the basis of actual empirical studies of politics. This approach was developed by Gabriel A Almond. This approach lays stress on the study of structures, processes, mechanisms and working of political institutions and the environment in which these functioned. This approach basically lays stress on structures and functions of the political system.

Structural functional analysis was first used in biological and mechanical sciences. Anthropologists were the first to use it in social sciences. They were followed by such eminent sociologists as Talcott Parsons and Levy, who used it in sociology. It received attention in 1922 when Malnowski and Red Cliffe Brown brought out two essays on functionalism. William C Michel and Gabriel A Almond and Powell used it in their studies.

During this time both the United States and her associate nations wanted to know actual nature and extent of development of third world countries with a view to assessing the volume of financial aid needed by these nations. Developed nations also wanted to have information about developing nations for finalizing their policies towards these nations. This approach was used as a major attempt to develop a political theory on the basis of actual empirical studies above what was actually occurring in various developing societies and what attitude should be adopted towards these nations.

Almond and Coleman applied it first in 1960 to the study of non-western politics. The title of the work containing such a formulation is 'The Politics of developing Areas'. Six Years later, Almond and Powell published their work, 'comparative Politics a Developmental Approach'. This approach tells that each system has some structures which perform certain functions which are very important for the survival of the system itself. As its very name suggests, the structural functional analysis revolves round two key concepts- structures and functions.

Concept of Structures: Structures refer to those arrangements within the system which perform the functions. In each system there are many structures which perform different functions. A single function may be fulfilled by a complex combination of structures, just as any given structural arrangement may perform functions which might have different kinds of consequences

for the structure. For instance, a political party is a structure within the political system that performs many functions, including those of communicating the wishes of the electorate to the government, informing the electorate on important political issues and allowing for wider participation by more people in the political system. The party helps to maintain the system because it performs these tasks, but other structures such as pressure groups or formal institutions of the government may also carry out these functions, and in other political systems may carry out these functions in the absence of political parties.

Concept of functions: Three basic questions are involved in the concept of functions- what basic functions are discharged in any given system, by what instrument those functions are performed, and under what conditions the performance of these functions is done. Defining this term, Young says; “functions deal ultimately with objective consequences, but they may be perceived as objectives, processes, or results from various points of view and for various purposes.” According to Merton: “Functions are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or readjustment of a given system; and dys-functions those observed consequences which lessen the adaptation or adjustment of the system.”

Basic assumptions of Structural functional Approach.

Almond based structural functional approach on four assumptions-

1. All political systems have a political structure which help in maintaining order in the pattern of human interactions.
2. The same general functions are performed by all political systems even though they may have different frequencies, different kinds of structures and may work in different styles.
3. All political structures are multi-functional
4. All political systems are mixed in the cultural sense in so far as they contain elements of modern as well as traditional cultures in different degrees

Almonds believe that all political systems can be compared and ranked in terms of functions performed by them i.e, in terms functions and structures. He has also said that every political system performs two sets of functions namely input and output. Input are political functions whereas output are governmental functions.

Input-Output Functions: Almond believes in two type of functions of political system-

The Input Functions

1. Political Socialization and Recruitment.

In political socialization Almond has included values, norms and patterns of behaviour suited to the political system. Political Socialisation implies the process of recruitment of individuals into the political system and providing them in citizenship. Many agencies like family, school, religion, voluntary association, media, political parties etc. play part in this process.

Political recruitment is concerned with the recruitment of citizens into the specialized role of political system. So the method through which citizens are recruited for specialized role of the political system is known as political recruitment.

2. Interest articulation

It is interest articulation which determines the boundary lines of a political system. It is the process of making of common interest among all scattered groups. Articulation of interest can

take place by and through several structures. According to Almond, “The process by which individuals and groups, make demand upon the political decision makers we call interest articulation. It is the first step in the political conversion process.” Or it is the process by which individuals and groups makes demands upon the political decision makers.

Every political system articulates interests, demands or claims for acceptance, and this function is performed by interest groups. Interest groups may be of four types: (1) institutional interest groups (political), (2) Non associational interest groups (religious, ethnic or kinship), (3) Anomic interest groups (spontaneous), and (4) Associational interest groups (union or business)

3. Interest aggregation

The conversion of group interests/ demands into definite policy alternatives before political decision makers is the function of the interest aggregation. Once interest get articulated and consolidated these become aggregative. So it is the activity in which political demands of individuals and groups are combined into policy and programmes.

The interest articulated by various interest groups have to be examined and aggregated, and this function is performed by political parties. Almond classified party system into (1) authoritarian systems, (2) dominant non-authoritarian systems, (3) competitive two-party systems, (4) competitive multi- party systems. From the point of style the aggregative function is performed, political parties fall into the following three categories: (1) secular, pragmatic, bargaining parties, (2) absolute, value- oriented or ideological political parties, and (3) particularistic or traditional parties.

4. Political communication

Political Communication is the last input function. Almond has compared political communication with the circulation of the blood which he describes as the medium through which other functions in the political system are performed. The media communication plays a an important role by helping a free flow of information from society to polity and from one political structure to another.

Usually the people’s representatives in the legislature, who are the members of different political parties, perform these functions. The political parties have the responsibility to inform the public about respective legislative proposals and they work as the channel of communication.

Output Functions

The outputs are functions and correspond to the traditional legislative, executive and judicial functions. They show a bias towards American and European conceptions of government showing traditional orientation of comparative politics.

Rule- making

It is the primary output function of political system. According to Almond rule making processes are present in some form or the other in all political system. Under different political systems different groups are involved in decision making process. It can be a group of adult citizens or it may be popularly elected parliament or it may be the council of officers.

Rule- application

Rule application is the second output function of a political system which means the enforcement of rules made by the rule making authority in one form or the other. In modern times,

the rules are executed by officials which need very high degree of administrative capacity. So the role and importance of bureaucracy has been increased.

Rule adjudication

Rule adjudication is the final output function performed by the judiciary. The laws once implemented by the executive went to the hands of judiciary for interpretation. Judiciary interprets and judges in all cases reached before it. Rule- adjudicating should be capable of resolving conflicting situations happily within the system without putting any extra pressure on the rule-makers. It is essential that the judiciary should be remain free from the influence of other structures and can impartially discharge their duties.

Modifications by Almond

The structural functional approach was criticized on various ground. This is why Almond made few modification in his book 'Comparative Politics- A Developmental Approach' which he wrote in 1966. In the modified model Almond point out four major types of the functions.

1. **Capability Functions.** Capability is the key function which determined the capacity of the system of survive. From capability functions Almond meant that sometimes environments creates stress on the system and as such it is essential to find out how the system overcomes these stresses. Each system has some ability to overcome these stresses. This ability of the system is known as its capability in itself of five kinds.
 - a. Extractive Capability. It represents the extent to which political system can draw out from the environment, both national and international. It is similar to Easton's concept of support. Such an extraction can be with the help of force, patriotic appeals, incentives, rewards etc.
 - b. Regulative Capability. It refers to the capacity of system to exercise of control over the behaviour of individuals and groups. It is done on the basis of legitimate physical force. Regulative capability means ability of the system to maintain law and order even with the use of force.
 - c. Distributive Capability. It involves provisions of services, goods, statutes and other facilities to the individuals and the groups. In other words it means allocation of goods, services, honours and opportunities of various kinds from the political system to the people of the society.
 - d. Symbolic Capability. With the help of system respect and love for the system can be created. It is threat of effective symbol flow from the political system into the society. It includes statement of values and policies, display of flags etc.
 - e. Responsive Capability. It relates to the relationship between inputs and outputs. Much depends on the responsiveness of the system to handle demands. It aims at maintaining some relationship between input and output.
2. **Conversion functions.** In this improved model Almond tells about only two input structures- interest articulation and interest aggregation. Almond does not make any change in output functions and writes the same old three output functions rule making, rule application and rule adjudication

3. **Communication functions.** Communication function according to Almond is separate both from the input and the output and is concerned both with transmitting and gathering information.
4. **Pattern Maintenance and Adoption Function.** Almond has included in it both political socialization and political recruitment. The system has to adopt itself according to changing environment. It can be achieved through political socialization and recruitment.

COMMUNICATION APPROACH

Communication approach is also known as Cybernetic study of world affairs. Cybernetic is the systematic study of communication and control. It makes a powerful analogy between the computer, individual and the society. It seeks to build one model principle to describe and explained them all. The central phenomena it dwells upon is the process of communication. That is the ability to transmit messages, the qualities of information and the ability to react them.

The communication theory was propounded by Karl Deutsch in his work, ‘ The Nerves of Government’(1963), is an attempt to use the concepts and methods of science of cybernetics for explaining the survival and the growth of political system, and to predict the consequences of changes in the structure of the political system. He tries to reduce the importance of the concept of power and wants to prove that the political system is an organization concerned with attainment of social goals.

Deutsch is of the view that the government is a decision making system. The enforcement of these decisions depend not merely on force but more importantly on the fact that men is socially addicted to complain with the decisions of those who in power. That is, Government decision are carried on more due to habit. A political system survives and develops, at least habit forming and other activities that go with it the acquiring of information, the selection and storage of this information, the selection and development of norms relating to the use of information.

The growth of political system depends on the capacity of its communication mechanism. A state system will survive and flourish according to the effectiveness with which its governing personnel can process, interpret and act on information in the global flow. The capacity of its communication channels and its ability to select, screen and to learn can vitally affect the state response. Thus Communication theory is a method of analyzing political problems based on the assumption that the political system as a mechanism which receives, select, decides on and communicate information.

Features of Deutsch’s Neuropolitics

Society as Machine:

According to Karl Deutsch, the social system and political system as its part survive and develop because they contain mechanisms which allow or encourage habit forming and other activities that go with this: the acquiring of information; the selection and storage of this information; selection and development of norms relating to the use of information gained.

New Definition of Politics:

One of the important concerns of Deutsch is to reduce the importance of the notion of power as a component of continuing political activity. To him politics is concerned with the

attainment of social goals; it is the sphere in which the decisions are made with respect to the whole society- decisions which are enforceable. The 'core area' of politics is the 'area of enforceable decisions' and the 'essence of politics' for him is the 'dependable co-ordination of human efforts for the attainment of the goals of the society'.

New Notion of Government:

The function of the government is to control the direction of information into or away from particular channels of communication. Thus its main task is to 'steer' information rather than exercise 'power' over the individuals. Essentially speaking, control involves the transmission of messages and the understanding of control processes is a branch of communication engineering, not power engineering.

Miniature Communication System:

The infra structure of a political system is constituted by political parties and interest groups. They are interconnected and open, but they are also capable of steering themselves and with mechanisms that allow them to adapt and modify their structures and behaviour. Conflict between the political system and its sub-systems should not be seen as 'contests of wills' but as the results of collusions caused because of the failure of steering facilities or of the signals of the system.

Homeostatis instead of Equilibrium:

Deutsch desires to furnish a model that is not static but dynamic. That is, he is not 'equilibrium' that indicate indicates a stationary model of political system. Politics is a changing phenomenon and thus he stands for a dynamic situation what he terms 'homeostatis'. Political system performs its functions and accomplishes its objectives in such a way to change their basic position *vis a vis* their environment; it also has some ability to change itself in the course of steering towards various goals. Information should come from its past, present as well as from external and internal environments to exercise its impact upon the operation of the political system.

Concept of Feedback or Servomechanism:

Feedback is, indeed, the key concept in the neuropolitics of Deutsch. It means a network of communications that produces action in response to an input of information and includes the results of its own action in the information by which it modifies its subsequent behaviour. Feedback may be positive or negative. A Negative feedback system is one which transmits back to itself information that is the result of decisions and actions taken by the system, and which leads the system to change its behaviour in pursuit of the goals which it has set itself.

'Load' indicates the total amount of information which a system may possess at a particular time.

'Lag' indicates the amount of delay that the system experiences between reporting the consequences of decisions and acting on the information that it has received.

'Gain' is an indication of the manner in which the system responds to the information that it has received.

'Lead' illustrates the extent to which a system has the capacity to react to predictions about the future consequences of decisions and actions.

Criticism of communication theory

Karl Deutsch's communication analysis has been criticized on several grounds. The main points of the criticism are as under:

Communication analysis has attached for greater importance to the area of pattern maintenance i.e. stability and equilibrium. But in matter of revolutionary change, this approach does not very far.

It is far too mechanistic in nature and has tried to give an essentially engineering orientation to human behavior. It appears that something bodily has been lifted from the field of engineering to that of the social science, which is not conducive for the study of human behavior.

In communication analysis there is not only the difficulty of applying models picked up from engineering to political science but in addition, the 'models-building does not serve the purpose for which it is being increasingly used in social sciences. Models are built in simple terms. But in case of Deutsch, the model itself has becomes so complex that instead of helping in the understanding of the phenomena, it has a tendency of confusing it.

Moreover, the terms which have been used for the study of communication models have been lifted from engineering but have not been clarified. In fact, it is alleged that these have been carelessly used.

Deutsch's model however, raises a number of interesting questions about the performance of governments but offers very little help in a answering them.

Communication analysis of Deutsch lays more stress on decision-making processes rather than studying the consequences of those decisions.

Critics point out that this analysis provides excellent tools for studying information itself, but the study of politics is very complicated affairs and these tools help only in locating power in political system and do not in any way assist in studying the behaviour of various elite groups in handling the power.

GAME THEORY

Game theory plays an important role in political stimulation. This theory basically deals with rational decision strategies, particularly in situations of conflicts and competitions. In this study the basic assumption and presumption is that each actor tries to maximize his gains but minimize his losses. It is based on the application of mathematical models of to the study of political phenomenon. This theory was developed as early as in 1920 by Emile Borel , but was brought into the forefront by John Von Neumann in his volume entitled 'Theory of game and economic behaviour' written in collaboration with Oskar Morgenstern, in 1944. Duncan Luce, Howard Raitta, and Martin Shubik, all tried to apply this theory to Politics, particularly in the study of international politics, conflict situations, coalition behaviour and also judicial behaviour. Some thinkers like Morton A Kaplan, William H Ricker and Thomas C Shelling made an attempt to make a model of the game theory, in which nations were considered as players. The whole theory is based on the principle that political actors play their role in the manner in which players of the chess game play their role and try to counter every action, as is the case of the diplomats. In this role of the institutions can be compared with that of individual in the society.

Meaning and nature of Game Theory

Game theory proceeds on the assumption that every individual in politics is interested to win game, as is the case with chess players. Each individual obviously wants to have best of the choice available and as such he must have sufficient knowledge of available choices and outcome of each choice as well. The player must also have sufficient idea about preferences and choices of others as well. Since this theory is concerned with conflicts, therefore, it can also be called conflict theory. Sometimes this conflict takes the form of competition which is also conceptualized. In addition, strategy of each participant is predicated on the strategy chosen by his opponent. Every player can maximize his gains only when he is aware of all possible strategies and can guess about the outcome of future competitive and cooperative interactions. Game theory can thus be defined as a body of thought dealing with decision rational strategies in situations of conflict and cooperation.

Characteristics of Game Theory

Game theory is based on certain assumptions. Firstly, it assumes that the decision makers are perfectly rational. Secondly, the game, theory is not interested in man's ethics but only situation ethics'. In other words, the player is interested in nothing but the outcome of the choice.

In the Game theory players are supposed to be engaged in choosing alternatives, here and now, which, in their view, they would be required to use in some conceived future state of affairs. These future states of affairs are described as the outcomes in a game. An outcome is usually the relationship between the players and the prize or the objective they aim at. In certain games, like chess, there can be only three possible outcomes- namely, win, lose or draw, but in other games there could be a very much larger number of outcomes. The full range of possible outcomes could be defined as prospects. The prospect of each game has a specific outlook or reward for each player. This is described as game theory as a pay-off. In chess the big pay-off is winning. The game theorist tries to analyses the strategies by which players may maximize their pay-off, that is, get as close as possible to their first preference outcomes.

Another characteristics of the theory is that the decision maker is to adopt a particular strategy. It means that the operational plans in which every manipulation is made to achieve the objectives. It has also been compared with the book of instructions which indicates what to do under certain existing circumstances. Leaving aside man made games it is not possible to design a range of prospects and find out possible combinations because prospects provide for reward for the player. This is technically called 'Pay Off'. Another concept of the theory is that in the theory stress is laid on utilization of resources. In this there is provision of resources and possibilities open to each player about utilization of such resources. It is technically known as 'Rules of the Game'. After resources and their utilization come 'Outcome'. It is this outcome with which player is primarily concerned. The outcome can be that the player may either win or lose or he may neither win nor lose.

Types of Game theory

Game theory is of several types. First such theory is zero sum two persons game. In this conflict is competitive and goals are mutually incompatible. There is also use of threats as well as sanctions. There are zero sum 'n' persons game. In addition there are non zero sum two person

games and non zero sum 'n' person game. In this perceptions of alternatives rule the game. In this also there is use of sanctions and threats. If the goals are mutually exclusive, there outwit and eliminate competition. 'Flight' is another form of games. In this also there is uncertainty and goals too are mutually incompatible. It is also characterized by the use of threat and sanctions. Next then comes "debate". In the early stages there are discrepant cognitive processes and the objective is to change opponent's mind. There is absence of threat and sanctions.

Two persons zero sum games are of pure opposition and strictly competitive nature. In that there is neither any need for communication nor bargaining. The participants are characterized as opponents. In other words gains of one are loss of other and vice-versa. In the case of 'Two persons not constant sum games' it is presumed that both the sides gain by a settlement in which some concessions are made to both the antagonists. Efforts are made at a cooperative solution so that both the parties gain. Next then comes 'N' persons non constant sum games. In this usually number of players is more than two and all act on the basis of some coalition adjustment. Some principles of distribution are laid down for pay offs. Two or more players pool their resources to fight against others. Efforts are also made to reduce the number of opponents to the next possible.

Critical Evaluation of Game theory

Game theory has been sufficiently applied in politics to present a quantifiable and measurable analysis of phenomenon. It has proved useful in the study of elections, voting behaviour, process of negotiations, military movements and formation of coalition politics. So this theory is very much helpful in analysing political phenomena both national and international. Even though the theory has its own weaknesses and drawbacks.

It is said that this theory has failed to attach any importance to and significance to such factors in the study of international politics as population, scientific inventions and technical researches.

Another criticism is that the theory can not be successfully applied for empirical investigations. The theory has certain basic assumptions namely that decision maker is always rational, he has all the information available with him, which as a decision maker he should have and also that his calculations will always be correct. But as we all know decision makers are not so and that they can not have full information available with them.

Another criticism advanced against the theory is that it underestimates the importance of ethics in human life and the decision making process. More stress has been laid on outcomes and not on the processes which lead to that outcome.

It is also said that whole basis of the theory is rationality, but in actual practice we find that in international politics rationality and wisdom alone does not count. There are several other factors which in international politics very much count, but about which no mention has been made.

MODULE – V

POLITICAL CULTURE

The term Political Culture is comparatively of recent origin. It was only in 1956 that Gabriel Almond, used this term while dealing with the concept of comparative political system. The study of the concept of political culture constitute an analysis of the sociological aspect of the theme of political development. Political culture is composed of the set of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values of society that relate to the political system and political issues. It is defined as the pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system. The members of a civil society by and large share a common human nature like emotional drives, intellectual capacities and moral perspectives. The common human nature expresses itself in the form of certain values, beliefs and emotional attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another, though with greater or lesser modifications, and thus constitute a general culture of the society. Certain aspects of the general culture of the society are especially concerned with how government ought to be conducted and what it shall try to do. This sector of culture of the society we call political culture.

Defenitions

According to Lucian W Pyee, “Political Culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and that provide the underlying assumption and rules that govern behaviour in political system”.

According to Almond and Powell, “Political culture is a pattern of individual attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system”

According to Allan A Ball,” Political culture is composed of attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relates to political system and to political issues”

Orientations of Political Culture

As said earlier political culture are included all beliefs and attitudes which link an individual with a political system. According to Almond and Powell there are three components of orientations. They are as follows-

Cognitive Orientation: implying knowledge, accurate or otherwise of the political system. This type of orientation differs from man to man but its common feature is that those who are ignorant will have limited contacts with the political system.

Affective Orientation: implying feelings of attachment, involvement, rejection and the like about political system, its performance, its personnel and other political objects. These orientations are primarily concerned with emotions of the people towards their political system and linked with some standards. These affect both the activities of the people on the one hand and of the government on the other.

Evaluative Orientations: implying judgments and opinion about the political objects and events by applying certain value standards. Values include information and feelings as well as structures

like the executive, legislature, judiciary, bureaucracy etc. In it are also covered the role of incumbents like party leaders, monarchs on the one hand and public policies, decision making process and methods of enforcement of decisions on the other.

Determinants of Political Culture:-

1. Political Continuity:- it is an important determinant of political culture. It is necessary for merging the older values with new attitudes.
2. Colonial domination:-Gave a particular shape to the political cultures in Africa, India, Sri Lanka, Japan, China, Indonesia and other countries. The political culture of India today is the result of British imperialist domination and the introduction of Parliamentary institutions of the west minister variety.
3. Geographical conditions:-The insular position of England enabled her to develop a political culture entirely different from that of the other countries of the continent. The protection from foreign invasions which Britain enjoyed by virtue of geographical factor was not available to most of other countries in Europe. On the other hand the vast frontier of a country like India opened the ways for the foreigners to invade and even stay here with the result that we have developed the values of independent and secular egalitarianism.
4. Ethnic differences, - In a country ethnic difference also form another factor shaping political culture. The political culture of India would have been quite different if caste system has been absent, American political culture would have been quite different, if the blacks had not been there in the USA. Similarly in African countries the racial differences affects their political culture. So the Political culture is always influenced by ethnic group loyalties. Racial or cultural similarities that shared by a population is known as Ethnicity.
5. Socio-economic structure:-A predominantly urban industrialized society will have a complex class structure, similarly states with predominantly peasant population are more conservative than others.
6. Religious difference:- Religious factors also affect the political culture of a political system. Religious homogeneity in a country facilitates the growth of a political culture but religious differences blocks its smooth development.
7. Symbols:-Certain symbols are associated with the political attitude, emotions, beliefs and values of people in a country. They create a sense of loyalty, obedience and oneness among the people. Political attitudes and values in society are symbolized by such things as national flag and national anthem. Symbols express idealized elements of political institutions. Totalitarian regimes lay great stress on the use of symbols to give realities to abstractions. As is known that desecrating of national flags is always an offence punishable. In some political cultures religious symbols take the place of secular symbols. Like symbols myths also play a great part in political culture. Myths emphasis certain half truths, and therefore, are distortions, although politically important distortions (half truths)

Classification of Political Culture

Almond and Verba have classified political culture into three broad categories, namely parochial, subject and participant political cultures.

Parochial Political Culture. In this type of culture there is very little awareness of the political system. There are no specialised roles. The tribal chief, for instance, may combine in himself political, economic and religious roles. There is very little role differentiation and no identifiable orientation towards either input or output structures of the political system.

Subject Political Culture. Individuals in this culture are oriented towards the political system. But this orientation is limited to its input structures *i.e.*, policies, laws, decisions and their impact on the political system.

Participant Political Culture. In this type of culture there is a total orientation to the political system as a whole *i.e.*, both its inputs and output structures and processes along with the awareness of individual's role in the polity.

Mixed type of Political Cultures.

The three types- parochial, subject and participant- are pure forms of political culture but in actual reality we find mixed cultures. Almond and Verba, therefore, present three mixed models of political culture.

Parochial-Subject Political culture. This type of political culture is possessed by political systems in transitional stage from a primitive tribal to a centralized political authority. This transition stops half-way to a full fledged subject culture.

Subject-Participant Political Culture. This represents a condition when the political system stands mid-way between subject and participant cultures. The orientation toward input structures is discernible but has not yet become an integral part of the culture. Further, the input orientations are limited to certain sections of society. The role of individual in this system is limited and passive.

Parochial-Participant Political Culture. In most of the ex-colonial states the process of modernization was undertaken immediately after gaining independence. The governments chosen by the people undertook the task of transforming parochial social set ups into fully participant ones. For obvious reasons, such attempts have generally failed to transform parochial cultures into participant cultures, as defined above. The result has often been a queer combination of these two cultures.

The concept of political culture has made some significant contributions to the study of Political Sociology. This study has provided a useful link between macro and micro politics. It has also helped in regulating not only input demands but also influencing conversion of the system outputs into new or modified demands. It also helped in and continues to help in comparing different political systems.

POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

In the study of political sociology, Political socialization plays a significant role because it is a process by which political culture is maintained and got changed as well. It also helps in the process of establishment and development of the attitudes and beliefs about political system. It is not process confined to impressionable years of childhood but one that continues throughout life. The process of political socialization can never be static because neither political institutions nor attitudes of the people towards these always remain the same. There can be attitude change even overnight and even the most loyal people may suddenly may become rebels and vice-versa.

Meaning and Nature of Political Socialisation

Political Socialisation, it may said, is different from socialisation, which is a sociological concept and as such both need be differentiated from the very beginning. Socialisation is that process by which individuals learn to conform to the norms of the group and social beings establish wider and profounder relationships with one another. On the other hand “Political socialization is the process by which the political culture are maintained, changed and shaped at the individual level and also community. Or it is the process of transmitting political values from one generation to another”- maintains, transforms and creates.

Development of Political Socialisation

Term Political Socialisation was coined by Hyman. The Concept of political socialization had to pass through several stages before it reach its present stage. It is because it is a continues and not a static process. Attitudes in human life are not established during infancy but are always being adopted and reinforced, as one get more and more experiences.

First stage in the political socialization begins when a child begins to realise about the world around him. It is during this period that at times the child begins to feel that there is some power and authority which lies outside family and that his parents are not all powerful.

Adolescence is the next stage of political socialization. When the citizens got maturity and gets himself involved deeply in governmental activities. He is now more exposed to the world outside and thus more politicized. He also gets political group affiliations.

Next stage in political socialization then comes when an individual has become very mature. He has either love or hatred for a political system or institution or structure. He has become completely politicized. He votes in a particular way knowing fully well the importance and significance of his vote. He even becomes active participant in political processes.

Definitions

“Political Socialisation may be defined as those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and pattern of behavior”..... David Easton

“Political socialisation is establishment and development of beliefs about political system. It is a continues process of learning of norms’ attitudes and behaviours acceptable to an ongoing political system” AR Ball

“Political Socialisation is a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed” ...Almond and Verba

“It is the gradual learning of norms, attitudes and behavior acceptable to an ongoing political system”.....Robert sigel

“Political Socialisation is a process by which people acquire political values not simply during active political participation but before engaging themselves in political activity”...Wasby

Characteristics

1. Continues process.- From childhood onwards, the individual exposed to various life experiences and learning situations that steadily mould his ideas about politics.
2. The process of political socialization finds in every political society.- It may more in democratic society and less in totalitarian society
3. Political Socialisation is related with Political Culture-
 - ~To maintain Political Culture.
 - ~To change Political Culture.
 - ~To origin Political Culture.

According to Almond and Verba, “political socialization is a process by which political cultures are maintained and changed”

- 4.A process of transmission of political values to the next generation-
- 5.Internalization of political belief.-because it is a process of gradual learning of the norms, attitudes and behavior acceptable to an ongoing political system.

Types of Political Socialisation

- A. **Manifest political socialization**:- In which certain values and feelings towards a political system are directly expressed. In it there is explicit communication of information to the other parties. It may takes place through imitation, anticipatory behavior, political education or political experiences. Imitation is a vital component of political socialization. Eg:- Informal education given in educational institutions, talks on electronic and mass media about a political problem etc.(a rural migrant to an urban area may deliberately imitate political orientations of the urbanites just because by means of this imitations he may wish to make himself acceptable to his new associates. Another eg- A child may consciously imitate the party preferences of his parents and generalizing from general social values to political objects.
- B. **Latent political socialization**:- In this type of socialization there is no direct approach to the problem but the ideas are transmitted indirectly. One method of indirect socialization is that of transference of of values and thoughts to other persons. It may takes place through inter personal transference, apprenticeship and generalization. Interpersonal transference means the transmission of values and ideas to an individual through the influence of other persons.

Apprenticeship indicates the acquisition of skills, habits and behaviours and practices that are ultimately found to be appropriate for political activities. Non political activities serve as an apprenticeship for future political activities.

Generalisation means generalizing from general social values to political objects.

In addition to these two main types of political socialization, there are other types of this concept as well.

Particularistic Socialisation:- In this type of political socialization, an individual is taught only one role. His political ideas and views are directed towards a particular value, which he is required to adhere and appreciate. All his political energies are directed in this direction alone.

Universalistic Socialisation:- It is a type of socialization in which political energies are not directed in one direction but a cosmopolitan outlook is developed. They perform several roles as they can. Such roles can be in any walk of life.

Affective Socialisation:- In this type of socialization stress is only on emotional values. There is very little role to rationality. The values get changed with the changes of emotions and such there is not much of stability.

Pragmatic Socialisation or Instrumental Socialisation:- In this type stress is not on emotions but on reasoning. The whole approach is pragmatic and all strategies are quite well planned, calculated and their good or bad effects are fully understood.

Agents of Political Socialisation

If political socialization concerns itself with the orientation of the individuals towards political objects, let us look into the role of the agents that play their part in the process of norm internalization. In other words, an enquiry into this matter covers the role of those agents that have their talents as well as patent influence on the minds of the individuals and thereby make up his political personality. These agents are

- a. **Family-** The family is the first institution that should be described as 'child's first window on the world outside, it is the child's first contact with authority' A child tends to identify his outlook with that of his parents towards the political system and its institutions. Robert Lane suggests that there are three ways in which the foundations of political beliefs may be laid through the family- by overt and covert indoctrination, by placing the child in a particular social context, and by moulding child's personality. Davis also says that the family provides the major means for transforming the mentally naked infant organism into adult, fully clothed in his personality. And most of the individual's political personality, his tendency to think and act politically in particular ways is determined at home, several years before he takes part in politics as a citizen.

(The members of the family have both manifest as well as latent influence on the ideas of the children which subsequently help in the formation of his political opinion. It is in family that child learns the habits of both acceptance of authority and living in co operation with others. His political competence is bound to increase in case he is associated with decision making

process from the very beginning in the family. And this equally applies to his desire for political participation.)

The reasons for the family's vital role in the process of political socialization may be as follows

First of all the family holds a crucial position in the life of the child. For a fairly long period family work as the only agency for meeting the physical and emotional needs of the child. As a result he subscribes readily to the family political beliefs and attitudes.

Secondly, children have natural tendency of imitating their parents. It is true that the influence of his parental model diminishes as the child grows older and begins drawing new models for himself from the wider social sphere where he then moves about, but the thought of parental model does never totally disappear.

Thirdly, members of the family usually lie in the same environment. The members are influenced by the same neighbours and neighbourhood, religious, ethnic and economic forces. All these makes the family a marked uniformity of opinion, against the background of which children are likely to share the political considerations of the parents.

The individual later changes his beliefs, values and orientations according to his intelligence and socio political experiences. But even in the midst of this change some of the prominent features of the parental influence remain with him.

- b. **Educational institutions-** The imparting of education at the schools has its own part in the process of political socialization. The kind of education that is given in the schools through the curriculum shapes the views and behaviour of the students. Because educational institutions are important Center of propagating political ideas, values and patterns of political behavior. Manifest (direct) transmission of political knowledge and opinion takes place at the school level. It has been found that educated persons are more aware of the impact of the government on their lives and more aware of political activities, better politically informed and have always manifested a higher degree of political competence than others. They have also greater capacity to influence political decision making process. The organization of debates, symposiums, discussions, competitions, speaking contests and the like not only add to their stock of information of the students but also make them aware of the ways of life. So education plays a big role in political socialization, that is why the people in the educational institutions or outside demand revision of syllabus and the course of the study to suit their political ideology. For instance, the American Negroes often fight for the inclusion of the achievements of their community in the building of the United States or for the exclusion of some portions that undermine their social and political status in the 'land of liberty'
- c. **Peer groups-** These are also called reference groups and work outside educational institutions. Peer group is a group of people of approximately the same age, status, interests, and being friendly in nature. This group include child hood play groups, school mates, friendship cliques, brothers and sisters, work associates, married couples etc. It can

easily influence each others political views. In these groups interaction as political views is spontaneous and not formal. Political Socialisation, at the stage of adolescence assumes new dimensions, since now emerges the problem of interpretation of an adjustment of political changes and also of preparation for participation in specific political roles. It is the peer group that looks after this aspect of the matter. Peer groups thus supplement the socialising functions of the family by preparing the individual for more specific political experience.

- d. **Religion-** In every society, particularly in developing theocratic societies, religion plays a big role in political socialization. The parents take their children to religious places at their tender ages where they listen to the philosophy of the priest, who has his own political ideology. This finds expression either in one way or the other in his sermons and have very deep effect on the young mind of the child, who takes that with himself as he grows age. As is well known in England church had to fight a big battle with the state, for supremacy. We also find that in India each religious organization has some political ideology and the followers of that religion are supposed to vote according to that ideology and participate in political activities in that manner.
- e. **Mass media-** In modern Societies mass medias play an important role in the process of political socialisation. Radio, TV, news papers, magazines, and other social medias provide information about political happenings. The mass media equally affects both the young and the old, irrespective of the fact whether one is living in the rural or urban areas. What is propagated through the media is attentively listened and usually it become difficult to edit the material to find out its authenticity. A controlled system of media politically socialises the listeners in a particular way. A free media teaches different values as against tutored values of a totalitarian society medias. One always develop some taste and certain values by reading news papers, listening to broadcasts, both news and views and so on. It has perhaps very rightly been said by Lucian W Pye that, “Socialisation through mass media is the best short run technique available and most crucial for political socialisation”. It is due to the importance of mass media in political socialization process, that the totalitarian states always control it.
- f. **Role of Govt.-** Each state is governed by a government, which has some political ideology. Even the staunchest supporters and followers of a political ideology change their political affiliations after assessing success or failure of policies being followed at home and foreign fronts by its party. This is one major reason why political conscious people leave their old political parties and either join some already existing party or form some new party. Performance of the government is major cause responsible for political socialization in all awakened and advanced societies.
- g. **Political parties-** In political socialization, political parties, both in democratic and totalitarian states, have a big hand. Because political parties are the agencies of interest aggregation and political communication. Communist party plays a big role in socialist state in politically socializing children from their very childhood. In democratic states,

whether there is bi-party or multi-party system each political party tries to socialize the electorate in the way it likes them to participate in the political process in the state. The views of individual to some extent are bound to change when political parties approach him several times directly or indirectly.

- h. **Work or Employment Situation-** Work place and nature of employment which one gets in life, has too been a consideration in political socialization. After completing education one makes efforts to settle in life. His attitude towards political institutions and structures gets shape with ease or difficulty with which he gets jobs. He develops love or hatred for the system accordingly. In addition, what type of job one gets and who are his work associates, what is their political ideology and level of thinking, what opportunity he gets to discuss his political ideas with his associates, how his employer behaves and to which extent he is made a participant in decision making process all are responsible for political socialization. Apart from these, political orientations are shaped through participation in unions, collective bargaining, demonstration and so on.
- i. **Direct contact with political system-** Direct relationship with political parties and pressure groups, and influential political leaders would naturally determine ones attitude towards politics.
- j. **Social institutions-**This particularly happens in multi-racial and multi- caste societies where each institutions tries to politically influence its members. In India, each caste tries to politically dominate everywhere.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation is a necessary ingredient of every political system. Although political power in every society is monopolised by just a few the incumbent of political authority in every system is found to be quite keen on ensuring some amount of political participation by the people. The reason is quite understandable. By involving the many in matters of the state, political participation fosters stability and order by reinforcing the legitimacy of political authority. So, "Participation is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled".

According to Verba, "Political Participation are those legal activities by private citizens which more or less directly aim at influencing the selection of government, personal and the action they takes".

Huntington has says that " Political Participation is an activity by private citizen designed to influence governments decision making".

Political participation is an integral part of democratic political system. More the number of people participate in the political process and political institution more that reflects the health of the system. Maximum participation means more legitimacy to the activities of the government and political stability and respect for the authorities.

Political participation denotes a series of voluntary activities which have a bearing on the political process that involves issues like selection of rulers and various aspects of the formulation of public policy. These activities are ...

- Voting at polls.
- Supporting possible pressure groups.
- Personally communicating with legislatures.
- Participation in political party activity.
- Engaging in habitual dissemination of political opinions through word-of-mouth communications to other citizens'

Lester W Milbrath brings these activities under the following three categories.

- a. Gladiatorial activities
- b. Transitional activities
- c. Spectator activities

Gladiators represent that small number of party activists whose active association with political parties keeps them engaged in a series of direct party activities like holding party offices, fighting the elections as party candidates, raising party funds, attending party meetings and joining the party campaigns.

Transitional activities include attending party meetings as party supporters or party sympathizers or just as neutral but attentive listener's, making contributions to the party funds and coming in contact with public officials or party personnel

Spectator activities, on the other hand, include voting, influencing others to vote in a particular way, making and joining in a political discussion, exposing oneself to political stimuli and wearing a badges or showing a sticker etc. It is in this category that maximum percentage of the people is covered.

Political participation may further be classified in terms of its purpose as instrumental and expressive

Instrumental Political Participation is essentially directed to the achievement of concrete goals like securing party victory or the passage of bill in the legislature etc.

Expressive Political Participation, on the other hand, does not aim at the realization of any concrete goal; it is concerned with some immediate satisfaction or a mere release of feeling. Thus some vote not because they are really interested in the political results flowing from the elections or in any material gain for themselves, but because they just have a feeling of satisfaction in exercising their voting right. In actual practice, however, instrumental participation often gets mixed up with expressive participation.

Political mobilization is defined as the actors' attempt to influence the existing distribution of power. A directional variable is introduced in order to define more precisely the type of relationship which develops between individuals and parties.

Apathy

Milbrath's classification tend to show that political participation, basically, is of two types-active and passive. The formers are those who actively participate in all political activities. On the other hand passive participants who are either spectators or sympathizer. This distinction, actually, is a necessary outcome of the most common fact that political participation in every society has a cost that involves time, energy and resources. Not all people are equally able or even willing to bear these costs and hence all are not direct and active participants in every society. . This phenomena usually known as Apathy in political participation. It means that, Indifference to or lack of interest or withdrawal from political process. A survey conducted in USA revealed that 3% plays the role gladiators, 7% belongs the category of transitional and 60% play the role of Spectator. About 30% of American population have been found to be apathetic.

In a democracy one usually come across two types of apathetics. There are those who fail to participate because of a lack of information about and interest in the political world which results from their political indifference and incapacity and also from a lack of opportunity to participate. The second type of political apathy is deliberate. It is to be found those who decide not to participate politically.

Reasons of Apathy

1. It may be due to the fact that political involvement to an individual may appear to be far less rewarding than other kinds of human activities. Political participation, usually depends upon two factors- Psychological and Social.
2. An individual is likely to be disinterested in Political Participation if he somehow goes by the belief that he can not change the existing state of things.
3. Political Apathy may also results from the fact that an individual is too satisfied with the efficiency and efficacy of the political system he belongs to.
4. Political Apathy may also be a result of one's total frustration with the system.
5. Sometimes Political Apathy may be encouraged by an ideological stereotype. In India the Naxelites once asked the people to abstain from voting.

As we have indicated earlier, Political participation is a complex phenomena that can not be easily explained. It varies from country to country, from era to era, from one type of people in a society to another. Too many variables thus work behind political participation, which, however may be brought under some broad categories like-

1. Psychological
2. Social
3. Political

Political Participation indeed, tends to meet one's psychological needs of overcoming his loneliness. Men participate politically because they hate isolation and want to have the association of others. Man may sometimes participate in political affairs just to relief of his intra psychic tensions. Political participation may subdue these tensions in two

ways- either it may arrest these tensions by distracting the individual from the sphere of his inner conflicts or it may provide some effective channels.

An individual's Social environment contains diverse elements that have a clear bearing on the nature and extent of his political participation. The most important among these elements are Education, Occupation, income, Sex, Age, Residence, Mobility, Religion, race and group influence.

Political environment also influences political participation. If a political map of the country is too large, if the machineries of political communication do not properly function, if the government institutions are enmeshed (unpleasant) in highly rigid and complicated rules, people are likely to develop somewhat a feeling of remoteness that seriously affects the rate of their political participation. Again, the more open is the competition for power in a society, the greater will be the tendency of participation. People will more take part in elections, if the election procedures are simple. Overconfidence in the ability of the government may sometimes develop a feeling among the people that their participation is not really all that necessary, the government will go on producing excellent results even without their participation. Sometimes international crisis may sharpen the impulse to participate, either it may increase or decrease.

The political parties also perform a number of important functions that helps the people in participating politically. Party campaigns have a great impact in political participation.

POLITICAL MODERNISATION

Political modernization, like political socialization, political development and political culture is a term that cannot be defined in precise terms, though its implications may be understood. Modernisation is the current term for an old process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire the characteristics common to more developed societies. According to JS Coleman, "Political Modernisation refers to those political structures which enhance capability, effectiveness and efficiency in the performance of political system of a society." It refers totality of change in political structures and cultures. It also refers to the process of transformation of pre- modern traditional societies to post traditional modern societies

Claude E Welch, Jr. takes it as " the process based upon the rational utilization of resources and aimed at the establishment of modern society." But Benjamin Schwartz describes it as " The systematic, sustained and powerful application of human energies to the rational control of man's physical and social environments for various human purposes". This term stands for the transformation of the political culture in response to the changes in social, and physical environment in view of this essential fact that political change is intricately related to a wide spectrum of social and economic factors. Huntington thus define it as ' a multi-faceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity'.

From the above , it is obvious that the subject of political modernization is a comprehensive affair in as much as it includes much with in the ambit of politics that is generally taken to be

covered in the realms of economics, sociology and psychology. It refers to the change in political culture and political institutions as a result of the process of modernization- “that is every thing like economic growth, increase of gross national product and per capita income, economic planning, greater industrialization, accumulation of capital, increasing urbanization and the reduction of the proportion of those engaged in agriculture, scientific advance, improved transport and a higher rate of literacy. The ‘take off’ point for economic growth often occurs when agriculture claims less than forty five per cent of the working population. From the economic point of view, an implicit assumption is that economic and technological growth and increased consumption are inherently desirable”

Before world war II, different terms were used like Europeanisation and Westernisation to refer to the process of social change. But in the post war era, it was felt that these terms could not explain the full implication of the process of social change which spread swiftly and widely. Hence a new term ‘modernization’ was developed. These term is comprehensive enough to cover all aspects involved in the process.

Dimensions of Modernisation

The process of modernisation is a comprehensive one and it covers much of the realms of politics, economics, sociology and psychology. As Huntington says it is a multi-faceted process and, for this reason , political modernisation is a concept having several dimensions as.

- a. At the psychological level, it involves a basic change in the norms, values, attitudes and orientations of the people in a society.
- b. At the intellectual level, it involves a tremendous expansion of man’s knowledge about his environment and diffusion of this knowledge through out society through increased literacy and mass communications.
- c. At demographic level, it implies improvements in the standard of living and progress towards the mobility of people and urbanization
- d. At social level, it has a tendency to replace the focus of an individual’s loyalty to family and other primary groups to voluntarily organized secondary associations.
- e. At the economic level, it involves the growth of market , agriculture, improvement in commerce at the expense of agriculture, development of industrialization and widening of economic activity.

Indicators of modernization

On the basis of the above discussion of the dimensions of modernization, we can identify major indicators of modern society. They are as follows

Growth of urbanization,

Increased per capita income,

Rise in GNP,

High rate of literacy,

Increased political participation,

Secularisation,

Increase in the scope and range of political authority,

National integration. etc

Characteristics of political Modernisation

In a politically modernized society, the people should think in terms of national and not about region, religion or community etc. There should be political stability and mobility in all walks of life. Social mobility and political mobility keep pace with each other and there should be no lag between any type of mobility. There should be trade unions and political parties with national outlook. Mass media should be accessible to all and it should provide an impartial education.

There must have an improvement in life style with the help of industrialization, economic growth, development of science and technology. People should have resources to lead a good life. They should give importance to industry than agriculture. There should be an rise in per capita income.

Besides this political participation should be high people should have desire for participation at all decision making process. Modernization not giving up every traditional values but applying them into new conditions.

Agents of political Modernisation

In political modernization leadership is an important agent. It is the centre around which the whole process revolves. Modernisation depends in the nature and character of the leadership. ie; whether the leader is conservative or progressive, forward looking or backward looking, believes in revolutionary or peaceful means and whether he has legitimacy with the people or not.

Another important agent is political party system. It means how and what lines political parties are organized and extend to which these are allowed to function freely with out the influence of state. What is the nature of party leadership and what is the party approach towards modernization. Then other issues involved are whether political parties have narrow or wide based, these are militants and non militants etc.

Political and other elites also important agent of modernization. In every society though they are minority influences the rest of the population to a large extent. Being elite, their views are considered by society with due respect in both political and non political aspects. In case the elite group is enlightened, educated and progressive favors modernization. Then the progress will become easy. On the other hand if they have negative approach then the task of modernization become difficult.

In most of the developing countries, military has become an important agent of modernization. In some countries it has captured directly powers. In many other, it indirectly controls or influences the modernization. Usually military came to power when civil authorities, political parties, political leadership has created so much chaos and disorders in all walks of life

that these lose their legitimacy and the people get disenchanted with them. When military authorities come to power then these have good chance of modernizing the society. Thus if military leadership is willing to modernize the society, it can do so and prove a good agent of modernization

In every society bureaucracy, consists of awakened and enlightened persons. It is its responsibility to run the administration. It is bureaucracy which is advises to the political bosses and responsible for implementing all policies and programs of the govt. It can prove a good agent of modernization.

In modernization process international bodies also play a big role. Developing nations which need modernization are backward in all walks of life.- social economic and political on the one hand and in the area of science, technology, industry and urbanization on the other. These need massive assistance from international bodies. Modernisation depends on the role and attitude of international bodies and organisations towards developing nations which have limited resources.

Like international bodies, developed nations too can prove an important agent of modernization of developing states. Provided this adopt a positive outlook and extend economic and technical aid suited to developing nations for modernization.

In the past colonialism proved a good source of modernization. Colonial powers, while fully protecting their on interest tried to introduce modern means of transformation and communication and also tried to improve there the political structures and institutions in a limited way.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Study of Political Development has brought Political Scientists, Sociologists, and Economists somewhat closer to each other. In the study of Political Sociology, study of Political Development plays an important role, though the latter term is so far not very clear. It was initially used by policy makers and politicians and subsequently scholars and others are began to use it. Need and necessity of study of political development arose primarily because of third world countries, which got their independence in the latter half of the present century changed their political systems both unexpectedly and very frequently. This created the problem of tools of investigations which could help in understanding their approach to political institutions, as these operated and failed in their countries.

Definitions

Scholars have tried to define the term political development in their own way.

Rostow and Pye hold that political development aims at “national unity and broadening of the base of political participation”

Gabriel A Almond regards political development as “the acquisition of new capability, in the sense of a specialized role, structure and differentiated orientation which together give a political system the range of problems”

According to Lucian W Pye, “Political development is a basic concept supporting the gradual diffusion throughout all societies of what we might call a world culture”

Lucian W Pye’s views about Political Development

There is no clear definition of the term ‘Political development’. This has been the position in spite of the fact that several attempts have been made by several scholars to give its proper and suitable definition. Some of the important thinkers who have paid attention to political development include Lucian W Pye, GA Almond, WH Higgins, David Apter, Harold Lasswell, Talcott Parsons, JP Nettles and several others. Among these thinkers Lucian W Pye is regarded as the leading light, who has analysed this concept in depth. He considered and treated political development in terms of cultural diffusion and adjusting old patterns of life to new demands. According to him the first important step in the direction of political development was the evolution of the nation state system and world culture. He holds us that the signs of political development could be traced at three different levels- with respect to the population as a whole, with respect to the level of governmental and general systemic performance and with respect to the organization of the polity.

In a loose or general sense, political development is a very vague as well as a very comprehensive term that involves within itself anything like consolidation of the democratic system, political stability or orderly change, nation-building and state-building, political modernization, political change, administrative and legal development, political mobilization and participation and, above all, anything having its place in the multi-dimensional development of a country. In the view of Pye, it has three characteristics:

Equality: It means mass participation or involvement of the most of the people in the political affairs of the country without discrimination on artificial grounds like those of religion, creed, caste, wealth, descent, colour of skin, sex etc. No section of the people should be deprived of the right to take active part in the politics of the country. A popular rule should be established, if not, then a semblance of it is necessary. The laws should be of a universalistic nature applicable to all and more or less be impersonal in their operation. It also means that recruitment to public office should reflect standards of performance and not the ascriptive considerations of a traditional social system.

Capacity. It refers to the capacity of a political system by which it can convert ‘inputs’ into ‘outputs’ and the extent to which it can affect the rest of the society and economy. While assessing capacity he has associated governmental performance and also the conditions which directly or indirectly influence such performances. Then he has also included in that efficiency of the system i.e, the extent to which it is capable of execution of public policy. It is also related to rationality in administration, secular orientation towards policy etc.

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

The concept of political development may be understood easily if we take it as associated with the development of a democratic system of the Anglo-American model. Therefore, it suggests the establishment and consolidation of the entire paraphernalia of the democratic system as growing participation of the people in the political process of the country, rule of law, independence of judiciary and press, free and fair elections, political stability, peaceful change and the like. A move in the opposite direction marking decline of the democratic system makes the case of 'political decay'. A leading exponent of the idea of 'political decay' like Samuel P Huntington says: "The level of institutionalization of any political system can be defined by the adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence of its organizations and procedures. So also the level of institutionalization of any particular organization or procedure can be measured by its adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence".

Crisis in Political development

Political Development faces certain crisis, which affect the whole process of political development in one way or other. Lucian W Pye says about seven such crisis,

1. Identity Crisis: The people should identify themselves with their political system. They must recognize their national territory as their 'homeland' and also feel that their personal identities are in part defined by the identification with their territorially delimited country.
2. Legitimacy crisis: By this we mean relationship between nature of authority and responsibility of the government. This problem of legitimacy becomes serious in developing countries as compared with the developed ones because in the case of former both religion and political bosses as well as secular forces try to dominate each other.
3. Penetration Crisis: It refers to the problem of administration reaching down to the society and effecting basic policies. To carry out significant development policies, the government must be able to reach down to the lowest level and touch the daily lives of the people.
4. Participation Crisis: It occurs when there is uncertainty over the appropriate rate of expansion and when the influx of new participation creates serious stains on the existing institutions. It also covers the issue whether facilities of participation in the decision making process should be given to all political parties and organized groups for a genuine democratic purpose or just for the sake of satisfying the demands of politics of demonstration.
5. Integration Crisis: It deals with the extent to which entire polity is organized as a system of interacting relationships, first among the officers and agencies of government and then among various groups and interests seeking to make demands upon the system and, finally, in the relationships between officials and articulating citizens.
6. Distribution Crisis: It refers to the issue as to how governmental powers should be used to influence the distribution of goods, services and values throughout the society. In some cases governments seek to meet the problems directly by intervening in the distribution of wealth; in other cases the approach is to strengthen the opportunities and potentialities of the disadvantaged groups.

Variables of Political Development and Decay

Pye and Almond say about political development. They ignore its reverse side, which is called political decay. Samuel P Huntington removes this deficiency of the liberal theory of political development. In simple terms, it means that if the democratic system is developing more and more in a country of the third world, it is development: if the things are moving in the opposite direction, it makes the case of political decay. For this purpose he uses four variables and their antonyms to signify the marks of development and decay. These are;

Adaptability. It means a long, regular and disciplined chain of leadership ready to welcome new changes and adapting the political, social and economic institutions accordingly. Its reverse aspect is rigidity which means that the leaders are fanatics who oppose changes in the name of preserving their old-age institutions and patterns of life.

Complexity. It means that there is a network of institutions, each carrying its responsibility in a more or less free manner without interfering into the domain of others or without facing any interference from their side. Its reverse aspect is simplicity which means that the mode of operation is old and traditional in which there is no separation of functions.

Autonomy. It means that all institutions have their clearly defined sphere of activity and so one institution may not be a hindrance or a source of interference to others. Its reverse aspect is subordination which means that the institutions have no clearly defined area of activity of their own and so they remain under the control of some powerful institution of the state.

Coherence. It means a degree of consensus among different associations and institutions due to which unity prevail in the system. Forces of disruption are not there to disturb the operation of the political system. Its reverse aspect is incoherence or disunity that means the absence of consensus necessary for maintaining peace and unity in the state. The liberal writers lay emphasis on this key point that social and political change signifies evolution of society from incoherent homogeneity to coherent heterogeneity.

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MODULE – VI

DEMOCRACY

Meaning

The idea of democracy has existed in the tradition of Western political thought since ancient times. The term ‘democracy’ was first used in the fifth century BC by the Greek historian Herodotus in the sense of ‘Rule by the People’. This term is derived from a combination of two Greek words: ‘demos’ meaning ‘the people’, and ‘kratien’ meaning ‘to rule’. Abraham Lincoln’s famous definition of democracy as ‘government of the people, by the people, for the people’ is very close to its literal meaning. In short, democracy as form of government implies that the ultimate authority of governance in this system is vested in the ordinary people so that public policy is made to conform to the will of the people and to serve the interest of the people.

Several exponents of democracy have treated democracy chiefly as a form of government. John Austin, James Bryce, AV Dicey, John Seeley and AL Lowell are some prominent supports of this view. Lowell, for instance, says that democracy is only an experiment in government. Seeley describes it as a government in which every one has a share.

A V Dicey, in his famous work ‘Law and Opinion in England’(1905), treated democracy as a form of government under which majority opinion determines legislation. According to him, it would be unwise in a democracy to enforce laws not approved by the people. He tried to demonstrate elaborately the relation of legislation to the prevailing public opinion. However, he also pointed out that particular laws are the product of a particular historical setting. Since public opinion under democracy is not a uniform phenomenon, it has not produced uniform laws.

James Bryce is one of the greatest champion of democracy and its most sympathetic critic. In his two monumental works, ‘The American Commonwealth’ and ‘Modern Democracies’ he chiefly treated democracy as a form of government. He defined democracy as ‘the rule of the people expressing their sovereign will through the votes’ Ultimately he reduced it to ‘the rule of the majority’.

Growth of indirect democracy

Since the eighteenth century, democracy came to be regarded as a moral standard by which regimes were judged rather than as one of the forms of government. During this period, democratic theory and practice focused on the extension of franchise with a view to translating the principle of human equality in to practice. However in actual practice, democracy was first established in the western world during the nineteenth century. Initially this term stood for ‘representative government’ where election of representatives was held by a competitive vote. However, only male citizens had the right to vote in elections. In this sense democracy came to be established in the United states in 1820s and 1830s when a number of states expanded the franchise.

In France adult male suffrage was abruptly introduced in 1848, but they could not set up a parliamentary government on an enduring basis till 1871. In Britain Parliamentary government had been established on an enduring basis since 1688 but the bulk of female citizens were not granted franchise till 1867. It is worth nothing that in all these systems only male franchise was sought to be introduced. Hence early democratic systems of modern western world were at best imperfect expressions of the idea of democracy as they were not based on universal adult franchise. Female franchise has been operative in the United States since 1919; in Britain since 1928; in France since 1945; and in Switzerland all women got their right to vote as late as 1971. Thus even in the western world the idea of democracy was materialized only in the twentieth century.

Democracy- Liberal Perspective

Democracy is an old concept; liberalism is a recent one. Today, liberalism is generally thought to be inseparable from democracy so much so that the term ‘democracy’ is applied to denote ‘liberal democracy’ unless otherwise specified. But as CB Macpherson in his ‘Democratic theory-essay in retrieval’ has observed: “Until the nineteenth century liberal theory, like the liberal state was not at all democratic, much of it was specifically undemocratic.” Classical liberal theory was committed to the individual’s right to unlimited acquisition of property and to the capitalist market economy which implies inequality not only in the economic sphere but in the political sphere also. Thus, classical liberalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries insisted on property qualification for the right to vote. This was contrary to the democratic principle which implies equal entitlement of each individual not only in the matter of choosing a government but also to the other advantages accruing from organized social life.

But a combination of the two antithetical principles- liberalism and democracy-became inevitable in a later phase because of historical reasons. Classical liberalism fostered capitalism and a free market economy which were responsible for large scale industrialization and urbanization. This gave rise to a large working class centered in large industrial cities and forced to live under sub-human conditions created by a cruel, competitive economy. In due course this class became conscious of its strength and insisted on a voice at the decision making level. Thus the liberal state was forced to accommodate democratic principles in order to save its own existence. Thus outcome of this combination emerged in the form of liberal democracy. It represents a combination of free-market economy with universal adult franchise. It is an attempt to resolve the conflicting claims of the capitalists and the masses by making gradual concessions under the grab of ‘welfare state’.

Principles of liberal democracy

Liberal democracy work on certain certain principles and certain mechanisms. Broadly speaking, principles of liberal democracy include:

1. Government by Consent. Democracy is a government by consent of the people. Rational consent can be obtained by persuasion for which an atmosphere of free discussion is essential. Discussion is usually held at two levels:

(a) among the representatives of the people in the legislative assemblies where the members of the opposition have their full say; and

(b) At the public level where there is direct communication between the leadership and the people. Mass medias like news papers, radio, television etc. Also serve as an effective channels communication between the leadership and the people.

2. **Public Accountability.** Liberal democracy, based on the consent of the people, must constantly remain answerable to the people who created it. John Lock who thought of government as a 'trustee' of the power vested in it by the people for the protection of their natural right to life, life liberty and property, nevertheless, felt it could not be fully trusted. He wanted the people to remain constantly vigilant. He thought of the people as a house holder who appoints a night watchman for protecting his house, and then, he himself keeps awake to keep a watch on the watchman. Jeremy Bentham envisaged liberal democracy as a political apparatus that would ensure the accountability of the governors to the governed. The governors, who are endowed with power, may tend to abuse it in their self-interest. Hence in order to prevent the abuse of their power, governors should be directly accountable to an electorate who will frequently check whether their objectives have been reasonably met.
3. **Majority Rule.** In modern representative democracies, decisions are taken by different bodies- legislature, committees, cabinet and executive and regulative bodies. Majority rule means that in all these decision making bodies, from electorate to the last committee, the issues are to be resolved by voting. Political equality is secured by the principle of 'one man, one vote' which implies that there will be no privileged sections claiming special weightage, nor any under privileged sections whose voice is ignored. The principle of majority rule relies on the wisdom of the majority. Minority opinion has the option to enlist the support of the larger numbers by persuasion in an atmosphere of free discussion.
4. **Recognition of Minority Rights.** The principle of majority rule by no means implies the suppression of minorities. In modern nation-states, there may be several racial religious, linguistic or cultural minorities who fear discrimination or tyranny of the majority. Minority grievances may take many forms ranging from psychological insult over discrimination in housing, education and employment to physical persecution and genocide. Legal safeguards are, therefore, considered essential for the realization of democratic principle because their presence helps to raise the level of awareness of both majority and minority and thus promote a favourable climate for democratic politics.
5. **Constitutional Government.** Constitutional government means 'government by laws' rather than by men. Democracy requires an infinitely complex machinery of process, procedures and institutions to translate the majority will into action. It makes enormous demands on the time, goodwill and integrity of its citizens and public servants. Once the prescribed procedure is set aside, even for a legitimate purpose, it can set a precedent that may be followed for pursuing illegitimate purposes, and the flood-gates of curroption

might be thrown wide open. It is, therefore, essential to have a well-established tradition of law and constitution for the stability of a democratic government.

These five principles throw sufficient light on the nature of liberal democracy.

Mechanisms of Liberal Democracy

Once certain principles of liberal democracy are accepted, the next step is to identify the mechanisms that put these principles into practice. This would enable us to distinguish a liberal-democratic system from other political systems, viz. totalitarian and autocratic systems. Champions of liberal democracy recognize certain institutions and procedures as essential characteristics of democracy. Those characteristics of liberal democracy may be enumerated as follows:

More than One Political Party freely Competing for Political Power.

Liberal democracy seeks reconciliation between varying interests and ideologies of different groups. There is no fixed method of securing this reconciliation. When there is a free competition between more than one political party for power, the people get an opportunity to consider various alternative policies, programmes and personalities to exercise their power. So the Former Soviet Union and the present People's Republic of China cannot be treated as democracies as they conceded monopoly of power to their respective Communist Parties, in spite of a façade of periodic elections. Liberal democracy requires open competition for power between different political parties on the basis of established and accepted form of procedure.

Political offices not confined to any privileged class.

In a liberal democracy a political office or public office can be acquired only through the support of the people, not by birth, tradition or anybody's favour. This feature of democracy distinguishes it from feudalism, monarchy and despotism etc. In a democracy all citizens enjoy equal rights and status. Any citizen can have access to political office by following the prescribed procedure and fulfilling certain conditions. Political office can be held only for a limited period which must be relinquished on the completion of one's term or other exigency, such as dissolution of the legislature, one's own resignation, etc. Some qualifications, such as age, education etc. may be prescribed for the candidates of a political office, but no body can be declared unfit for any office on grounds of caste, creed, sex, language, region, etc. However, in order to secure due representation for all strata of the population, some seats in the decision making bodies can be reserved for minorities or weaker sections. It is believed that such provision would strengthen democracy rather than weaken it.

Periodic elections based on Universal Adult Franchise

Since representative government is the only practicable method of establishing democracy in the present day world, periodic elections become necessary for this purpose. Each citizen should have the right to vote on attaining the prescribed age; nobody should be disqualified on grounds of caste, creed, sex, language, region etc. Voting should be secret so that each citizen can exercise his or her rights in this respect without fear or favour. It is true that the principle of

universal adult franchise was introduced in modern democracies only gradually, but today it is regarded a necessary condition of democracy.

Protection of Civil Liberties

Protection of civil liberties, such as freedom of thought and expression, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and association, and personal freedom, i.e. freedom from arbitrary arrest, is an essential characteristic of liberal democracy. On the one hand, these freedoms enable the citizens to form interest groups and other organizations to influence government decision; on the other hand, they ensure independence of the mass media, particularly the press, from government control. Without civil liberties, will of the people cannot be translated into public policy and decision. Civil liberties therefore, constitute the core of democracy.

Independence of the Judiciary.

Freedom of the people cannot be secured in the face of concentration of governmental powers in any organ. Liberal democracy, therefore, insist on the separation of powers between the different organs of government. While the executive and the legislature might become interdependent in a parliamentary government, the judiciary must be kept independent of both. While the legislature and executive in a democracy are dominated by politicians, judges are appointed on merit and they cannot be removed from office in consequences of sudden changes in the political climate of the country. Independence of judiciary enables the judges to pronounce their verdict without fear or favour. This strengthens the faith of the people in the regime and ensures continuity and stability of the judicial procedure.

The above conditions must be fulfilled in a liberal democracy under normal circumstances. However, some flexibility in these conditions may be conceded under special circumstances, such as emergency. In if any case, mere fulfillment of these conditions should not lead us to complacency. In a nutshell, the mere structure of a liberal democracy is no guarantee of achieving the objectives of democracy. In any case, the prolonged practice of following democratic procedure may create greater political awareness among the people and a general transformation of the attitudes of power-holders.

Democracy- Marxian Perspective.

Liberal theory largely identifies democracy by its procedure and institutions. Marxist theory, on the other hand, evaluates any political system with reference to its class character, that is through identification of the antagonistic classes (owners and non-owners of the means of social production) within that system. Marxist criticize the prevalent form of liberal democracy because it harbours the capitalist system in which the majority of people comprising workers is deprived of power.

Marxist critique of Liberal Democracy

Liberal democracy, by fostering the capitalist economic system, exclusively serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, i.e. the capitalist class. Marxists, therefore, dubbed liberal democracy the 'bourgeois democracy'. In spite of its vast paraphernalia of representative institutions, liberal

democracy hardly serves the interests of the people on whose behalf power is exercised. According to Marx and Engels, “ the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie”. Here the term ‘modern state’ refers to the prevalent model of liberal democracy.

John Plamentaz, in his ‘Democracy and Illusion-An Examination of Certain Aspects of Modern Democratic Theory’, has enumerated four out standing reasons advanced by Marxists, Anarchists and other like minded thinkers for calling ‘bourgeois democracy’ a sham:

1. Where there are great inequalities of wealth, there, whatever the form of government, power and influence always belong mostly to the wealthy, if only because they alone can afford to provide their children with the expensive schooling needed to fit them for positions carrying power and influence;
2. Where the political system, to work effectively, calls for large organizations, power and influence belong to their leaders rather to the rank and file;
3. Where there are great social inequalities, leaders, no matter how modest their social origins, soon acquire the attitudes and ambitions of the privileged and lose touch with their followers; and
4. Power and influence depend greatly on information, and the wealthy are better placed than the poor both to get information and to control the distribution of it.

There are, no doubt, most familiar points of criticism against liberal democracy involving large economic inequalities. But if we confine our attention to these reasons, it can be argued that if large economic inequalities are removed within the capitalist system, the liberal model can be made to serve as true democracy. But position would not be acceptable to Marxist exponents of democracy who are convinced that democracy and capitalism cannot go together. In fact, Marxists focus on the defects of the capitalist system itself with regard to its capability of serving as democracy.

Liberal Democracy Exclusively Serves Bourgeois Interest

According to the Marxian standpoint, since the capitalist system of production is designed to serve the economic interest of the bourgeoisie, its political superstructure cannot be made to serve the people. In the economic sphere, society is divided into ‘dominant’ and ‘dependent’ classes, the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’, the ‘bourgeoisie’ and the ‘proletariat’; there interests are diametrically opposed to each other. Political power is only a handmaid of economic power. It is, therefore, quite natural that the political institutions of such a system- whatever their outer form- are bound to protect the interest of the bourgeoisie. Liberal democracy, which represents the political institutions of the capitalistic economic system, pays lip-service to ‘sovereignty of the people’ in order to derive its legitimacy. In this situation, the state operates as an instrument of preserving the conditions suitable for a market mechanism which continues to serve the interest of the capitalist class.

Liberal Democracy creates Ideological Misconceptions

Liberal democracy, of course, creates representative institutions and concedes formal equality of political right. It pretends to create a situation in which government is run by the chosen representatives of the people- the proletariat as well as the bourgeoisie. The workers who have the right to vote on par with businessmen and industrialists are led to believe that they have an equal share in governance. Moreover, liberal democracy claims to reconcile the interests of the proletariat with those of the bourgeoisie. This create an impression that due care of the interest of the workers is being taken. But, according to Marxist theory, these are wrong impressions created by liberal democracy, because this type of political system simply lends legitimacy to the property relations of the capitalist order which are neither natural nor rational. In other words, so long as the capitalist mode of production prevails, the society remains divided into two antagonistic classes- capitalists and workers, who represent the dominant and dependent classes respectively. The state as the agent of the dominant class serves the interest of the capitalists at the expense of the workers.

The 'dominant' class has always had an edge over the 'dependent' class in the sphere of ideas. The ideas promoted by the ruling class are the ruling ideas of any age. These ideas may involve injustice, but they are widely accepted as a standard of justice and seldom questioned. Under the spell of bourgeois ideology, the masses are made to believe that they are being ruled with their consent. Bur they blindly follow the values of bourgeois society against their own interest; their consent is, therefore, a false consent.

Liberal Democracy tries to perpetuate the Economic Division of Society

Liberal democracy, in spite of providing universal suffrage, periodic elections, freedom of thought and expression, does not embody an effective mechanism for transforming the economic relations of society in order to serve the common interest. Instead, it tends to perpetuate the economic division of the society into 'haves' and 'have-nots' and the values of the bourgeois society which support and legitimize this division. It is interesting to recall that liberalism conceded the democratic principle of wider suffrage in a number of Western countries only when it had made sure that its acceptance would not be detrimental to the maintenance of the property relations of the capitalist system. Thus liberal democracy, in the Marxist view, is incapable of averting class exploitation; it is a device for keeping the exploiting class or its nominees constantly in power for the purpose of serving its own interests.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Concept of People's Democracy.

In popular parlance, 'dictatorship' denotes an antithesis of democracy. In Marxian terminology, so long as the state is in existence, with its vast coercive apparatus, there is no difference between democracy and dictatorship. If democracy means the rule of majority over the

minority, then the 'proletarian state' is surely more democratic than the 'bourgeois state'. As Henri Lefebvre, in his 'Sociology of Marx', has elucidated: "The dictatorship of the proletariat means concrete democracy, i.e. the coercive power of a majority over a minority." The capitalist system of production maintained by the liberal democracy involves domination of minority- the capitalists- over the majority- the workers in the economic, social as well as political sphere – which is inimical to human freedom. On the contrary, the socialist system of production maintained by socialist democracy ensures domination of the majority- the workers – over the minority- the former capitalists – and this process continue as long as the state continues to exist. Domination and coercion during this period are necessary to contain the forces of counter-revolution and to destroy the vestiges of capitalist order. The dictatorship of the proletariat is more akin to democracy not because of its form, but because of the purpose for which the state continues to exist during this period. Dictatorship of proletariat is not intended to last for ever. It is meant to accomplish a specified function. As Lefebvre in his 'Sociology of Marx' observes "The working class must destroy the machinery of the existing state, but its own state is to last only for a transitional period during which state functions of organization and management are taken over by new social forces... and the state will begin to wither away when a truly rational organization of production become possible."

It is important to note that most of the theories of democracy are concerned with liberal democracy are concerned with 'liberal democracy', but the concept of 'People's Democracy' is associated with Marxist thought. Marx did not reject democracy as such. He attacked 'bourgeois democracy' as a distorted form of democracy, and tried to give an alternative version of true democracy. He was inspired by Rousseau's critique of representative democracy and saw true democracy as an expression of homogeneous interests. But his adherence to class perspective convinced him that a class divided society cannot have homogeneous interests. Accordingly the idea of true democracy could only be realized in a classless society, or at best in a socialist state which represented the uniform interest of the working class.

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