



M.A. PART-II (SEMESTER III)

**POLITICAL SCIENCE
PAPER-II
MODERN POLITICAL ANALYSIS**

**Centre for Distance and Online Education
Punjabi University, Patiala
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Unit II

LESSON NO.:

- 2.1 : Political Parties : Meaning, Classification, Role and Evaluation
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- 2.3: Political Culture
- 2.4: Political Socialization
- 2.5: Political Development
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LESSON NO. 2.1

POLITICAL PARTIES: MEANING, CLASSIFICATION, ROLE AND EVALUATION

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2.1.1 Introduction

The importance of political parties in a parliamentary democracy needs hardly be emphasized. *Graham Wallas* in his book, "*Human Nature in Politics*" (1908) wrote that the *political party is, in fact, the most effective political entity in the modern national state. In modern democracy, governments cannot function effectively in the absence of political parties.* They disseminate political education to the masses and make their participation in the political process of a society meaningful and effective. In fact, they are an essential condition for the successful working of representative government. They are the primary lubricants of the dynamic forces of political, governmental and social processes like harmonizing or containing the diverse interests of various groups, integrating the individual in society and transmitting social and political values from one generation to the other. Thus, the growth and development of political parties and their functioning becomes a determinant for the stability of social, governmental and political order.

The political party is a creature of modern political systems. Whether one thinks of Anglo American democracies or totalitarian system such as the

erstwhile, Soviet Union, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, emergent African States in their early years of independence, or Latin American republic that have hobbled along for over a century; a mammoth ex-colonial area such as Indian grouping towards democracy or an equally mammoth Communist power such as China seeking to mobilize a population through totalitarian methods, the political party in one form or another is omnipresent.

Thus, in all political systems the existence of political parties is a very natural phenomenon. It attempts to provide political shape to the amorphous mass of public divided by divergent opinion, interests and principles. Particularly in such systems where the people are expected to participate in the process of governance and arrangement of power through voting and elections, the existence of political parties alone can facilitate that work. In non-liberal system or in authoritarian system also political parties either in format sense or in the form of cliques has been found existing. Herman Finer therefore stands vindicated that the political parties are real power behind all thrones. If political party is such a significant organization, it is necessary to delineate its meaning, characteristics, typologies and functioning in order to have correct understanding.

2.1.2 Objectives

- This lesson will help students to know the meaning, characteristics, typologies and functioning of Political Parties.
- This study will develop critical reasoning among the students.
- Students will be able to differentiate political systems on the basis of political parties.

2.1.3. Meaning:

The term political party has been given diverse meaning by writers on politics. The classical explanation is that of *Edmund Burke*, a conservative political philosopher of 18th century England. According to Burke, a political party is a body of men united for promoting the national interest on some particular principles in which they are all agreed. And *Disraeli* has said before Burke that "Party is organized opinion." But Disraeli knew that party was more than that we may therefore have an erroneous assumption that parties are and must be primarily doctrinal bodies. But this is not so. *Duverger* has made it clear that the doctrinal unity of a party may be only one of the factors that accounts for its existence and efficiency, but that may be largely, fictitious and accidental or, at best, rest on a historical tradition. That may not have any great relevance to the problems facing the party or the country in which the party exists and works.

Burke's definition seems to have become outdated if we view in the light of recent trend of political behavior. *Dean and Schuman* argue, keeping in mind the parties in the democratic world to eastern Europe that political parties have become essentially political institutions to implement the objectives of interest groups if so, a specific interest constitutes the foundation of a political party and as 'specific' interests differ from one another, there are corresponding

differences between political parties. Similarly Neumann has suggested that "a definition of parties might as well begin with its simple word derivation. To become a party something always means identification with one group and differentiation from another. Every party in its very essence signifies 'partnership' in a particular organization and 'separation, from others by a specific programmed.' *Jean Blondie* in his *Comparative Politics* has explained parties as groupings, but groupings of a particular kind. "A political party, at least on the American scene tends to be a 'group' of peculiar sort."

V.O. Key refers to a fundamental difficulty about the term 'political party' for being applied without discrimination to many types of groups and near groups. *La Palombra* and *Weiner*, writing about this difficulty of defining political parties lay down certain criteria for an organization to be called a political party. The four types of criteria according to these authors are:

1. Continuity in organization that is an organization whose expected life span is not dependent on the span of current leaders.
2. Manifest and presumably permanent organization at the local level which regularized communications and other relationship between local and national units.
3. Self conscious determination of leaders at both national and local level to capture and to hold decision making power alone or in coalition with others not simply to influence the exercise of power and,
4. A concern on the part of the organization for seeking followers at the pools or in some manner striving for popular support.

It should be clear; therefore, that when we speak of parties we do not mean these as cliques, clubs and small groups of notables that can be identified as the antecedents of the modern political party in many of the Western countries. In conceptual terms, political party is usually defined as a group of individuals, working to control all or a part of the political system in order to implement common goals upon which they are agreed and it is autonomous and voluntary association. The cliques, clubs, and group of notables seeking to capture and control the exercise of political power and in this sense manifest one of the salient characteristics of political parties. But they do not constitute a political party, because political parties are much broader in terms of organization, functions and ideology which divided them together.

2.1.4. Self Check Exercise

Self Check Exercise

Q. 1. Who is the author of the book "Human Nature in Politics"?

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.....

. Q. 2. What is the importance of Political Parties in a Democracy?

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Political Parties and Pressure Groups

On conceptual plan pressure groups are differentiated from political parties. It is sometimes said that parties aim at taking over power, while groups aim only at influencing decisions which are taken by others. Political party is an organization of numerous people, who are openly committed on board questions of policy. They want to assume direct responsibility for their politics by seeking to monopolies or share with other parties a position of political power. Contrary to this, a pressure group strives to protect and promote its specific interest without being ready to assume direct responsibility for the same. What differentiates political parties from interest or pressure group, is the breath and variety of their following and the orientation of their programmed towards issues of concern to the whole country.

Jean Blondie agrees with such distinction but more as a rough and ready rule than as a truly conceptual distinction. This distinction is based on a distinction between decision makers and 'mere influential's which is somewhat over simplified. It leads taking 'aspirations' as main variable even if this is wholly unrealistic. For instance, a small party may claim to be working for sharing and control of political power even though it is unrealistic, which obviously makes it a little better than pressure group. If a group becomes more like a political party. It is because aims are general and membership open and the parties want to take power and we highly politicized, they do not confine themselves to a limited number of issues, they are interested in all the national decisions.

It should, however, be noted at this place that the emergence of political parties at least sociologically, is to be found in social turmoil that accompanied the industrial revolution and the emergence of a vigorous and prosperous middle class. As these developments led to the rise of demand for political participation and franchise, Interest groups took the shape of political parties. While the prevalent ideologies religious, political, economic, moral, provided certain fundamental values for unity and action, the socio-political and economic conditions also provided certain stimulation for organization of political parties. For instance, in liberal autocracies, "The emergence of modern mass based political parties coincided with the extension of suffrage to large portion of adult population. As growing segment of masses received the right of vote, elite soon discovered that leaving the masses to their own device was chancy business. Left unattended the masses would be predictable. Elite, capable of organizing a large segment of electorate into cohesive unitism found their position secure. Competing units accordingly had little choice but to organize competing parties. The ideological preference, support base, nature of membership, style of functioning etc., characterize political party.

2.1.5. Structural types of Political Parties

Maurice Duverger delineates three main sociological types of political parties: (a) on the. Basis of their general framework, (b) their bound of membership, and (e) their governing structure.

The first such type corresponds approximately to the 'middle class' parties of the 19th century, which still survive in the shape of conservative and liberal parties. These are based upon Caucuses which are narrowly recruited rather independent of one another and decentralized. Their aim is not so much to increase their membership or to enlist the members to recruit outstanding people. Since their activity is entirely directed towards elections and parliamentary alliances they have in consequence a somewhat seasonal character. The framework of their administration on the whole, their leadership is very markedly individualistic in form. Real power in them belongs to a particular group revolving round a parliamentary leader and the life of the party stems from rivalry amongst such small groups, the party is concerned only with political questions to the extent or affects power balance. The ideological problems play a very small part in their life and membership is generally based upon interests, generally personal in character.

Second, the structure of socialist parties of continental Europe is different being directed to organize as large proportion of the masses as possible. It, therefore involves a definite scheme of affiliation complemented by a very strict system of individual subscriptions, on these the party is dependent for its finance (whereas parties of the first type adhere to the technique of private finance). The caucuses of the first type are here replaced by branches. These are working units wider based and less exclusive, in which the political education of members assumes considerable importance along with the purely electoral activity. The number of members and the collection of subscriptions help in the setting up of a considerable administrative organization. Consequently, within the party there is to be found an ever growing number of permanent officials who naturally tend to form a class in order to assume a certain authority. The seeds of bureaucracy begin to develop. The personal aspect in leadership becomes less important. In theory, election is the rule at all levels; in practice powerful oligarchic tendencies manifest themselves. Doctrine plays a much more important part within the party. Rivalries instead of being struggle between personalities, take on the character of conflicts between opinions. The party, moreover, steps outside the purely political domain to invade the fields of economics, society, and the family and so on.

Third, in more recent times, Communism and Fascism have created a still more novel sociological type. In contrast with the semi decentralization of socialist parties, they have in common a very strict centralization, system vertical links ensuring that the elements at the base are strictly divided into cells. This being a protection against an attempt at schism and division, ensuring very strict discipline. Leadership is based on autocratic methods in which the influence of parliamentary representatives is politically non-existent. Neither of them pays more than secondary attention to electoral struggles. Their real field of action lies elsewhere in increasing propaganda and agitation, using direct and sometimes violent methods, strike, sabotage, etc. Both try to adapt themselves equally for conditions of open struggle and clandestine

combat in case the state should react against them with prohibitions and prescriptions. Both are equally based on the strict totalitarian doctrine which admits no distinction between public and private life, but claims the same right to direct the latter as irrational attachment, founded in myths and belief of a religious nature and thus, the faith of a Church is combined with the discipline of an army. Nevertheless, there remain profound differences between Communist and Fascist parties.

Several types of parties outside of this general scheme, which is according to Duverger, "very approximate and vague, it describes rather than any clear cut distinction."

2.1.6. Classification of Political Parties:

Parties differ in their structure, ideological commitment, and their mass appeal. The number and kinds of political parties differ from one country to the other and several factors account for the difference of political party systems in different countries. Party systems are the product of many complex factors, some peculiar to individual countries, and other general.

Amongst the first may be cited tradition and history, social and economic structure, religious beliefs, racial composition, national rivalries and so on. There are three chief factors common to all countries which account for change. They are socio-economic, ideological and technical. The first are mainly concerned with the influence of class structure on political parties, and this influence is very great. The division of European parties in the 19th century into Conservative and Liberal can be described as the opposition between the landed aristocracy and the commercial and intellectual middle class. The appearance of socialist parties at the beginning of the twentieth century coincides with the entry of the working class into political life. Nevertheless, there are exceptions. American parties do not correspond to definite classes and there is no party completely, homogenous in social composition. The most important technical factor is the electoral regime. Its effect upon number, size, alliances and representation is important, conversely the party system exercise a vital influence upon the electoral regime. The ballot procedure, however, has not real driving power. The most decisive influence in this respect is aspects of the life of the nation such as ideologies and particularly the socio-economic structure.

Maurice Duverger has differentiated political system on the basis of number of political parties operation within a political system. A brief explanation of single, two and multi party system is given ahead.

2.1.6.1. Single Party System : This type of regime is characterized by the power either dominating all other groups, trying to absorb the political opposition, or in the extreme case suppressing all opposition groups which are regarded as counter revolutionary or subversive of the regime as forces dividing the national will. This principle category has two sub-categories: totalitarian and democratic. It is thus, confusing and, in a sense, inappropriate to use the term 'Political Party' both for the competing political association in democratic

state and also for that group which has the full monopoly of political as well as other powers in dictatorial, totalitarian state. Any general description of the single party is necessarily vague. If we have to be more precise we must keep in mind the fundamental difference between the single party of the Fascist type and the single party of the Communist type. However, the Fascist and Communist single party systems have doctrinal and socially differs. They also differ in party structure.

To carry the point of categorization further, we may say that even the totalitarian model of a single party system may be said to have two more sub-categories, i.e., ideologically committed and ideologically non-committed that is, the only party in a state may or may not be committed to any ideology. Moreover, even this ideological commitment may be of two types-rightist and leftist. While the ideology of the right, generally speaking, stands for the maintenance of the status quo, the ideology of the left aims at a fast or revolutionary change in the existing capitalistic set up. In this connection, we can place Germany and Italy or pre-second World War period in the first category and the communist states like erstwhile Soviet Union, China, Poland, Rumania, Cuba, Yugoslavia etc. in the second category.

The democratic category of a single party system has three sub-categories namely 'one plus' party system where the dominant party system takes the help of some other party as we find in the case of Liberal Democratic Party of Japan. One party dominant system where one party enjoys a position of far more authority than all other parties put together and which are no match of its power and position as was the case of Indian National Congress before the 4th general elections, finally, 'one absorbing' party system where we find that one party absorbs all other major political organization within its fold as is the case of Kenyan African National Union Party of Kenya.

2.1.6.2. Two Party System: Such a system is marked by the existence of only two parties, sufficiently strong to share the major part of electoral votes and to exercise political control though other parties may exist and obtain some seats in the representative assembly. But there are also very considerable differences between characteristically two party systems such as we find in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

A two party system may be further sub-divided into their sub-categories. Namely, two party system where alternation of power takes place between major parties, 'two plus' party system where some other party or parties may seldom have a chance to share power with either of the two major parties, 'two party system is the midst of many', where parties other than the two major ones have chances, now and then, to share power. Two party systems have two more sub-categories, distinct and indistinct. Where two dominant parties have distinct political programmes and policies, the system can be characterized as distinct two parties. One example for such a system is that of British Conservative and Labor Parties, the case of indistinct two party systems finds

its example in the United States where the Democrats and Republicans have no ideological differences.

2.1.6.3. Multi Party System

A country in which opinion is divided amongst several groups that are unstable, fluid and short-lived does not provide an example of multi parties in the proper sense of the term. In fact, it signifies a system in which no single party is able to obtain majority control in the legislature. Such a system often leads to the formation governments on account of the absence of any particular party that may be in opposition to capture power and run the government itself. The typology of the multi party system is difficult to establish. Innumerable varieties can be imagined ranging from three parties to infinity and with each variety innumerable patterns and shades of difference are possible.

Multi party system is also of two types stable and unstable. It is stable where many parties struggle for power and they run the government without establishing the political system itself. The case of Switzerland is very conspicuous in (his regard where Social Democrats, Radical Democrats, Liberal Democrats and Communists struggle for power without creating conditions of political uneasiness with the result that political system is never pushed to the direction of political disintegration or decay. Different from this is the case of France where political system is threatened. Thus, France provides an example of unstable multiparty system. Italy is another example in this regard.

It is commonly said that what determines where it is a two party or multiparty system is the degree of unity of the particular community. Multiparty system obviously reflects division within the community is social structure, economic interest, racial composition or ideological preference. But desperate groups can be held together by a strong personality and the overriding importance of a few major issues has been provided by the experience of West Germany. Much the same task as Dr. Adenauer performed in West Germany was carried out successfully by Nehru in India during its transition to a linguistic basis for federalism. But when cleavages are too deep in a country and are felt intensely, only exceptional circumstances and leadership like that of General Charles de Gaulle in France is capable of bridging them. Moreover, unless new allegiances develop which are stronger than the divisive factors, multiparty divisions tend to take hold against and once more seriously to handicap effective government.

One thing about the three fold classification of the party system that must be kept in mind is that this is only broad, general and approximate. A very precise, neat and water tight classification of party system is not possible. For the subject it is of a very complicated nature and fast political developments may disturb the conclusions we might have drawn from a study of the present party systems.

2.1.7. Role of Political Parties:

The role of political parties varies from regime to regime and is dependent on the nature of political party itself. For example, dictatorship also finds the political party as indispensable instrument but they use it in a very different way than the democracies. Where democratic political parties consciously emphasize diversity and mutual critics, the political party in the Communist or Fascist dictatorship is the "body of faithful members, dedicated to maintaining the truth which their leaders profess."

Whereas, apart from their elected members, democratic political parties are informal organizations the dictatorial political party permeates every governmental as well as non-governmental activity and is virtually a part of the administration it dominates further, whereas democratic systems maximize opportunities for criticism and protect individual rights to free speech, dictatorial systems operate on the principle of 'democratic centralism' i.e. that comments, may be offered only in the early stages of a proposal, but once that leaders have made their decision everyone must accept it. Whereas democracies anticipate an alteration of leaders and provide the public with a choice of candidates for office, dictatorial leaders are self selected through a power struggle within the party machinery itself. Whereas democracies use the favor and slogans of an electoral campaign to publicise the differences between party programmers the party in a dictatorial state carries on continuous propaganda campaigns in support of the government's objectives and is the chief means by which conformity is maintained throughout the society.

Democratic political parties socially integrate the people within their ranks by giving them a common objective and a common organization. But the political party in such a state is a vehicle to be used by its members, not a master to give them orders. In totalitarian states, in contrast the political party is the chief means of control, throughout the state, and thus, its membership is carefully shifted to ensure conformity to the overriding purpose of the small ruling group. Usually, therefore, its membership is intentionally kept small, while it is of course, the purpose of a party in a democracy to attract as many members as possible.

To a certain degree, the totalitarian political party serves purpose of expressing sentiments of its members but only to the degree that is useful for the purpose of the regime. In no case does it act to restrain the exercise of power. As the Nazis used to put it, "in democracies, authority comes from below and responsibility from above; in dictatorship authority comes from above and responsibility from below."

2.1.8. Summary:

The party system has its own points of strength and weakness. Intellectually, however, we have become committed to the position in the twentieth century that parties are central to our system, the primary lubricants and moving forces" of the governmental process, the "party is king". We are inclined to echo Graham Wallas statement of 1938 : "The party is, in fact, the

most effective political entity on the modern national state." More recently V.O. Key said, "Political parties constitute a basic element of democratic institutional apparatus."

Leiserson adds to this that "The political party is a strategically critical concept in the sense that party system provides the major connection linkage between people and government, between separate formal agencies and officials of Govt. and between official and non-official (extra governmental) holders of power."

Sigmund Neumann asserts in a sweeping fashion, "*The viability of party system becomes a test for the stability of a social and political order.*" It is accepted as an incontrovertible truth that the historical development of democracy would have been impossible without the concomitant appearance of political parties. Representative, popular government could not have been implemented without intervening, political groups to support legislative leadership, mobilize votes, and agitate for alternative programmes and policies. We have come to accept the basic idea, as E. E. Schattschneider has put it, "That the only kind of organization that can translate into fact the idea of majority rules is the political party. A unified action would be unthinkable if the diversity of society is not be transformed into the unity of the state, in such a situation the necessity of parties becomes very much clear. They also bridge, as *Finer* has pointed out, distance, since the territorial area of nations and electoral districts is so wide that electorate must be brought into communication with each other. Party is the organizing intermediary. According to him, parties are such a mechanism which integrate the plurality of society in a political action model and strive to create a consensus which made democratic way of life possible.

As against the above given views, some authorities have found serious fault with the parties. Parties, they say, create factionalism as they "tend to make the political life to a country machine like or artificial. The party in opposition is always antagonistic to the party in power. The talent of the people is ignored on accounts of party politics and the interest of the nation suffers. The vision of the party members is narrowed and their individuality crushed with the result that the evils of favoritism, nepotism as spoil system become strong.

In India, the most ardent expression of party less democracy has been given by J.P., who would prefer a model of organic democracy which is built on the basis of Panchayats. But we must say that the idea of party less democracy is utopian and far from the world of political reality.

2.1.9. Key words

Agenda
Elections
Communism
Fascism

Liberal
Conservative

2.1.10. Short Answer Questions:

1. What is the essential element of a Political Party?
2. What do you mean Regional Political Party?
3. When was the first ever Alliance Government formed in India?

2.1.11. Long Answer type Questions:

1. What do you mean by Political Parties? Discuss classification and role of Political Parties?
2. What is the importance of Political Parties in a Democracy? Discuss.

2.1.12. Suggested Readings:

1. Joseph La Palombara : Political Parties and Political Developments
2. Key, V.O. Jr. : Political Parties and Pressure Groups
3. Jean Blondel : Comparative Government
4. Leo D. Epstien : Political Parties in Western Democracies
5. Key Lawson : The Comparative Study of Political Parties (1976)
6. Heinz Eulau (ed.) : Political Behaviour, 1972
7. Harry Eckstein and : Comparative Politics : A Reader
8. David Apter
9. Andrew Heywood : Politics
10. B.L. Fadia- : "Indian Govt. & Politics"
11. J.C. Johari- : "Indian Polity"

POLITICAL CULTURE

- 2.3.1. Introduction
- 2.3.2. Objectives of this lesson
- 2.3.3. Meaning and Nature:
- 2.3.4. Self Check Exercise
- 2.3.5. Political Culture and Sub-Cultures
- 2.3.6. Determinants and Dimensions
- 2.3.7. Political Culture and Change
- 2.3.8. Forms of Political System.
- 2.3.9. Summary:
- 2.3. 10. Key words
- 2.3.11. Short Answer type questions
- 2.3.12. Long Answer type questions
- 2.3.13. Suggested Readings

2.3.1. Introduction

The subjective aspects of politics have long been a matter of great interest to the students of comparative government. It is for this reason that Walter Bagehot, Alexi de Tocqueville, Max Weber and Dicey and regarded as seminal theorists whose works signify the important role played by ideas, sentiments, symbols and values in the Politics of English, French, German and American countries. We may take note of the fact that great thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Kant, Burke, Green and Bryce attached great importance to the inculcation of public sentiments and values appropriate to an ideal or best possible political system. Such writings, despite being regarded as deeply insightful as well as essentially impressionistic, have amply contributed to the material on the recent political culture in the realm of comparative politics. The concern of post Second War writers to present-evidence, which has been collected and analyzed according to accepted canons of scientific research, "has enhanced our ability to make more precise characterizations of a population's psycho cultural orientations to politics and also increased the possibilities of making more genuine cross-national comparisons.

2.3.2. Objectives of this lesson

After reading this chapter, the students

- Will know about the Political Culture as well as sub- Cultures.
- Will understand different types of Political Cultures, different elements,
- will understand different theoretical perspectives to explain political culture.
- Will have an understanding of Political Culture that will develop an understanding between people and the government.

2.3.3. Meaning and Nature:

There are many and also varied definitions of the term 'political culture' that also suggest its nature. It has been described as the commonly accepted rules. Dahl has suggested political culture as a 'factor explaining different patterns of political opposition.' According to him, the salient elements of the political culture are:

1. Orientations to problem-solving: are they pragmatic or rationalistic?
2. Orientation to collective action: are they co-operative or non cooperative?
3. Orientations to the political system: are they allegiant or alienated?
4. Orientations to other people; are they trustful or mistrustful?

In other words, political culture "is composed 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 political among the members of the political system." The people of a given society share a common human nature like emotional drives, intellectual capacities and moral perspectives. This 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 the general culture of a society. Certain aspects of general culture of a society are especially concerned with how government ought to be conducted and what it shall try to do. This aspect of culture we call political culutre."¹ It is the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments that give order and meaning to a political process and that provides the underlying assumption and rules that govern behaviour in the political system."

It is clear that Lucian W. Pye has been particularly concerned with the aspects of "political culture pertaining to political development in the new states. For him the indicators of a nation's political culture include; the scope of politics show ends and means in politics are related the standards for the evaluation of political action; the values that are salient for the political action. Finer's definition of a nation's political culture seems to concentrate largely on the legitimacy of the rulers and political institutions and procedures." We

regard the political culture, "as a short hand expression to denote the emotional and attitudinal environment within which the political system operates."

It is, therefore, obvious that the concept of political culture finds place in subjective realm. According to Almond and Powell, such individual orientations involve three components.

1. Cognitive orientations implying knowledge, accurate or otherwise, of the political system.
2. Affective orientations implying feeling of detachments, involvement, rejection and the like about political objects; and
3. Evaluative orientations implying judgments and opinions about the political objects which usually involve applying value standards to political objects and events.

That is, it is the 'particular pattern of orientations' in which, according to Almond, every political system is embedded. Borrowing from Talcott Parsons, we can be a little more precise at this point, and say that we are concerned with orientation towards political objects. Orientations are predispositions to political action which are determined by such component factors as traditions, historical memories, motives, norms, emotions and symbols. We can break down these orientations into three component parts as follows: cognition (knowledge and awareness of the political system) affective: (emotional disposition to the system), and evaluation (judgment about the system). 'Political objects include such part of the political system as the executive, legislature and judiciary, political parties and pressure groups, the individual's view of himself as a political actor, and his views of other citizens'"

From the above, one may discern the point that the political culture has certain components that find their place in world of sociology. They are beliefs and emotional attitudes of the people towards their political system. We observe that, in general, the people have certain political values as elections should be held periodically and also in a free and fair manner, that the ministers should resign if they forfeit the confidence of the people or their chosen deputies, that no person should be made to suffer in body or in goods unless a verdict is given by a competent court of law following a procedure established by organic law of the country etc. Closely linked with political values is the component of political beliefs about the actual behaviour of men and countries; including certain norms as the adult population of a country has a right to take part in political discussions.

The significant cause of the beliefs should also be traced in the fact that the ideas which "do not appear at first glance to have relevance to politics may be intimately connected with it through the belief system of the political

culture." Finally, we come to component of emotional attitudes, the tone and temper of the people. While attitudes inherited from a past full of struggles for a constitutional democracy as in Britain may inform that the speakers must behave courteously, the tone of discourse must be conversational and the whole style of behaviour and speech must conform not only to the rules of procedure of the parliament but also to a complex and largely unspoken set a conventions. Attitudes inherited from a long authoritarian past may impede the operation of a democratic system even though most of its members sincerely accept the democratic ideal."

2.3.4 Self Check Exercise

Self Check Exercise
Q.1 Define Culture.
Q2 What is Political Culture?
Q3.What are the salient elements of a Political Culture?

2.3.5. Political Culture and Sub-Cultures:

The political culture is but a part of larger culture of a society and, in this sense, it is a sub-culture influenced by the general culture. However a nation's political culture is a metaphor, and "may conceal marked variations in the orientations to politics of different groups of the population. There are hundreds of social groups in every plural society that have a set of values and commitments of their own some of which may or may not be in common with others. These different group orientations that may or may not result in an integrated a coherent culture constitute the sphere of political sub-culture. It is a useful term in as much as it enables us to break up large generalizations and observe deviations from the 'expected' behaviour. Heinz Ealau has shrewdly suggested that it is probably best for us to think of an aggregate of sub-cultures rather than of the whole cultures.

In other words, it means that in every society, particularly one which is free and open and has a plural character, people have diverse religious, regional, ethnic, linguistic, occupational differences and the like, that provide important cleavages in the political system. As a result, there are 'role cultures' as suggested by Kavanagh, rising from the orientations commonly associated with one's position in the political system, e.g., in the bureaucracy, political

party or interest groups etc. Some of these sub-cultures may be described as under:

2.3.5.1. Elite vs. Mass Cultures: In countries, particularly those which have been under long colonial domination and have now taken to the course of development, we may find the existence of political biculturalism. While a little section of the people has a secular, modern and national orientation on account of being educated and brought up on the lines of western pattern, most of the people have particularistic, emotional and populist orientations. It leads to the distinction between elite and mass cultures. This is the understanding of the democratic political culture or inculcation of faith in the norms of a liberal-democratic order. It is confined to a limited section of the leaders, in power; the masses in general can be differentiated from the activists and opinion leaders. The opportunities and constraints provided by institutional-culture matrix in which political leaders operate condition they style in which the political elite performs. In British politics recruitment patterns, particularly the convention that would be leaders serve long apprenticeships in the political party and in parliament, have diminished the opportunities for a heroic style of leadership.³ In France, on the other hand, Hoffman has convincingly written of such a leadership style, shared by Marshal Peten, Mendes and De Gaulle, which has been the usual method of liquidating crisis following the immobilize in the National assembly.⁴

2.3.5.2. Division within Elites: A deeper study of the behaviour of the elites shows that there are divisions even within the few who are in authority roles. It can be easily traced in the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa where one may find a line of essential distinction between the attitudes of the popular leaders and career bureaucrats wherein the reasons of conflict between the two can be discovered. The leaders recruited through enthusiastic and anti-foreign national movements tend to be more emotional and idealistic and suspicious of the administration's connection with the foreign rules. According to Pye, what emerges is a fragmented political culture at the elite level that prevents the two groups reaching a mutual understanding of their roles and hampering the development of a stable sense of identity. Thus, instead of performing specialized but complimentary functions, each group claims exclusive monopoly of the political process.

2.3.5.3. Generations: Generation gap or transformed behaviour of the generation of people has a significance of its own in this direction. Changes in the socio-economic sphere lead to more participant orientations of the people of the younger generations. In most of the cases, we may find that frequently it is the young, relatively unsilled by the direct contact with colonial and traditional values who are the prime objects of the regime's efforts to create new culture.

2.3.5.4. Political Parties: The way political parties play their part in the internalization of the norms, differs from one political system to another. For instance, in a free and democratic country, parties, act in a way that the norms of a liberal democratic order are inculcated into the minds of the electorate, while in a communist country, the party tries to launch a sort of, what is called, 'cultural revolution' so that the beliefs of the people are thoroughly transformed in the direction of consolidating the system of socialism. Moreover, in a liberal-democratic order, the parties function in a manner so as to let the people choose from one situation of status quo to another of radical progress, while in a communist country, the people are virtually coerced to get themselves indoctrinated in the official ideology. A student of comparative politics is thus required to keep in his view not only the political culture of a country but also the nature of the sub-cultures in order to have an empirical knowledge of the political system. Such an analysis would lead him to understand that while in a country like the United Kingdom or the United States, the political culture is homogeneous as most of the citizens have shared or fused different values; role structures such as pressure groups and the communications media are relatively autonomous and individuals belong to a variety of overlapping groups. The result has been that politics is conducted in a bargaining or secular spirit, that citizens tolerate different loyalties and identities, and that role structure are differentiated. On the contrary, in a country like France or Italy, the culture has been fragmented into contradictory sub-cultures which are embedded to various structures. Moreover, group loyalties reinforce or parallel each other.

2.3.6. Determinants and Dimensions : A political culture, hinging on the fact of people's attitudes and beliefs towards the political system, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous, is a product of several inter-related factors that have their place in the world of history, geography and socio-economic conditions. Moreover, it is not static, it is dynamic and thus responds to the need generated from within the political system or imposed from outside. A pragmatic orientation, in this direction, is known by the name of secularization of the political culture. Let us first examine the three factors that constitute the foundations of the political culture.

In the first place, a study of history offers ample authentic evidence to prove the continuity or discontinuity of a political system behind which the foundations of a political culture can be well found out. The importance of political continuity in a country, Britain, for example, lies in the fact that the older values "have been allowed to merge with modern attitudes undisturbed by violent internal strife or domination by foreign power."¹ France offers a sharp contrast in the chain of historical development. The culture of the master

country has its indelible impact on the political culture of the dependent people. It is due to this, while the people of a dependent country like India and Sri Lanka learnt from their master the values of parliamentary system of government, the dependent people of a country like Vietnam or Algeria learnt from their master rulers of France the lessons of an insurrectionary struggle.

Geography has its own part in laying the foundations of a political culture. The insular character of the British Isles protected the country from foreign invasion and also from the massive influx of foreign races that could have created the problems of ethnic differences. Different from this, the vast frontiers of a country like India opened the doors for the foreigners to invade and even stay, with the result that we developed the values of independent egalitarianism in the midst of sharp ethnic differences. Instances can be easily gathered to show that in case the ethnic differences are allowed to develop in the direction of a hostile political culture, national integration suffers heavily and different people in the name of their different nationalities struggle for their separate sovereign states.

Lastly, we take up the determinant of socio-economic development. A predominantly urban industrialized society is a more complex society putting a premium on rapid communications. Educational standards are higher, groups proliferate and participation in the decision-making process is by necessity wider. Rural societies, on the other hand, are not geared to change and innovation and strifes with a predominantly peasant population are more conservative. Development in the field of science and technology have their impact on the growth of agriculture and industry, they have their impact on the process of transportation and communication, migration and immigrations, import and exports, revolution and warfare's. It all leads to change in political values and beliefs of the people. Thus, the labour classes become 'embourgeoisified' in rich countries of the western world that contradicts the Marxian 'law of increasing misery, degradation and pauperization of the proletariat in the industrially advanced countries of the world.

Allied with this is the subject of secularization of the political culture. It has two attributes- (I) pragmatic and empirical orientations, and (ii) movement from diffuseness to specificity of cultural orientations. Time changes and so changes the beliefs of the people. This change should, however, be in a pragmatic and empirical direction and that too in a way from diffuseness to specificity. That is, the political beliefs and values of the people must change from a parochial to a mundane variety, the people must learn more and more the meaning of political participation and political recruitment and their knowledge of political involvement grow so that they may grasp the

implications of the political legitimacy. Thus, the process of the secularization of the political culture means increasing political awareness of the people enabling them to have growing information about their political system and their role as a political actor in it. "It is through the secularization of political culture that these rigid, ascribed and diffused customs of social interaction come to be over-ridden by a set of codified, specifically political and universalistic rules. By the same token it is through the secularization process that bargaining and accommodative political actions become a common feature of the society, and that the development of social structures such as interest groups and parties become meaningful.

2.3.7. Political Culture and Change: Political culture is not a static but a dynamic affair. As such, it changes from time to time. Let us now examine the major agents that play their part in the sphere of the change of political culture. According to Kavanagh, they are.

2.3.7.1. Ideology: Perhaps the most basic aspect of nation-building is forging a sense of national identity. Many of the new states lack the conventional symbols and traditions of nationhood. One way of eroding tribal and parochial loyalties is to develop a political religion such as Sukarno's Five Principles in Indonesia. Nkrumahism in Ghana or by singing the fragile nation in a larger grouping such as pan-Africanism or a United Arab Republic. Societies undergoing rapid changes are perplexed as to national identity tend to be most susceptible to the political religions. David Apter has suggested several general uses of political religion in the new states: reinforcing the values of hard work and sacrifice, developing a collectivity orientation, making citizens aware of their shared duties, developing a political structure, endowing the new order with moral principle and legitimizing the incumbent elite's continual monopoly of office. He gives it the name of universal church. Its agents are the missionaries; opposition to it appears as a new form of imperialism."¹

2.3.7. 2. Political Mobilization: A sort of revolution should be launched to root out the old beliefs of the people and in their place fill new values into the minds of the people. This is the same thing what the communists call Cultural Revolution. It means that special committees or groups be set up to mobilize the people for ceremonies and demonstrations, distribution of scarce resources, instruction of the masses in the meaning of the cultural regeneration and rendering assistance in the implementation of new programmes. It can be easily understood that the leadership is interested in more than a mere change of attitudes; it seeks to transform the behavior as well, and because it sees improper behavior as derived from corrupt institutional setting and social milieu, environmental reform brings with it the possibility of significant changes in adult behavior.

2.3.7.3. Political Parties: Parties are major instruments of the change of political culture. Parties preaching political religions are what Apter has termed, parties of political solidarity. 'Far from being content to act as brokers between groups and individuals, such parties are committed to creating a new normative order, setting socio-political goals and restructuring existing social relationships. The role of the communist parties is particularly noteworthy in this direction.³

2.3.7.4. External Influences of Revolutions: Revolutions in methods and speed of travel and communications have undermined the power of geographical boundaries to demarcate national cultures. What happens in one country may have a 'demonstration effect' in another. It is also possible that the transfer of a big chunk of population from one place to another or the migration of hundred and thousands of people from one place to another may cause the import or export of values that would eventually affect the culture of the local people. One may refer to the case of Japan where the occupation of American forces after the Second World War resulted in the inculcation of liberal ideas and values to the local political culture.

2.3.7.5. Mass Media: The marvelous developments in the field of science and technology have expanded the abilities of the leaders to transmit uniform messages from a centralized source to large masses. The developed means of mass communications like newspapers, radio and television work as the major instrument of advancing popular understanding of politics and also on the lines of what is called, western style. If radio played a very important part in election campaign of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, television did the same for his successors. This feature is not only confined to a highly developed country like the United States, in a developing country also the mass media have their direct effects on the minds of the people so much so that they play their part in erasing the layer of traditional culture and placing the layer of a new one in its place. Example may be given of a country like Turkey where Kemal Ataturk brought about a lot of the beliefs of his people by the use of radio. Pye goes to the extent of saying that mass media are not simple a part of continuous and coherent training process rather they are a part of the continuous process of change.

Special programmes are shown in socialist countries through such means, so that the belief of the people in social economy or ideology may be further strengthened. In liberal countries means of mass media are generally autonomous bodies but the respective governments exert pressure and control over these agencies and get their programmes or news items modified according to their will. This is especially true of developing and underdeveloped countries.

1. Parochial Political Culture: It exists in simple traditional societies in which there is very little specialization and where actor fulfils a combination of political, economic and religious roles simultaneously. Here we find a pattern of undifferentiated role structure as a chieftain performing the job of the archpriest, arch-economist and the like and the subjects living under him do not show any familiarity with political system as such, though they have much awareness of their community as a whole.

2. Subject Political Culture: It exists where a high frequency of orientations to the system as a whole is and to its specifically output aspects. It occurs in dependent colonies where the people after either accept the decision of their political system or struggle against them in name of their right to self determination.

3. Participant Political Culture: It exists in highly developed societies where people take active part in the political sphere by considering themselves as active members of the party. They are well conscious of their rights and duties. Evaluation and criticism of the system exists at all levels, and it is generally accepted as desirable that political activity would be under the close scrutiny of the individuals and groups within the society.

In addition to this, Almond points out two more variables that should be taken into account. First, apart from the three varieties suggested above, relating to an unmixed type, he also refers to the political culture of a systematically mixed variety. Here he deals with situations where there is significant proportion of more than one pattern of orientations. Thus, he lays down three sub-varieties (I) parochial-subject political culture (ii) subject-participant political culture, and (iii) parochial-participant political culture.

2.3.8. Forms of political system.

2.3.8.1. Anglo-American System: This is the best form operating in advanced western countries like Britain and the United States. Such systems are characterized by multi-valued political cultures that are homogeneous and continuous in the sense that, these are general agreement about the political ends and means to their realization. Society has a plural character in which different parties and interest groups operate in order to influence the decision-making process in response to their respective interests. There is diffusion of power and influence. System of checks and balances also operates to keep all departments in the specified sphere of jurisdiction.

2.3.8.2. Continental European Political System: This is the second variety operating in less advanced countries of the west like France, Italy, Norway, Sweden etc. In such a system, the political culture is fragmented as different sections of society establish different patterns of development, while some are more developed than others. The political culture has with it a train of

subcultures that may be visualized in the behavior of different parties and groups. Sometimes, it appears that various sub-cultures are at war against each other and one poses itself as superior to other or others and on this plea seeks to impose its norms on the rest. The result is that various sub-cultures become the focal points of the whole system.

2.3.8. 3. Pre-Industrialized or Partially Industrialized Political System:

This category covers a large number of countries that have emerged during the era of long colonial domination. Here the political culture of the alien masters is imposed over the indigenous political culture. The new rulers may or may not get success in bringing about a happy promise between the native and imported values and thereby accord legitimacy and effectiveness to the system designed by them. It can also be found that the same family or clan lives in power in deference to the particular traditions while emulating the ways of western political systems.

2.3.8.4. Totalitarian Political System: In a totalitarian country like China, the quality of the acceptability of the legitimacy is artificially created. Coercion becomes the hallmark of the exercise of authority. There is all concentration of power that negates the norm of the diffusion of authority. In this way, the characteristic orientation to authority tends to be some combination of conformity or apathy produced by the central control over the means of communication and of the agencies of violence.

2.3.9. Summary:

The protagonists of the political culture approach claim that it has made a highly significant contribution of the development of modern political theory. It is said that it "may provide us with valuable conceptual tools by means of which we can bridge the micro gap in political theory. It enhances our ability to describe and analyze the interactions between political system and its culture. By distinguishing between behavior and attitudes, we are able to explicate differences in performance across political systems and that the operation of the legislative process at the Union level as well as at State level "reinforces the Union predominance in the legislative field".

2.3.10. Key Words

Psycho cultural
Orientations
Secularization
Cognitive
Cultural Revolution
Comparative Politics
Bargaining
Heterogeneous

2.3.11. Short Answer type Questions

1. What is Sub-culture?
2. What is participant Political Culture?
3. What is Elite vs. Mass Culture?

2.3.12. Long Answer type Question

1. Examine the major agents that play an important role in the change of Political Culture?
2. Write a detailed note on the features of Political Culture?
3. What are the different types of Political Culture?

2.3.13. Suggested Readings

1. Dennis Kavanagh : Political Culture,
2. R. Ball : Modern Politics and Government, position in Western Democracies
3. Almond and Powell : Comparative Politics : A Development Approach
4. Beer and Ulam : Patterns of Government.
5. Lucian W. Pye : Aspects of Political Development.
6. Heinz Ealau : The Behaviour Persuasion in Politics, Shils :
Towards a General Theory of Action
7. David Apter : The Politics of Modernisation,

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

- 2.4.1. Introduction: Meaning and Nature
- 2.4.2. Objectives of this lesson
- 2.4.4. Self Check Exercise
- 2.4.5. The Effects of Political Socialization
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- 2.4.11. Short Answer type questions
- 2.4.12. Long Answer type questions
- 2.4.13. Suggested Readings

2.4.1. Introduction: Meaning and Nature

Political Socialization is a process by which an individual becomes acquainted with the political systems which determines his reaction to political phenomena. It involves the impact of social, economic or cultural environment of society upon the individual and upon his political attitudes and values. The definition given by David Easton and Jack Dennis includes various factors of political socialization. They define political socialization simply as those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientation and pattern of behavior. For Almond and Verbal, political socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed. Political culture is a sociological concept, whereas political socialization is a psychological concept. Political socialization concerns itself with the orientation towards political objects. It can be studied in the elite, the masses, the deviant groups and social movements. As their attitudes, orientations and values change through time, they bring about a change in political culture as well.

Political socialization is a learning process and goes on throughout life. Through this process norms and behavior acceptable to a well-running political system, are transmitted from one generation to another. It seeks to train or

develop individuals in a way that they become well-functioning members of a political community.

This learning process is a gradual and imperceptible one. It works without being noticed. Political values are not simply acquired during active political participation, but also in the period before an individual engages in any explicit political activity. In this sense, political socialization includes all formal, deliberate or unplanned learning at every stage of the life cycle.

Further, the process by which political culture is shaped at the individual level and at the community level and passed on from one generation to another is called political socialization. The political culture which an individual or community comes to have is a matter of learned behavior, though not necessarily a conscious process. This learning process involving an internalization of the existing cultural pattern is called socialization. But when this process acquires a political context, it is known as political socialization.

2.4.2. Objectives of this lesson

- After reading this lesson, students will be able to develop and understanding of Political Socialization.
- They will understand the meaning and importance of Political Socialization.
- The understanding of Political Socialization will be helpful in the study of Political system and Political culture of the society
- Students will also be able to understand the Political recruitment and Political participation process.

2.4.4. Self Check Exercise

Self Check Exercise
Q.1. What do you understand by Political Socialization?
Q.2. Explain the relations between Political Culture and Political Socialization?

2.4.5. The Effects of Political Socialization

Political socialization includes both political learning and non-political learning of politically relevant issues. It also involves the acquisition of politically relevant personality traits.

Political learning has a clear bearing on the later behavior of men who are exposed to socializing influences, including the political system. Most commonly, socialization seems to have conservative consequences for existing

political arrangements. These conservative effects are not necessarily in the direction of encouraging political stability. Nonetheless, they are likely to maintain existing patterns both in stable and non-stable systems.

In a way, socialization may prove to be a potential source of change. It is possible that the link may be broken in the attempt to transmit one generation's values and beliefs to the next. And since the training of the young is in part future oriented, one generation may deliberately transmit the next generation such values as may differ from its own. Further, wherever different generations are exposed to different experiences the needs of change are present.

Thus, political socialization not only shapes and transmits a society's political culture but also maintains, transforms and sometimes creates the political culture of the people. Under stable conditions, the task of maintenance, that is, of transmitting a society's political culture successfully from one generation to next receives greater importance. But stable conditions are a rare phenomenon in the modern world. Most nations are seen struggling to transform the old order or to erect new political structures with new social arrangements. It is here that political socialization assumes the transforming role. Some countries, especially the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa, are often found striving for completely new political order; a new political socialization becomes highly significant in such countries.

In this way, political socialization has three distinct roles.

1. Maintaining existing political culture.
2. Transforming existing political culture.
3. Creating new political culture.

Which of these roles would receive greater importance would depend on several factors. These are as follows:

- (a) A country's historical development.
- (b) The type of social and international environment.
- (c) The character of the existing traditional outlook towards the political life, and finally,
- (d) The goals and means of leaders and citizens.

However, these roles of political socialization maintaining, transforming and creating political culture are not mutually exclusive. They rather represent a continuum. In nutshell, the process of political socialization in every society involves a combination of all these three roles, that of maintenance, transformation and creation of political culture.

Political socialization may be of two types:

1. Direct or manifest.
2. Indirect or latent.

Direct or Manifest Political Socialization: This refers to the process in which the content of the transmitted information, values or attitudes is clearly political. For example, an individual under the influence of family, teachers or some other agencies like the peer group or occupational group, learns in clear terms, the pattern and functions of the government. Further, he learns the views of a political party or gets convinced of the superiority of a particular ideology. Since the objects of his orientations are specifically political, these are instances of direct or manifest political socialization.

Indirect or Latent Political Socialization: As a result of his relationship with parents, teachers, or some other socializing agencies, an individual may develop an attitude to authority in general. Subsequently, this attitude may be directed to political authority in particular. Thus, the orientation with a non-Political object is ultimately transformed into a political orientation. This is an example of indirect or latent political socialization. This includes the transmission of non-political orientations that ultimately affect objects.

It is wrong to think that manifest socialization is intentional and latent socialization unintentional. Actually both manifest and latent political socialization may be intentional as well as unintentional depending upon the context. For instance when a school teacher urges his students to be public spirited and law abiding citizens, he is promoting intentional manifest political socialization, but when a child starts fearing a policeman by watching how a member of his family has been mercilessly beaten up by him, there occurs an unintentional transmission of political orientation. Again, when a child is taught that good boy is one who obeys his elders, intentional latent socialization is being intended. But when a child begins to learn the necessity of rules by participating for the first time in children's sports, there occurs unintentional latent socialization.

Political socialization is transmitted through a variety of agents and the way in which transmission takes place may also vary. There are three main ways in which the elements of political socialization are transmitted from one person or a group of persons to another or even from one generation to the next. There are:

- (i) Imitation
- (ii) Instruction
- (iii) Motivation

Robert Le Wane suggests that these are mechanisms of political socialization in childhood. But there is no reason why they should not be applicable to the whole socialization process.

Imitation: Children learn through imitation which implies that they copy the behaviour of other individuals. This factor has great importance in childhood socialization.

Instruction: An individual may acquire most of his learning and experience through instruction. For example, there are various types of vocational training 'On the job'; some of this may be relevant for political behaviour. The practice in some organizations to form discussion groups is an explicit, yet informal type of instruction.

Motivation: Although both imitation and instructions are specific types of experience, yet motivation is most closely identified with experience. Motivation is the learning of what Le Wane has described as 'appropriate behaviour' learned through a process of trial and error.

In this way, manifest political socialization may operate through imitation, anticipatory behaviour, political education or political experience. Imitation, is very important way of learning and therefore of political socialization. Thus, a child may imitate the party preferences of his parents. Or a rural migrant that of urban people only to make himself more acceptable to his new associates.

Further, political socialization may start through a process of anticipatory behaviour. For instance, a student with a political ambition may already begin to prepare himself for political offices even before he becomes legally competent to do so. In anticipation of holding office, he may show mannerisms and styles associated with this office. Similarly, a child on being taught the rules of citizenship may start behaving like a good citizen, in anticipation of his future citizenship.

Political socialization may also result through direct political education. Instruction in political things is given by the family, the school, the government, political parties and other political agencies and also by various groups and organizations. The peculiarity of such direct political socialization lies in the fact that here the initiative is not with the individual who is socialized but in the socializing agency itself. Most societies have both formal and non-formal channels for the direct teaching of socially valued political attitudes and behaviour.

Finally, political socialization may also be carried out with the help of experiences, thus, an individual's political ideas and beliefs are shaped by his observations of the experiences in the political process. It is through a process of continuous interaction with political personalities, structures and events that his ideas and beliefs become mature and explicit. Here the more important thing to note is that this form of manifest political socialization is not deliberately initiated by the socializing agencies but results from intra-personal

interactions and political experiences in case of the individual. Moreover, this socializing process takes place only in relation to adults rather than in case of children.

On the other hand, latent or indirect political socialization may take place through three ways. These are:

1. Interpersonal transference
2. Apprenticeship
3. Generalization

1. Interpersonal Transference:

Indirect political socialization occurs through interpersonal transference. It means the transmission to an individual of values and ideas through the influence of other persons. For example, a child growing within an authoritarian family is likely to learn to submit to authority without question. In this way, he may come to have a docile attitude towards governmental authority. On the contrary, democratic or participant family experiences are likely to inculcate democratic orientations to political authority.

2. Apprenticeship:

One acquires through apprenticeship, skill, habits, behaviours and practices appropriate for political activities. Unlike interpersonal transference, apprenticeship does not involve direct transference of explicit orientations. It only means the development and skills useful for an individual's political life. In this respect, non-political activities, serve as an apprenticeship for future political activities. For example, an individual's role with the family, the school or the job, may be taken as an apprenticeship for future political activities.

3. Generalizations:

Latent or indirect political socialization may also involve generalizing from general social values to political objects. For instance, it is significant to note how the lack of an interpersonal trust in France, Ethiopia and Italy make the people there quite cynical about government and politics. Again, in India, the chief cause of people's fatalistic resignation to authority lies is their blind faith in fate. In this way, indirect political socialization assumes the form of generalization.

Political socialization is a life-long process. It is not a process confined to the early years of one's life. It goes on throughout the life span of an individual. An individual goes through varied social experiences from childhood to old age. Political beliefs and attitudes developed in the early part of life may undergo continuous changes from one stage of life to another. A submissive or docile attitude to governmental authorities derived in childhood from one's authoritarian family environment may in later age be replaced by a hostile

attitude developed under the influence of say, new friendships, educational patterns, job experiences or some extraordinary national events.

Incomplete Socialization: The socialization of a child is bound to be an incomplete socialization. Alone, it cannot enable a child to successfully cope with all its encounters later as an adult. Why socialization remains incomplete may be due to the following reasons:

First, rapid technological and social changes make it almost impossible to anticipate what exactly would be the future. One's future being so uncertain it is not possible to socialize somebody, especially a child in a definite direction.

Secondly, modern society is highly pluralistic and varied. It indicates too many social roles and experiences which cannot be fully foreseen by the agencies socializing the child.

Thirdly, geographical and social mobility in adult life may tend to efface much of the effects of early socialization.

Lastly, the agencies for child socialization are highly specialized. Their knowledge of the world is usually restricted. This tends to result in incomplete socialization of the child.

This inevitability of incomplete socialization makes it imperative to examine the interrelationship between the different agencies working for an individual's socialization at different stages of life. It is essential to study whether the different agencies complement each other or whether the relation between them is always one of conflict. The fewer are the cases of this conflict, the more stable will be the polity.

Most studies indicate that in a political system, the different agencies of political socialization complement each other. Yet no study can claim complete immunity from discontinuity. The degree of this discontinuity may vary from one society to another, in a stable society; it is of a lesser magnitude. But in a transitional or unstable society discontinuities are well marked.

Discontinuity: Discontinuity refers to conditions in which socialization agencies and experiences do not correctly anticipate the attitude and behaviour associated with adult political positions. These agencies do not prepare the maturing individual for them. Moreover, there are always situations in which an individual learns one type of political values from some agencies of socialization and different values from other agencies. The discontinuity of political socialization may be explained mainly in terms of two factors, viz. incongruence and inconsistency.

Incongruence: There is usually to be found incongruence between the ideas and beliefs of an individual and the realities and demands of the political world. This is more or less a common phenomenon in every society, more especially in societies, undergoing rapid changes. Here discontinuity is

invariably much higher than in the more stable societies. Early socialization of a child or what is generally attempted in early age cannot be comprehensive or complete enough to fully prepare the child for the far too complex roles of adulthood. Some gaps always remain between the youthful anticipation and the real world. In this way, the roots of incongruence are to be found in the very process of political socialization itself.

Inconsistency: Another cause of discontinuity of political socialization can be seen in the message communicated by the different agencies of political socialization. These messages often lack consistency. For instance, on the one hand, one hears in India at the family level, much talk about the insincerity of political leaders and the failure of the government, but on the other, at the outer sphere, from school and college curriculum, from the mass media and government agencies, one hears about the greatness of political leaders their sacrifices and the successes of governmental programmes. This type of inconsistency of messages among different agencies of political socialization is not a specialty of India, but can be noticed more or less, almost in every society. In changing societies especially those moving from a traditional to a modern order, this phenomenon is more frequently observed and in a more acute form. One may conclude from this that some amount of discontinuity is a distinctive feature of the process of political socialization everywhere.

There are many reasons for this discontinuity.

These may be summarized as follow:

1. It is due to a time lag between early socialization of an individual and when he actually assumes the political role, this time lag tends to give rise to incongruity between ideas imbedded in early years and hard realities of politics which an individual comes to learn much later. Further, during this time gap, many changes of far-reaching nature may take place resulting in vital changes in the pattern and structure of politics. This may further lead to incongruence between the prior change perception, ideas and beliefs of an individual and the altered political order.

2. Discontinuity is also caused by the multiplicity of socializing agents and wide diversity in regard to their nature and structure. The more complex is the society, the greater is the number of socializing agents. It is these which, in the context of their different structure and nature, try to push the individual in different directions. For example, political socialization confined to the close, personal relationship of family is likely to be inconsistent with what takes place within the frame work of more formal impersonal relationship of secondary institutions. This gap naturally widens in a society marked by heterogeneous cultural sub-groups and specialized secondary institutions.

3. Another important cause of discontinuity lies in social and geographic mobility. People moving upwards on the social class ladder tend to acquire political values and attitudes much different from what they imbibe in the course of their early socialization.

4. Similarly, geographic mobility may also result in discontinuity. Movement from one geographic region to another, from one population subgroup to another, from one social or economic structure to another may create discontinuities in political maturation. This migration from rural to urban area or vice versa or the movement of a low class boy to a high status occupation is bound to confront him with his previous experience.

5. Finally, political change may result in the discontinuity of political socialization. Rapid and profound changes in the structure and process of government may upset the existing continuities in the socialization process due to the absence of a corresponding growth of a political culture congruent with them.

2.4.6. Development and Dimensions of Political Socialization:

Childhood: A child is not a born socialized being. He imbibes society's norms by means of a learning process. The process is a continuous one. It starts when the child becomes aware of a wide environment and feels increasingly perceptive in response to particular situations. At a fairly early age a child acquires some idea of what authority is say a policeman. Gradually; a child's picture becomes more complete, more coherent. His political knowledge increase, values are formed and attitudes developed. Finally, some feelings of political competence may also arise.

Most political scientists believe that political socialization begins as early as fourth and even third years of life. As a child, one perceives for the first time some basic political object such as policeman. At the same time, he learns that he is a member of a wider group than his own family. From six to eighteen, the child lives at home and attends a school or college. From his parents and other socializing agents, he not only acquired such basic skills as reading and arithmetic, but also learns a good deal about the political world.

Adolescence: Most psychologists look upon adolescence as the most painful and difficult phase in one's personality development when sexuality emerges. The typical adolescent tends to express his suppressed desires in an aggressive manner. He gives vent to his innate rebellion in active political ways.

Adulthood: The process of socialization continues even after the period of adolescence. It marks another stage in political socialization. Some of the contacts made during childhood and adolescence may continue somewhat in a similar form through friendship and familiarity. Others may be received through mediums such as reading materials and mass media. The knowledge,

values and attitudes acquired in childhood and adolescence may be reinforced, undermined or modified by the new experiences. According to Rush, if the process of political socialization tends to reinforce the attitudes and beliefs of childhood and adolescence, the degree of change may be limited. It is likely to increase conservatism in old age. But where conflict occurs, the radical changes in political behaviour may take place. Such a conflict may have its roots in early political socialization, but it may also be explained in terms of the experiences of later socialization.

This discussion on dimension of political socialisation shows that the process covers the whole life of man.

2.4.7. Agents of Political Socialization:

The family, peer, groups, educational institutions, secondary groups, the mass media, political system and party agencies are regarded as chief agents of political socialization which is a lifelong process is effected through them. Among these agents, the family comes first.

Family: Family plays a key role in the socializing process. It transmits political culture from one generation to the next. Major part of an individual's personality is shaped by his family influences (from the age of 3 to 15). Many studies on political socialization have revealed that what an individual acquires from his family outlasts the influences flowing from other socializing agents in his later life. In the United States, three-fourths of the children share the party preferences of their parents. This is so despite the two generations having been kept in quite different socio-economic environment.

Family's key role in the socialization process may be explained by several factors. These are summarized as follows:

1. Family holds a crucial position in the life of the child because it is the only agency during one's formative years. For a fairly long period, it meets one's emotional and physical needs. It provides the child both love and approval. He is also given a status by the family. In this way, child has to depend on his family for both moral and material needs. In the process he comes to subscribe to the political beliefs and attitudes of his family. Similarly, he readily accepts the parental version of what is right and wrong, good and bad, or proper and improper.

2. Child learns through imitation. There is a natural tendency in a child to imitate his parents. In most cases, the ideal role model for a son is his father and for a daughter is her mother. But the influence of this parental model diminishes as the child grows older. He begins drawing new models for himself from the wider social sphere where he then moves about. However, the memory of the parental model does not totally disappear with age. It remains

very much intact especially in persons not endowed with high intelligence and not receiving higher education.

3. All family members live in the same environment. They are influenced by the same neighbours and neighborhoods. They have the same circle of friends, who usually share with the family such social characteristics as class, religion and ethnicity. They are further influenced by the same economic forces of the area and of the father's occupations. The family members read the same newspapers and listen to the same preacher and other local opinion leaders. Further, they gather the same gossip and hear the same stories. All this tends to give a family, a marked uniformity of thinking and belief. As a result, the children are likely to share the political orientation of their parents.

This does not mean that individual sticks to these parental political orientations and never abandons some of them in later life. In fact he tries to test their validity in terms of his own experiences of society and politics which he acquires later in his life. In this process, he changes many of the political orientations of his parents which he might have acquired from his family. But in spite of these changes, some prominent traces of the family influence still persist in him till the last.

Invariably it has been noticed that political socialization which takes place within the family is essentially conservative in character. A family has an inherent tendency to preserve and perpetuate traditional practices and ideas. As a result political socialisation performed through family tends to slow down the process of change in political change. This cultural lag in political system leads to condition which social scientists have called 'Anomic' (Following Durkheim).

It is usually noticed that while political institutions of a society undergo change, families continue transmitting political attitudes to the next generation which are not appropriate to the changed political order. These transmitted political orientations are appropriate to situations prior to this change. This phenomenon is frequently observed in the modern developing societies aiming at vital changes in the social and political order. This aspect of the political socialization through family is essentially retrogressive. For family, in this context, works as an obstacle to rapid and widespread changes in the social and political orientations of the people who are members of a political system.

Peer Groups:

Childhood play groups, friendship, cliques, small work groups, brothers and sisters, married couples and like are some of the examples of the peer groups. Like the family these groups are also based on primary relationship. But they differ from family in their structure and in the character of the intra-relationships. Despite the fact that intercourse among the members of a family

rests on a highly intimate and personal relationship, yet all of them are not given an equal status. The parent-child relationship is always hierarchical. In fact, family contains at least two separate generations. Thus, members of a family, namely, parents and the child, naturally have different status positions within their family circles.

On the contrary, peer groups consist of members of about the same age. The members can, therefore, afford to enjoy an equal status in their relations with each other. In short, they can afford to be non-hierarchical. This does not mean that peer groups have no leaders. But they are not given rigidly defined roles as in case of families.

Political socialization within the family, fulfils a major function, that of establishing a child's basic political orientations and knowledge. But family influence starts diminishing when a child reaches adolescence. Then one longs for becoming a more autonomous human being. He wants to function independent of family guidance. Political socialization, however, at this stage, assumes new dimensions. An individual then is confronted with the problem of interpretation of and adjustment to political changes. He had to prepare himself for participating in specifically political roles. In this way, peer groups supplement the socializing functions of the family by preparing the individual for more specific political experiences.

In modern complex society peer groups as socializing agents, perform very useful function. They prepare a child to a full and political status. They enable them to participate in the complex and depersonalized social and political cultures of modern societies. Further, peer group is a reinforcer of political orientations acquired from in family as a socialiser. Thus, it does not always work in conflict with the family. In fact, the more static the society the less this peer group will probably conflict politically with family.

1. Members of a peer group have free access and exposure to each other. There is to be found an easy flow of interactions among its members. Its members have relations which are usually of a highly intimated and personal nature. A peer group receives a very high degree of attention from its members. This is why peer groups play a vital role in the extra socialization process.

2. Like the family, the peer group is characterized by personalized as well as emotive extra relationships. These tend to facilitate the task of socializing its members. The extent to which a peer group is capable of replacing the family as an agent of political socialization, however, varies with the degree of parental control. In countries like India, France, Germany and Belgium, the family maintains its control over the adolescent's life for a much longer period. However, this is not so in case of the United States and Britain. This is why the peer group plays a crucial role as an agent of political

socialization in the lives of people of the former countries rather than those of the latter.

3. The extent to which a peer group may perform the role of political socialization would largely depend on how far politics happens to influence it. For example, in the U.S.A. youth groups generally are not much concerned about politics. Hence, a group of this sort cannot be expected to be an important agent of political socialization.

Educational Institutions:

Educational institutions are close rivals to the family as major agent of political socialization. As a person grows older and is initiated into formal education, schools, colleges and universities start working as important socializing agents. All governments try to set up schools or help in founding them because they are very effective mediums of transmitting such political values and beliefs as are congenial for their working.

The schools are apt to provide most effective channel for shaping the citizen's political attitude and behaviour while they are young and pliable. They socialize both directly and indirectly. For instance; if the school curriculum is imbued with national patriotism and obedience to law, which governments are likely to instill among their citizens, direct socialization's said to have been the result. Again a student becomes politically socialized not only through what the formal curriculum deliberately teaches him but also by the inference he derives from his school experiences.

Thus, a process of latent political socialization is at work at the school level. There is to be seen a particular pattern of authoritative decision-making in a school. All the students are subjected to it. In the light of this experience, they may develop a particular type of attitude to political authority. Similarly, participatory process in a school orients an individual not only in modes of participation but also determines his general attitude towards liberal democratic values and institutions. This is more applicable to the colleges and universities than schools. The former may instill among most citizens new values and lead to the formation of more radical political attitudes.

Thus, formal education is certainly powerful in developing children's political selves. Most educated people are found to have the strongest sense of political efficiency. They are found to be the most politically interested and informed and take the most important roles in political affair. For many social scientists, education is the last and best hope for curing social evils. War will never disappear until people are educated to recognize its futility and horror. Likewise racism will not end until white people are educated to recognize blacks as full equals, and so on. But formal education is not the only opinion forming agency for a child or in case of an adult. When children hear one thing

in school and quite another at home or from their class-mates, there is no reason to believe that they will believe teachers and text books rather their parents and peers.

It will be much better if schools and families do not work at cross-purposes with each other, but work in harmony, to effect a smooth transition of one political culture to another.

In recent times, student power has emerged on the campuses of the Indian universities. Colleges and universities have been found to have fostered among certain students a political attitude and a love for confrontation with authorities. The student movement in Gujarat and Bihar at J.P.'s call contributed to strong political socialization of the student's community. The opposition of large number of American students to the Vietnam War is another example of educational institutions acting as agents of the political socialization.

Secondary Groups

The importance of a secondary group as agents of political socialization cannot be over emphasized. It varies with one society to another. The more highly developed and complex a society is, the greater will be the number of secondary groups, and their role in the process of political socialization is likely to be a major one. Membership of a secondary group equips one with skill, information and predispositions that are found very useful in the context of political participation. It provides a very good apprenticeship for meeting the challenges in the political world.

Political scientists identify three types of secondary groups which undertake political socialization. They are as follows:

1. These are secondary groups with a distinctive political characters, political parties, pressure or interest groups come in this category. They aim at disseminating political values, mobilizing political action and recruiting political leaders. Evidently groups perform functions which are called international manifest political socialization.

2. This category comprises those groups which are instituted for non-political purposes. These are found to carry on political education and mobilization along with their other activities. A labour union is a typical example. While a labour union is basically engaged in the task of collective bargaining and looking after material well-being of its members, yet at the same time, it equally tries to involve them in political action, thereby enhancing their political consciousness. This may also be viewed as a direct intentional socialization.

3. In this category are included those secondary groups which do not have any political character. They never try to impart political education to

their members. But the members develop orientations that have political relevance by mere participation in their routine affairs. For example, a cricket club is not directly an agent of political socialization, but its activities result in a process of unintentional political socialization. This is evident from the fact that while participating in its matters are equipped for participation in the political sphere.

Mass Media

Mass media include, radio, television, newspapers, magazines and the like. They provide a good deal of information to the members of political system. They often add their own perception and interpretation of the things they inform about. Hence, their role in political socialization of citizens is very important. In recent years, the mass media have greatly developed. It is due to advance in technology that the apparatus of mass media has become an effective agent of political socialization.

In most cases, the mass media are not the actual originator of the messages they transmit, but their interpreter. The social setting determines not only the type of mass media likely to attract a particular type of people, but also the way in which the latter would interpret and react to the performance by the mass media. Since messages generally originate at the level of government officials and political leaders, secondary groups as also the mass media transmit them to the people. From this point of view mass media strictly speaking, are not themselves the agents of political socialization. Indeed they are only used as an instrument by other socializing agents to perform the task of political socialization.

Further, the mass media do not generally have a direct impact on the people. The mass media go through two way flows. Initially, the messages they transmit reach only to a small number of opinion leaders like parents, teacher's community, activists etc. It is they who then pass on these messages to those over whom they have influence.

Obviously, mass media is not the primary socialiser. They serve the function of reinforcing the already established orientation. More often, the messages transmitted by the mass media are intended to support the existing arrangements. They inform and interpret in order to maintain the status quo or property relation. In this way, they become more an agent of reinforcement rather than an agent of change. A corollary of this is that the attitude to the receiver has direct link with this reinforcement function people's relations are likely to be quite favorable when the messages passed on by the media are in agreement with their established ideas.

2.4.8. Political Socialization and Political System

No discussion on agents of political socialization can afford to ignore the role of political parties, election and political system. Some socializing agents, particularly the mass media are under direct control of government who try to spread desirable attitudes and behavior pattern among their citizens. In contrast, families and peer groups are much free from direct governmental control. Therefore, they tend to pass on values and attitudes; sometimes different from those that government wants their people to absorb.

An individual comes in direct contact with government personnel and its process, and functions. He derives from it the knowledge regarding what the government stands and works for. This is likely either to reinforce his ideas and attitudes acquired through the early socialising influence or to change them substantially. In some political systems, government directly carries on a process of political indoctrination. This indicates a lack of stability of the political system. It also suggests the failure of other agents of political socialization.

Since a political system is part of a large and comprehensive social system, one's political attitudes and behaviour are a reflection of the political socialization process. Indeed one's politics is conditioned by the social environment as much the latter is conditioned by the former. Elections do serve more or less the purpose of socialization. They help to bridge the gap, if any, between the polity and the society, between an individual, social and political world. It serves both social and political purposes and performs important linkage functions.

Similarly, the political party is an important socializing agent. By this people are given a regular opportunity to participate in political actions of the society. This political involvement enables the people to get politically socialized. However, the political party may either reinforce the established political order or may introduce significant changes in the pattern of existing political culture. Its role becomes most crucial when radical political changes in the polity are sought to be achieved. The political party may then become an effective instrument for disseminating ideas in agreement with this change. Hence it may play a significant role in the process of political socialization.

2.4.9. Summary

Thus, the various agents of political socialization, more or less, complement one another. The more they do, the greater is the stability of the political system. This does not mean that the process of political socialization is always a homogeneous one. Some amount of disharmony between the function of the various socializing agents is bound to be there. It is quite natural

because political socialization means a continuous process. It cannot be a completely static one.

2.4. 10. Key words

Socialization
Development
Mass Media
Political Behavior
Adolescence

2.4. 11. Short Answer type questions

1. Define Political Socialization.
2. Write a short note on various methods of political Socialization.
3. What is the importance of Political Socialization?
4. Which is the first stage of Political Socialization?

2.4. 12. Long Answer type questions

1. What are the main influences on an individual's Political Socialization. Discuss.
2. Write an essay on the stages of Political Socialization.

2.4. 13. Suggested Readings

1. Rush and Altraff : Political Sociology.
2. Austin Ranney : The Governing of Man.
3. Almond and Powell : Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach.
4. Lester W. Milbarth : Political Participation.
5. Madan G. Gandhi : Modern Political Analysis.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

- 2.5.1 Introduction
- 2.5.2 Objectives of the Lesson
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2.5.1 Introduction

The massive political changes on international scene in the late 1950s and early 1960s were dramatic. By 1960s, a host of new nations chiefly in Africa and Asia had burst onto the world's stage, not only significantly expanded the universe of Political Science in general and Comparative Politics in particular but also had provided fresh and exciting new developments. These developments had led to the vigorous pursuit of cross-polity studies and also gave legitimacy to the idea that through foreign assistance programmes, the USA could bring the benefits of its system, institutions and accomplishment to the less-favoured nations.

It is equally true that the developing countries, which acquired independence from Western imperialism in Post-World War Second era remained technologically backward and politically dependent and, therefore, economically exploited and indigent. The urge for development, social reforms and economic growth was a part of their struggle for freedom. Their aspiration for independence, national dignity and development found a practical basis for the academic concern with modernization and political development. The rise of newly emerging nations on the international chess board, however, opened the new dimensions in the discipline of Political Science. No doubt the Sociologists, Anthropologists, Economists and Historians also tried to study these new societies. But when these societies began to take the shape of new states, the attention of Political Scientists was drawn towards them.

The term 'Political Development', therefore, entered the lexicon of Political Science in the 1950s when the newly emerging nations began formulating

development plans for the socio-economic well-being of their people. However, the western Political Science discipline was at that time deeply under the influence of system theory which believed that political system being a sub system of social system, receives the challenges as well as its sustenance from the social system in the form of inputs and yield out-puts, which again fed into the political system as the reaction of out-puts. The feedback process strengthened or weakened challenges as well as sustenance processes were different from that of the west yet could be successfully studied by System Approach in their socio-economic cultural background.

Moreover, the Committee of Comparative Politics of the Social Sciences Research Council of USA pioneered sustained and systematic interest in the study of Political Development. Some members had suggested that it may be useful to conceptualize and analyse the processes of Political Development in the new emerging nations. Gabriel A Almond, who became the Chairman of the Committee and who had soon emerged as leading theoretician of Political Development, stressed that development should not be treated just as a phenomenon to be analysed in a scientific sense but also as a moral, ethical and political 'Good' among the developing nations.

2.5.2 Objectives of the Lesson

After reading this chapter, student will be able to understand:

- The meaning of Political development
- Characteristics of development
- Indicators of development
- It will offer a useful means for analysing social change in general and Political change in particular.

2.5.2. Meaning of Political Development

The worldwide interest in the plight of the newly emerging nations, which were actually old societies, had produced Babel of terms during 1950s and 1960s. Some of these expressed the aspirations of the statesmen, and politicians and still others were merely the euphemisms of people who thought that they might be talking about delicate matters. In other words, there is no agreed framework of political development. One comes across a variety of connotations of the term. According to Rostow, the norms of political behaviour and the institutional apparatus evolved by the industrial societies constitute the bases of political development for the non-industrial societies. Industrial societies are, therefore, the pattern-setters of political development for other societies. A few other scholars seek to devise of political development. Edward shills equates political development with nation state building. In spite of the fact that several attempts had been made by them to give a proper and suitable definition to this concept, yet there is still considerable ambiguity and imprecision in the use of the term Political Development.

Lucian W. Pye was, however, among the first batch of scholars who has made an in-depth analysis of the concept of Political Development. Though, he was then in the evolutionary stage, yet, his contribution to this subject was original and extensive. He has compiled a list of all the conflicting and

overlapping connotations, notions and ideas commonly used in popular as well as professional interpretation of what was involved in Political Development. But at the same time he pointed out that there were other possible interpretations of the term also. It shall be helpful to elaborate the confusing connotations of this concept given by Pye not only to accept or reject any particular but rather to illuminate a situation of semantic confusion which impeded the development of theory.

2.5.2.1. Political Development as the Political Prerequisite of Economic Development

This definition links political development solely with Economic Development. Economists like Baram, Ellis, Buchaman and others are of the view that political and social condition can play a quite decisive role in impeding or facilitating the economic growth as well as political development. Pye found following weaknesses in this concept of political development:

- It has a negative character that it is easier to know the ways in which performance of political system may impend or prevent economic growth and development than about how it can facilitate economic growth and development.
- Such a concept of political development does not focus on a common set of theoretical considerations. For some it would mean no more than whether or not government is following intelligent and economically rational policies. For others it involves far more fundamental considerations about the basic organisation of polity.
- Moreover, the prospects for rapid economic development have become exceedingly dim in most of the poor countries.
- In most of the underdeveloped countries people are concerned with far more than just material advancement. They are anxious about political development quite independent of its effects on the rate of economic growth.

Thus, to link political development solely to economic events would be to ignore much that is of dramatic importance in the developing countries. In other words, this definition is too narrow because the criterion of political development would be economic capacity which means that the problem of political development would vary according to the particular economic problems in question. But there is a need for independent criteria for political development.

2.3.2.2. Political Development as the Politics of Industrial Societies

This view identifies the process of political development with the pace of industrialisation. In other words, the industrial societies, whether democratic or not, set certain standards of political development. And they represent appropriate goals of development for all other political systems. This definition is nothing but the extension of the first. Pye rejects it in the ground that it ignores the role of other factors. For example reckless actions- that threaten the hold of vested interests; an appreciation of the values of orderly legal and administrative procedures; an acknowledgement that the politics is rightfully a

mechanism for solving problems and not an end in itself; a stress on welfare programme and acceptance of some form of mass participation. In other words this connotation is based on an assumption and is not warranted by the differences in the political culture of industrial societies.

2.5.2.3. Political Development as Political Modernisation

Some social theorists like Coleman, Deutsch and Lipset are of the view that political development means a study of developed or Western or industrialised countries and their ways. In other words the advanced industrialised nations are the fashion makers and pace settlers in most phases of social, economic and political life. Pye says that such a view has its own shortcomings. It fails to distinguish between 'Western' and 'modern' concepts. It ignores the fact that the backward or developing countries may have their own historical traditions and that they may not like to give up for the sake of merely emulating everything that is western and modern.

2.5.2.4. Political Development as the Operation of Nation State

Some writers point out that political development consists of the organisation of political life and the performance of political functions in accordance with the standards expected of a modern nation state. In other words political development is identified with nationalism. Pye rejects this view. He is of the view that nationalism is only a necessary condition but far from being a sufficient condition to ensure political development. Political development may, however, be identified with nation-building and not merely with nation state.

2.5.2.5. Political Development as Administrative and Legal Development

Writers, like Max Weber, Talcott Parsons stress that political development is intricately linked with legal and administrative orders of the community. The establishment of the effective bureaucracy is, therefore, an essential for the process of political development. But administrative development is associated with spreading of rationality, the strengthening of secularism, legal concepts and the elevation of technical and specialised knowledge in the direction of human affairs. Pye is of the view that if administration is over stressed it can create imbalances in the polity which may impend the political development. Moreover, this view also overlooks the problem of citizenship training and popular participation which are the essential features of political development. Nation building comprised institutions building as well as citizenship development and both of them are essential for political development.

2.5.2.6. Political Development as Mass Mobilization and Participation

Some writers like Clifford, Greetz, Rupert Emerson, Bert. F. Hoselitz and Eisenstadt, emphasised the role of politically awakened citizens and the behaviour of people in the direction of an expanding popular participation. Extension of franchise is also taken as a mark of diffusion of the decision making process through mass participation. Pye, has however taken into his consideration the disastrous effects of the politics of mass manipulation and points out that such a view of political development is accompanied with

danger of emotionalism or corrupting demagoguery which can weaken or sap the strength of a society.

2.5.2.7. Political Development as the Building of Democracy

Joseph La Palmbora holds that the case of political development is closely connected with the building of democracy and inculcating values of a democratic order in the mind of the people. Political development is synonymous with the establishment of democratic institutions and practices. Many people, therefore, believe that the only form of political development worthy of the name is the building of democracy. Pye, however, disagrees with this view and points out that such a concept will exclude the case of those countries where democracy is non-existence. Moreover, democracy is a value laden concept while development is value free. To use the building of democracy as the key to political development seems as an effort to push upon others American and Western values. Political development is therefore, different from democracy. The very attempt to introduce democracy can sometime be a positive liability to development.

2.5.2.8. Political Development as Stability and Orderly Change

Deutsch and Riggs are of the view that stability is legitimately linked with the concept of political development. They have pointed out that any form of economic or social advancement generally depends upon an environment which uncertainty to be reduced to minimum. Pye differs from this view as it does not answer how much order is necessary or desirable and for what purpose change should be directed. Moreover stability and change are that which occurs in the mind of the middle class and at least in the societies which are better off than most of the currently underdeveloped ones. They preach to maintain status quo and thus, are anti-revolutionary. Stability also leads to stagnation. But political development calls for a somewhat more positive action.

2.5.2.9. Political Development as Mobilisation and Power

James S. Coleman, Gabriel A. Almond and Talcott Parsons are of the view that the political development can be evaluated in terms of the level or degree of absolute power which the system is able to mobilize. This view emphasises that states differ in proportion to their inherent resources base. As a result the measure of development is the degree to which they are able to maximize and realize the full potential of the given resources. Pye criticises this view on the plea that such an explanation is applicable to the case of a democratic political system and ignores the case of development in others where the mobilisation of power is deliberately kept limited.

Besides these ten different approaches to the conceptualisation of political development, there are other possible interpretations. As Lucian Pye holds, it can be taken to mean commonly a sense of national self-respect and dignity in international affairs or the view that political development should refer to a post-nationalism era when nation-state will no longer be the basic unit of political life. All these views of political development highlight fully the difficulty in offering a definition of this concept. The way out lies in analysing

the common characteristics of political development on the basis of an analysis of all these views. This task has been successfully undertaken by Lucian Pye.

2.5.3. Self Check Exercise

Self Check Exercise
Q.1. What is development?
Q.2. What do you mean by the term Political development?
Q.3. What do you mean by developing Countries?

2.5.4. The Development Syndrome: Essentials of Political Development

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

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

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

2.5.4.3. Differentiation and Specialization: This theme conceptualises political development in terms of structural differentiation and specialization. "This aspect of development involves first of all the differentiation and specialization of structures. Officers and agencies tend to have their distinct and limited functions and there is an equivalent of a division of labour within the realm of government." Along with differentiation, there is increased functional specialization of various roles within the system and it also involves the integration of complex structures and processes. The last aspect is very important because it clarifies that differentiation is not fragmentation, on the other hand, it means specialisation based on an ultimate sense of integration.

Among these three dimensions, there can be present several acute tensions between the demands for equality, the requirements of capacity and the process of greater differentiation and accordingly there are different patterns to political development. However, these three constitute the agreed variables for analysing the nature and level of political development. It also means that “development is clearly not unilinear nor it is governed by sharp and distinct stages, but rather by a range of problems that they may arise separately or concurrently.” Study of political development requires besides these three dimensions of equality, capacity and differentiation, three other related factors. As Pye observes, “the problems of equality are generally related to the political culture and sentiments about legitimacy and commitment to the system; the problems of capacity are generally related to the performance of the authoritative structures of government; and the question of differentiation touches mainly on the performance of non-authoritative structures and the general process in the society at large. All this suggests that in the last analysis, the problems of development revolve around the relationships between the political culture, the authoritative structures of government, and the general political process.

Leonard Binder suggests the following five point list of changes for analysing the nature of process of political development of a political system:

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

2.5.5. Indicators of Political Development

In order to measure and analyse the nature of the political development that characterises a system, we have to gather information regarding several factors which are popularly called the indicators or indices of political development. The world Handbook of Political and Social Indicators enumerates the following such indicators: (i) age of national institutions, (ii) education expenditure, (iii) defence expenditure, (iv) military power, (v) internal security forces, (vi) press freedom, (vii) party factionalism, (viii) voter turnout, (ix) electoral irregularity, (x) protest demonstrations, (xi) riots, (xii) armed attacks, (xiii) deaths from domestic violence, (xiv) renewals of executive tenure, (xvii) executive adjustments and (xviii) irregular executive transfers.

J.C.Johri gives a list of positive indices which can help us to analyse political development and negative indices which can be used to analyse political decay or hindrances/limitations to political development.

Positive Indices (Development)

1. State-building or territorial integration.
2. Nation-building or national integration.
3. Increasing franchise and free and fair elections with large voter turnout.

4. Politicisation or participation of more and more and more people in political process.
5. Popular participation in decision-making.
6. Growing interest articulation by autonomous bodies.
7. Growing interest aggregation by stable and democratic political parties.
8. Freedom of press and growth of mass media agencies.
9. Political and administrative decentralisation.
10. Autonomy of the units of local government.
11. Expansion of educational facilities.
12. Effective role of legislative bodies and constituency service by the representative.
13. Effective role of quasi-governmental agencies like public undertakings.
14. Role of powerful organisations to oversee the working of public servants and redressal of public grievances.
15. Tolerance of dissent and control over anomic movements.
16. Broadening of the social base of political elites.
17. Openness in the working of government and accountability of the rulers to the ruled.
18. Independence of judiciary and existence of rule of law.
19. Apolitical character of armed forces.
20. Consensual politics implying use of constitutional methods.
21. Neutrality and independence of public services.
22. Secularisation of political culture.

Negative Indices (Decay)

1. Election rigging and irregularities.
2. Violent protest demonstrations.
3. Anomic disturbances, underground activities and armed attacks.
4. Political defections and selfish gains.
5. Fragmentation of political parties.
6. Suppression of dissent.
7. Idolisation of the rulers.
8. Glorification of the official ideology.
9. Political assassinations.
10. Politicisation of armed forces.
11. Commitment of public services to the line of ruling party.
12. Widespread corruption and maladministration.
13. Concentration of powers.
14. Mass Arrests.
15. Foreign interference in domestic matters.

2.5.6. Models of Political Development

The study of political development involves a study of several political and extra-political phenomena. The researcher has together information regarding a number of general and particular variables. For example, he has to gather data regarding equality, capacity, structural differentiation and

specialisation, political participation, socio-economic changes, political culture, sub-cultures, political decay, crises and the like. This makes political development studies very complex and even technical. For this purpose two broad schemes have been advanced by the political scientists. These have been labelled by *Wasby* (1) Continuum Model and (2) the Stages Model.

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

This model can be used by researchers who want to analyse a functional relationship between social, economic, psychological and political indicators of political development and examine the pattern of development from one stage to the other. However, this model has a limitation. As *Wasby* observes, "Its drawback is the danger of fragmentation of concern, especially in the absence of any over-arching theory." It is useful only when the researcher selects a small number of inter-connected factors for analysing political development.

2.5.6.2. The Stages Model: The second popular model for the study of political development is the Stages model. It posits several developmental stages, each with several ascribed characteristics, and analysis a political system to determine the developmental stage at which it is currently there and the next stage it is heading for or is likely to head for. Here, as *Wasby* writes, "there is either a Marxian like confinement to one explanatory factor as the key to the transition from one stage to another, or an attempt to bringing together a configuration on inter-related factors which are expected to alter in unison from forms appropriate to a given stage of development to those appropriate to the succeeding stage. In the development of a stages model, political scientists usually suggest three stages of political development: (i) the traditional stage, characterised by an overwhelmingly rural society, and agrarian economy with appropriate political forms; (ii) the transitional stage, still with a rural society but characterised by an economy embarking upon the early stages of industrialisation and a political system which is accordingly undergoing transformation; and (iii) the modern stage, characterised by a largely urban society and a mature industrial economy, with the appropriate political forms.

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

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

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

2.5.7. Summary

All these models and theories of political development have virtually failed to provide a uniformly accepted theory of political development. This failure has been largely due to disagreement regarding the meaning and definition of political factors in political change and while many others emphasise the role of political factors over the extra-political factors in political development. Difference of opinion over this issue continues to leave political scientists still grappling with the problem of theorising political development. The changes that came in former USSR in the era of Perestroika and Glasnost and its impact on the political systems of Eastern European countries gave a rude shock to the traditional interpretations of Marxism concept of political development. These developments, in a way, strengthened faith in the deterministic role of economic factors in political change, but, in another way, it involved a virtual rejection of Marxism view of the transitional and the highest stage of socialistic development. Likewise, in western liberal democratic countries also the nature of political changes has been undergoing several new unorthodox types of changes. As against these two models- Marxian and Western liberal democratic models of political development, in several Third

World countries India, political development has been taking place in a synthetic way, Democratic-Socialistic-Capitalistic Development.

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

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

2.5.8. Key Words

Industrialisation
Nation State
Nationalism
Fragmentation
Maladministration
Capitalistic
Socialistic

2.5.9. Short Answer Questions:

1. What do you understand by the term Political Development?
2. Which are positive indices of Political Development?
3. What is Continuum Model
4. Discuss Political Development as the political prerequisite of Economic Development?

2.5.10. Long Answer type Questions:

1. Discuss and critically evaluate the concept of Political Development?
2. What is contribution of Lucian W. Pye to the concept of Political Development?
3. Discuss Wasby's model of Political Development?
4. What are positive and negative indicators of Political Development?

2.5.11. Suggested Readings:

1. Chilcote, Ronald H : Theory of Comparative Politics
2. Pandey, Rajendra : Sociology of Development
3. Varma, S.P. : Modern Political Theory
4. Johri, J.C. : Comparative Politics
5. Almond, G.A. : Comparative Politics: A Development Approach

POLITICAL MODERNISATION

- 2.6.1. Introduction
- 2.6.2. Objectives of the Lesson
- 2.6.3. Concepts
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2.6.1 Introduction

The interest of the Western capitalist nations in the poor nations in Post-World War Second Era has been focused not only on profits, extraction of raw material, new markets but on the assumption that massive financial and technical assistance from the west would transform these agricultural subsistence societies into modern industrial societies. They, therefore, pleaded that the newly emerging nations should adopt the European values along with assistance for their political development and modernisation. They believe that the experience of the Western Europe of development and modernisation would modernize the less developed nations of the Third World also. Another view is that the need for the study of modernisation and its related problems has arisen simply because many of the emerging nations not only won political freedom but have developed a craze for economic development. In other words the urge for socio-political reforms and economic growth was the part of their movement of political freedom. The aspiration for national dignity and development as well as independence, therefore, found a practical basis for the academic concern with political development and political modernisation.

2.6.2. Objectives of the Lesson

- After reading this lesson, students will be able to understand the meaning of Political Modernisation.
- It will develop an understanding of different perspectives related to political modernization.

- Students will be able to know about different stages of Political Modernisation and its relation with political development.

2.6.3. Modernisation and Political Modernisation: Concepts

Political modernisation, like political development, is a term that cannot be defined precisely though it can be understood. Different scholars have defined it differently. Most of the western political scientists regarded modernisation as westernization. The term 'modernisation' is, however, said to be the current term for the old process, the process of social change, whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies. It is a process based on rational utilization of resources and aimed at the establishment of a modern society. For some persons, modernisation is a process of structural differentiation, functional specialization and adaptive upgrading. Modernisation in the evolutionary perspective refers to transition from primitive to traditional, to industrialised society; from religious to secular ideology, from particularism, ascription, diffuseness, self-orientation to universalism, achievement, specificity, and so on. Maufred Halpern defines modernisation as the capacity to or control of rapid and continuous change. Claude E. Welch, Jr. suggests, as "the process based upon the rational utilization of resources and aimed at the establishment of a modern society", or as Benjamin Schwartz describes it as "the systematic, sustained and powerful application of human energies to the rational control of man's physical and social environment for various human purposes." This term stands for the transformation of the political culture in response to the changes in social and physical environments in view of this essential fact that political change "is intricately related to a wide spectrum of social and economic factors."

Modernisation is also defined by some scholars as the process by which individuals change from traditional way of life to new complex, technologically advance, rapidly changing styles of life. In other words, modernisation is regarded as a comprehensive phenomenon which brings about radical changes in the field of economic development, mainly in the direction of industrialization and material advancement, changes in the nature and content of political systems and also changes in the social and psychological spheres of life. According to W.W.Rostow "modernisation implies an intellectual, a technological and self-revolution". A.B.Smith points out "modernisation is defined as man's increased knowledge and mastery of his environment". C.E.Black defines "the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that represent the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, pertaining to control over his environment that accompanied scientific revolution is called modernisation."

Gabriel A.Almond and G.Bingham Powell Jr. say "the political modernisation refers to those processes of differentiation of political structures and secularization of political culture which enhance the capacity of society's political system." Michael Curtis points out that "Modernisation implies

economic growth, the increase of gross national product and of per capita income, economic planning, greater industrialisation, the accumulation of capital, increasing urbanization and a reduction in the proportion of those engaged in agriculture, scientific advance, improved transport and a higher rate of literacy.” It signifies a move from subsistence to an industrialised economy and a social change from an extended to a nuclear family.”

Davies and Lewis argue that modernisation is the term stands for the transformation of the political culture in response to the changes in social and physical environments. According to Yogendra Singh “modernisation is differentiation and rational organization of rules and its aggregates at structural level and represents the historical evolution and synthesis of values of modernity at the pragmatics level, on cultural plane.” At the national level various processes such as industrialisation, economic growth, rationalization, political development, social mobilization, structural differentialism, secularization, democratization and some other processes are conceptualized as modernisation. Marxist scholars define modernisation in terms of consciousness as ideology or superstructures. They see modernisation as the imposition of infrastructures of domination and exploitation and interpret elements of consciousness as dependent variable i.e., an appendage infrastructures.

In the words of Karl Deutch, “modernisation is a process by which major cultures of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken down and the people become available for new pattern of socialisation and behaviour.” Modernisation, thus, involves large varieties of inspiration, dynamism, change, mechanization, industrialisation, urbanisation, increase in literacy, and increase in mass media, economic growth, social and occupational mobility. Since various meanings have been given to the concepts of modernisation, there is hardly a universally accepted view as what exactly the term ‘modernisation’ wants to convey. There is, thus, blur and confusion in the conceptualization of modernisation.

The political aspects of modernisation, however, refer to the ensemble of structural and cultural changes in the political systems of modernising societies. Political modernisation therefore refers to those processes of differentiation of political structure and secularization of political cultures which enhance the capability- the effectiveness and efficiency of performance- of a society’s political system. Political modernisation can also be viewed from a historical, a typological, and an evolutionary perspective. Historical political modernisation refers to the totality of changes in political structure and culture which characteristically have affected or have been affected by those major transformative processes of modernisation which were first launched in Western Europe in the sixteenth century and which subsequently have spread, unevenly and incompletely, throughout the world. These are secularization, commercialization, industrialisation, accelerated social mobility, restratification, increased material standards of living, diffusion of literacy,

education and mass media, national unification and the expansion of popular involvement and participation. Typological political modernisation, on the other hand, refers to the process of transmutation of a pre-modern traditional polity into a post-traditional modern polity. But evolutionary political modernisation refers to that open-ended increase in the capacity of political man to develop structures to cope with or resolve problems, to absorb and adapt to continuous change, and to strive purposively and creatively for the attainment of new social goals. From the above, it is obvious that the subject of political modernisation is a comprehensive affair in as much as it includes much within the ambit of politics that is generally taken to cover the realms of economics, sociology, even psychology. It refers to the change in political culture and political institutions as a result of the process of modernisation- “that is everything like economic growth, increase of gross national product and per capita income, economic planning, industrialization, accumulation of capital, increasing urbanization and a reduction in 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 the view, an implicit assumption is that economic and technological growth and increased consumption is inherently desirable.”

S.P. Huntington has made a pioneering contribution towards the development of the concepts of political modernisation and political development. He describes political modernisation as “a multi-faceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity.” The principal aspects of modernisation are as S.P.Varma remarks, “Urbanisation, industrialisation, secularization, democratization, education and media participation...” Political modernisation is a concept having several dimensions as:

1. At the *psychological* level, modernisation involves a fundamental shift in the norms, values, attitudes and orientations of the people.
2. At the *Social* level, it has a tendency to replace the focus of individual’s loyalty to family and other primary groups to voluntarily organized secondary associations.
3. In the sphere of *economics*, subsistence agriculture is replaced by market agriculture, agriculture itself declines in comparison to commerce, industry and other non-agricultural activities, and the scope of economic activity is widened as this activity gets more centralised at the national level.
4. *Demographically*, it implies a change in the pattern of life, a marked increase in health and life expectancy, greater occupational and geographical mobility and a shift of population from rural to urban areas.
5. At the *intellectual* level, it involves a tremendous expansion of man’s knowledge about his environment and diffusion of this knowledge

throughout society through increased literacy and mass communication.

Thus, modernisation “is regarding as a comprehensive phenomenon which brings about radical changes in the field of economic development, mainly in the direction of industrialization and material advancement, changes in the nature and content of the political systems and also changes in the social and psychological spheres of life.”

The concept of political modernisation is quite simple. It implies the existence of a traditional order that is to be changed for the better. It is the effect of the new on the old, not the total eradication of the old and its substitution by the new as is covered under the rubric of political development. In other words, the concept of political modernisation refers to the case of political transformation as occurred in European countries in particular in modern period and then recurred in other countries of the world in recent times. In the political sphere, this transformation may be expressed as a syndrome of related characteristics of this term. Thus, as suggested by Pye, this syndrome may be said to include: (I) general attitude towards equality that allows equality of opportunity to participate in politics and complete for government office; (ii) capacity of a political system to formulate policies and to have them carried out; (iii) differentiation and specialization of political functions, though not at the expense of their overall integration; (iv) secularization of the political process-the separation of politics from religious and other influences.

However, the concepts of political development and political modernisation converge on a point when we deal with the capacity and capability of a political system to solve the problems arising out of the trend of renovation and change. The process of modernisation leads to the emergence of some crucial problems and challenges that a political system has to face and cope with so as to create the situation of ‘development’ or conversely speaking, so as to avoid the baleful situation of ‘decay’, ‘decline’, ‘disintegration’ or ‘demise’.

2.6.4. Self Check Exercise

Self Check Exercise
Q.1 What do you understand by Modernization?
Q.2. Define Political Modernization.
Q.3. What are the various dimensions of Political Modernization?

2.6.5. Stages of Political Modernisation:

2.6.5.1. Apter's Paradigm of the Developing Countries

The subject of political modernisation has its special relevance in the developing countries of the Third World which "are damned if they do, and damned if they don't" such is a dilemma before the Third World countries. The reason for this may be traced in their perennial quest for the way they should adopt to achieve the goal. The fact stands out that no country desires to relinquish the path of development or modernisation and, at the same time, most of the Third World countries fail to choose the option between liberal and socialist courses. Apter is of the view that while liberal capitalist solution poses the problem of inequity, the Marxian socialist requires coercion. And yet the struggle for political modernisation persists because 'development embodies hope.' According to Apter, there are four stages of political modernisation:

1. *Stage of Contact and Control:* It began with a few hardy and enterprising individuals with a particular strong sense of mission, or greed, or zeal. Or desire for adventure. They paved way for innovation. Since it happened in the advanced countries of Europe in the 17th 18th, and 19th centuries, this stage found its start in the adventures of British, French, German, Dutch, Portuguese and Italian colonialists. Hence, the first stage of development represented a process by means of which the then new wealth of Europe and new technologies, by creating opportunities for trade, effected not only the settlement of trade centres but the acquisition of territory as well. It was accompanied by the belief that the condition of dependent peoples must be changed. It was marked by the consolidation of the alien rule, erection of a stable system of authority and the beginning of urbanization, health and schooling for an elite occurring at the end of this stage.

2. *Stage of Reaction and Counter-action:* it showed the effects of western colonialism. Innovative foreign elites of the bureaucrats, missionaries, traders and the like created new urban centres or renovated the old ones and the native persons drew closer to them. Rules and regulations required local authorities to assist in carrying out the dictates of the colonial regimes. What prospered even more were the cultural and racial notions of superiority used to justify alien domination. In this way, the primitive countries were opened up to the benefits of civilization, trade and commerce not always to their enhancement. At the same time, exploitation of the dependent people became more severe the most heinous type of which we find in the slave trade of the African people. The notable feature of this stage was that local and foreign elements interacted; new forms of association developed; and new interests arose. At the same time, nationalism and more participation in public affairs. The colonial masters played the strategy of winning over the nationalist elites to their side and repressing those who could not be tamed for their purpose.

3. *Stage of Contradiction and Emancipation:* with the growth of new elites, more complex associations in politics arose. The base of the nationalist movement widened. Elites developed in the rural and semi-urban areas and the nationalist leaders sharpened the pace of their struggle. Attacks on colonial authorities combined with the demand for sharing power and the events of

revolution in the West like American War of Independence of 1776 and French Revolution of 1789 became the source of inspiration. To face the challenge of the growing nationalism, the colonial powers devised the strategy of introducing their own democratic systems in degrees. Such responses, in turn, stimulated political organisations, mass movements, demands for greater independence, and other fore-runners of the impending break with the colonizing power. Intellectuals fomented rebellion, providing ideological arguments and alternatives. Charismatic or near-charismatic leaders promised a new unity with independence.

4. *Stage of Search for a new Generative Solution:* it occurred after the advent of independence and, as such, it was marked by the inauguration of the second revolution in the social, economic and technological spheres. Thus, the main problem before the developing countries is to use political independence to produce more viable and effective communities without becoming ensnared in 'neo-colonialism.' This is partly a matter of prompting economic growth, partly an awakening to the predicaments of modernisation, some political leaders opt for developmental socialist solutions. Each proposed solution, however, and each type of political system soon generates its own problems and difficulties. Some rely on force at the expense of liberty. These spend large sums of police and army fire power. Others, which emphasise liberty, soon find themselves at the mercy of the rich or middle sectors of population who claim access to politics at the expense of the poor. One striking point at this stage is that the nationalist leadership of the well-known nationalist figures loses its charismatic hold and the 'imported democratic system, is replaced by some authoritarian model provided by the only ruling party or military junta.

This shows that the analysis of Apter is based on the dichotomy of 'tradition' represented by the native forces and 'modernity' brought about by the alien masters. The process of conflict between the two begins with the gradual establishment of the western colonial system. At the same time, a sort of unique reconciliation develops with the passage of time. The processes of synthesis and contradiction flow simultaneously with the result that the natives not only emulate and imitate the 'political culture' of their masters, they also cry for their emancipation. When national independence is achieved, they struggle for a suitable course so as to realize the aim of establishing social and economic democracy in the country.

2.6.5. 2. Political Modernisation and Social Change

A study of political modernisation shows its inter-connection with social mobilisation "a process by which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken down and the people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour." According to this context, social systems of the world may be said to be of three varieties:

(i) *Primitive and Backward Social Systems:* This category includes highly backward social systems of the world where traditional responses, customs and rituals still carry the authority with them. Authority remains where it has been and no serious effort is made in the direction of political mobilisation,

socialisation and recruitment. In such systems primitive political norms and values are dominant. The high offices of the state are shared by the men of the same family or tribe or by the elite who enjoy a sort of charismatic hold over the destinies of their simple and innocent people. Urbanization may have a start, the rate of literacy may increase slowly, industrialization may be inching upward and mass media channels expanding; but many of the goals identified with political modernisation like democracy, stability, structural differentiation, achievement patterns and national integration seem to be, as Huntington says, beyond realization as ever. What is peculiarly striking about the political modernisation of the countries belonging to this category is that in some of the cases, apart from a movement towards competitiveness and democracy, there have also occurred shifts in the reverse direction as evident in the form of setting up an autocratic military rule and one party powerful rule. It is also found that national integration, instead of being within the possibility of achievement, was disrupted by ethnic conflicts and civil wars. Even countries which had built up some kind of party systems or developed highly efficient bureaucratic systems in the colonial days; saw them declining gradually.

(ii) *Developing Social Systems*: The countries coming in this category show a dichotomy of tradition and modernity that may be visualized most clearly in those parts of the world where people have lived under the colonial hold of some European power. A cross cultural phenomenon developed there as the masters impose their political culture successfully over the social and political structures of the countries under the colonial domination. It is found that during the days of freedom struggles, these traditional attitudes and influences “tended to be submerged in the unity maintained by the common goal of national independence. Once independence was achieved, the traditional pressures reasserted themselves usually becoming the basis for interest groups and political parties. The result is a complex mixture of the traditional and the modern, consisting of a series of modern institutions resting on a traditional base which is continually under the impact if increasing pressure of industrialization and urbanization.”

Two important points should be noted in this connection. First, though the pace of political modernisation becomes rapid, the factor of tradition is not thoroughly eroded by the trend towards modernity. The case of Turkey is cited as the best example in this regard. Secondly, while the process of political modernisation, socialisation and recruitment is at work, the people cultivate blind faith in the social and political philosophy of their leaders with the result that they are deified and the state ideology is given the rank of religion. In India people not only followed Gandhi, but also took Gandhism as the political religion of the country. Such a turn in the process of political socialisation creates a stumbling block. It then informs that a change in politics require first a change in state religion.

(iii) *Western or Developed Social Systems*: this category includes those countries where the people are affluent and highly educated, the country is well urbanized and industrialized and institutional arrangements are such that the decision-makers are either elected by the people at large, or are legally

answerable to, and act on behalf of, those who are representatives of the people. In this sense, the predominant characteristic of the authoritative decisions in these states is that they are democratically based. It may be that there are some non-democratic institutionalized features that affect the decision-making process in these social systems as hierarchical nature of party organisations with much centralisation of power at the top, nevertheless the general degree of commitment to democratic form is great and corresponding feelings of involvement in social and political spheres among the population make it unlikely that decisions will for very long go unchallenged. Countries like Britain, America and France can be placed in this category.

2.6.5.3. Political Modernisation and Political Systems

Edward A. Shills presents the fivefold classification of the political systems. The essential features of each model may be enumerated as under:

Political Democracy: it represents the best form of political system as one found in a country like Britain or the United States. Its main characteristics are:

- (i) It has a legislature organised on the basis of universal adult franchise and entrusted with the work of making legislation either on its own or on the basis of universal adult franchise and entrusted with the work of making legislation either on its own or on the initiative of the sovereign voters, or committees of the House. it exercises control on the government by censuring the conduct of the ministers, or by cutting the budget proposals, or by scrutinizing the work of the administrators;
- (ii) Power is held for a comparatively short and well-defined period under the conditions laid down in the organic law of the land;
- (iii) Political parties constitute an integral part of these systems and they form governments and carry out their policies and programmes on the basis of winning elections in order to fulfill their electoral commitments;
- (iv) Freedom of dissent or opposition is fully provided as an effective check on the abuse of power;
- (v) Independence and impartiality of judiciary is maintained;
- (vi) People exercise democratic self-control and thus use only constitution means to correct or change their government;
- (vii) People are expected to develop trust in their government; people are committed to the norms and values of a democratic order;
- (viii) There is a trained and organised civil service to carry out the decisions of the administrators chosen by the people;
- (ix) Adequate police and armed forces are maintained to keep law and order.

Tutelary Democracy: It constitutes the second best form of a political system as described by Shills.

- (i) The executive is the real centre of power much more powerful than the legislature. Its authority is maintained by a strong personality or a

group of a very strong at the centre controlling both the party and the government;

- (ii) Legislative operates under the strict control and supervision of the executive and thus, has a considerably restricted role;
- (iii) Channels of opposition are allowed, though the executive maintains its strong hold over the means of political communication;
- (iv) There is a competent and loyal bureaucracy capable of providing dispassionate and informal criticism of projected policies;
- (v) Safeguards for rule of law and public liberties are scrupulously maintained.

Modernising Oligarchy: Such a political system may either be in the hands of civilians maintaining their control over the armed forces in order to prevent the subversion of their position, or in the hands of top military men keeping all power with them but also interested in gaining the co-operation of great civilian figures with a view to give a label of legitimacy to their authoritarian rule. Its main characteristics may be enumerated as:

- (i) Parliament is like an acclamatory body meant for ratifying the decisions of the administrators. It is thoroughly deprived of any meaningful legislative authority;
- (ii) Opposition is outlawed; free and fair elections are not held; political parties are banned; channels of mass communications are censored;
- (iii) The position of bureaucracy is much strengthened as the administrators bank on its support and there are no democratic channels to keep it under check;
- (iv) An independent and impartial judiciary enforcing rule of law is non-existent.

Totalitarian Oligarchy: It means an all-powerful rule of a rightist variety as Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany or of a leftist variety as Communism in Soviet Union and China, the common point to both being distinct commitment to a particular ideology. It has these main characteristics:

- (i) There is full concentration of authority in the hands of the ruling clique based on class, race or some other such features ;
- (ii) It has a highly disciplined and well-organised elite bound together by its ideology through the institution of the party;
- (iii) There is no place for rule of law, independent and impartial judiciary and a legally constituted opposition;
- (iv) The entire paraphernalia of democracy like universal adult franchise, periodic elections, bi-cameral legislature, etc., is provided for propaganda purposes;
- (v) Attempt is made to create an intelligentsia supporting and justifying the official ideology and for creating an atmosphere of superficial consensus in the country.

Traditional Oligarchy: it is based on a strong dynastic constitution associated with traditional religious beliefs. Rulers emerge on the basis of kinship in the selection process. The ruler's counsellors and immediate

confidants form a palace retinue chosen by the ruler on the basis of kinship or personal choice. Its main features are:

- (i) Since political authority is exercised by the ruler with the help of his chosen advisers, virtually no place is given to the legislative body even for propaganda purposes;
- (ii) As the scope of state activity is highly limited, no need for having an efficient bureaucratic staff is felt;
- (iii) The ruler keeps a small armed and police force to maintain his rule;
- (iv) Feudalism prevails as a result of which small potentates belonging to the similar kinship or other such ties dominate at the local or regional levels;
- (v) Opposition is non-existent; public opinion is not created and the ruler claims legitimacy of his rule on the ground of protecting the traditional culture of the community.

It is true that the taxonomic study of Shills fails to produce a quite plausible picture of the forms of modern political systems. One cannot place all prevailing political systems of the world in a neat and water-tight manner in these five categories as suggested by him. The typology of Shills has been modified in various ways by other writers who have been adopted the scheme of classification of political systems on the basis of political modernisation. The names of Kautsky and Apter need mention in this connection. Kautsky suggested that we might analyse political modernisation in terms of five categories: traditional aristocratic authoritarianism, transitional stage of domination by nationalist intellectuals, totalitarianism of the aristocracy, totalitarianism of the intellectuals, and democracy. He also makes it clear about this scheme that it "should not be mistaken for an adequate description of any or all existing political systems. There are an infinite number of variations sub-types, and mixed and transitional forms that make it impossible to find any of five types in pure form." He put emphasis on the point that by formulating these five types in pure form it is possible to facilitate comparisons and thereby formulate generalizations and advance our understanding of political processes.

David Apter offers a complex but intriguing theory of stages and alternate paths of political development in the larger framework of political modernisation. He pays particular attention to the characteristics of traditional societies as the starting points of change, using two-dimensional classification based on three authority types (hierarchical, pyramidal and segmental) and two value types (instrumental and consummator). Depending on the character of the traditional base, and subject to the contradictory and varied influences of the Western social and political systems, Apter discerns two main development consequences: a secular-libertarian model approaching democracy through mobilisation systems and a sacred collectivity model approaching totalitarianism through mobilisation systems. Alternative sequences arise from processes of ritualisation and re-traditionalism leading towards non-mercantilism. There is room in Apter's scheme also for the analysis of

modernising autocracies, military oligarchies, and other complex patterns of political modernisation.

2.6.6. Summary

It is said by the protagonists of the political development approach that it has yielded highly rewarding results by expanding the frontiers of modern political science and this the concept of political modernisation as a further extension of the concept of political development has provided better tools for the new generation of political scientists to make a taxonomic study of the modern political systems. Once again, the link of political science with sociology comes into the picture as a study of political-sociological analysis. The motivating consideration is that a student of politics should not keep himself aloof from sister disciplines that provide him ample information for his purpose. Thus, political modernisation, mainly a sociological and economic concept, has come to be used as a useful tool by the new political scientists who wrote extensively and thereby developed horizons of the study of this subject. Thus writers belonging to this tradition have drawn our attention to the fact that “in order to make the political system work, it was necessary that the entire social system was to be mobilised, without which the necessary political participation of the people at various levels was not possible.

And yet the concept of political modernisation may be subjected to the same line of criticism that is levelled against the concept of political development. One may say that here we find an attempt to draw politics into the ocean of some other discipline like sociology or economics. Thus, instead of keeping political science as an independent science it is reduced to the status of a dependent variable. Under the impact of well-known sociologists, like Talcott Parsons, Robert K. Merton and Marion Levy, political scientists like David Easton, David Apter and Edward.A.Shills look like developing a tendency to regard the governmental system as a dependent variable whose contours are determined by social, psychological, cultural and economic factors and whose main task consists of processing ‘inputs’ generated by these forces and converting them into governmental ‘outputs.’ Politics is thus treated as “a handmaid of social forces, a mere instrument which was fed by material from outside and which churned it out and returned into the society- whether in a good, bad or indifferent form depended on the quality of the political system. Sarotri was thus right when he said that it “is an extraordinary paradox that the social sciences should be ever more prompted to explain politics, by developing fetishism for the ‘invisible hand.’”

2.6.7. Key Words

Modernization

Development

Oligarchy

Primitive

Mobilization

Structural

Secularization

2.6.8. Short Answer type Questions:

1. What do you understand by Political Modernisation?
2. Discuss S.P.Huntington's concept of Political Modernisation?
3. What is Totalitarian Oligarchy?
4. Discuss the features of Primitive and Backward Social Systems?

2.6.9. Long Answer type Questions:

1. Discuss Apter's model of Political Modernisation?
2. Discuss Edward A. Shill's fivefold classification of the Political Systems?
3. Discuss the main features of primitive, developing and developed social systems?

2.6.10. Suggested Readings:

Chilcote, Ronald H	:	Theory of Comparative Politics
Pandey. Rajendra	:	Sociology of Development
Varma, S.P.	:	Modern Political Theory
Johri, J.C.	:	Comparative Politics
Almond, G.A.	:	Comparative Politics: A Development Approach

Dependency Theory & World Systems Theory

- 2.8.1 Introduction
- 2.8.2 Objectives of this lesson
- 2.8.3 Self Check Exercise
- 2.8.4 World System Analysis
- 2.8.5 Summary
- 2.8.6 Key Words
- 2.8.7 Short Answer type Questions:
- 2.8.8 Long Answer Questions:
- 2.8.9. Suggested Readings

2.8.1 Introduction

World System Analysis is a historical approach to political economy with a belief in the global systemic structure and connected processes. The origin of world system theory can be traced back to the first systematic attempt to apply the ideas of Marx to the international sphere that is to the critique of imperialism advanced by such thinkers as Hobson. According to Ray and Kaarbo, 'The world economic system perspective disagrees most fundamentally with the realist state-centric assumption. Whereas realism focuses on the international system of anarchy and state competition for power, the world economic system perspective focuses on the international system of capitalism and the competition among economic classes. For this perspective, economics is the primary explanation for world politics. In this way, it is a Marxist theory, the world economic system perspective concentrates on **global class conflict**'.

Students of international relations often come to their subject matter with a number of preconceptions and assumptions. Among the most entrenched of these is the idea that they are studying a world whose most important characteristic is division. We may harbour a desire to study international relations in order to bring states and peoples closer together, but the starting point is a potentially united world that is actually divided in political, economic and cultural terms. Although world-system theorists would not deny that such divisions exist, they would argue that the best way of understanding them is by locating them in the context of unity. The concept of a world-system suggests that the most meaningful primary unit of social

constraint and social decision-making is this world-system rather than the nation-states that have been traditionally used as a unit of analysis.

The term world-system is synonymous with the term 'capitalist world-economy'. Based on the German word 'Weltwirtschaft', it refers to an entity within whose boundaries there is a single overarching division of labour but which in fact includes a number of separate state structures. This entity, according to world-system theorists is a historical system whose structures operate at a different level from any existing political unit.

2.8.2. Objectives of this lesson

- Dependency and world system theory has influenced many areas of contemporary social sciences. So after reading this chapter, students will have an identification of World System Theory.
- They will also develop an understanding of Capitalist World Economy.
- They will also have a critical perspective on Modernization Theory.
- Students will have an idea of current World System, States and interstate relations etc.

Although World System Theory is inspired by radical dependency theories of underdevelopment. Lenin, Andre-Gunder Frank, John Galtung analyzed world relations on the basis of development or core-periphery. The foremost pioneer of contemporary world-system theory is Immanuel Wallerstein. Wallerstein's world

System theory, we will discuss later on after discussing the key features of core-periphery or dependency theory.

- The pamphlet written by Lenin 'Imperialism, the Highest State of Capitalism', published in 1917, the most well known and influential work of base of world system analysis. Lenin accepted Marx's basic thesis that economic mode of production ultimately determines broader social and political relations: a relationship usually summarized via the famous base superstructure model. He also accepted Marx's contention that history can only be correctly understood in terms of class conflict. However, Lenin argues that the character of capitalism had changed since Marx published the first volume of 'Capital' in 1867. Capitalism had entered a new stage – its highest and final stage – with the development of monopoly capitalism. Under monopoly capitalism, a two-tier structure had developed within the world economy with a dominant 'core' exploiting a less-developed 'periphery'. Such a structure

dramatically complicates Marx's view of simple divergence of interests between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

- The liberal understanding of development was subject to increasing criticism during the 1960s and 1970s. That was partly in reaction to the lack of progress in many Third World Countries at the time. While growth rates in the developed world reached unprecedented highs in the post war decades, many Third World Countries had difficulties in getting economic development underway.

The most radical critique of economic liberals came from neo-Marxist underdevelopment theory which is also known under the name of 'dependency theory'. It is based on classical Marxists but is different from it (classical Marxism) in a basic respect. Unlike Marx, dependency theorists do not expect capitalist development to take root and unfold in the Third World in the same way that capitalism first took place in Western Europe and North America. And unlike Soviet Marxism, dependency theorists do not support a Soviet Model with its centralized and highly authoritarian system. Instead, they argue in favor of a socialist model which is more decentralized and democratic. Dependency theory is an attack on late capitalism. It is an effort to provide the theoretical tools by which Third World Countries can defend themselves against globalizing capitalism.

- Underdevelopment is not a phase of 'traditional society' experienced by all countries. Both development and underdevelopment are results of a single process of global capitalist development. Radical dependency theorists such as Andre Gundayr Frank (Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution-1969, Dependence is Dead, Long Live Dependence and the Class Struggle-1977), Samir Amin (Unequal Development – 1976, Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World - 1990). They argued that under such adverse global conditions, how development can be brought to the Third World. Through reliance on their own strength, as well as possible, outside the reach of capitalist world market exploitation.
- The dependency (this theory was developed in 1960s and 1970s) theorists (Raul Prebisch, Frank, Cardoso, Santos) not only rejected modernization theory but also radically undermined Karl Marx's view that capitalism is able to promote development everywhere. It refers to structural inequalities in global wealth and power. Explaining low levels of development in Latin America, Asia and Africa has been enduring

concern of these scholars. It addresses the exogenously imposed conditions whereby the exposure of Third World states to FDI (Foreign Direct Investment), unequal trade agreements, interest payments on debt, and the exchange of raw materials for higher-priced manufactured goods create structurally unequal relations between the core and periphery.

- **Raul Prebisch's** (1901-86) **structural developmentalism** has been based on dependency. Prebisch experienced directly the catastrophic impact of the great depression of the 1930s on what had long been a prosperous economy and a constitutional state. Generalising from this, he reasoned that so long as industrialised states were able to react to adverse conditions with mercantilist policies, as the Europe and United States has done in 1930s, it was folly for less powerful states to plump for the grains from free trade available to them as producers of primary commodities. The terms of trade were bound to move in the long run against producers of primary products because demand for their exports was bound to grow more slowly than for the manufactures they needed to import.
- **Andre Gunder Frank** (1967: **Capitalism and under development in Latin America**) concentrated upon the external mechanisms of control exerted by the centre (or metropole) upon the periphery in a state of underdevelopment for purposes of super-exploitation. Underdevelopment was not an original or inherent condition; rather it was the determined outcome of the historical relationship between dominant and subordinate states. As underdevelopment was a product of capitalist development, it would only end when capitalist system itself collapsed. For Frank socialist revolution was the only solution. Frank should perhaps be more accurately regarded as a 'world system theorist rather than a dependence theorist.
- Johan Galtung's Structural Theory of Imperialism (1971): Galtung develops a theory of imperialism to account for inequality within and between nations and the resistance of this inequality to change. He distinguishes between centre and periphery countries and argues that those in power in the former have a community of interest with those in power in the latter. The result is a relationship which operates at the expense of the majority of the people in peripheral countries, but which is largely in the interest of the majority of the people in centre countries.

This theory takes as its point of departure two of the most glaring facts about this world: the tremendous inequality, within and between nations, in almost all aspects of human living conditions, including the power to decide over those living conditions, and the resistance of this inequality to change. The world consists of center and periphery nations; and each nation in turn, has its centers and periphery. Hence, our concern is with the mechanism underlying this discrepancy.

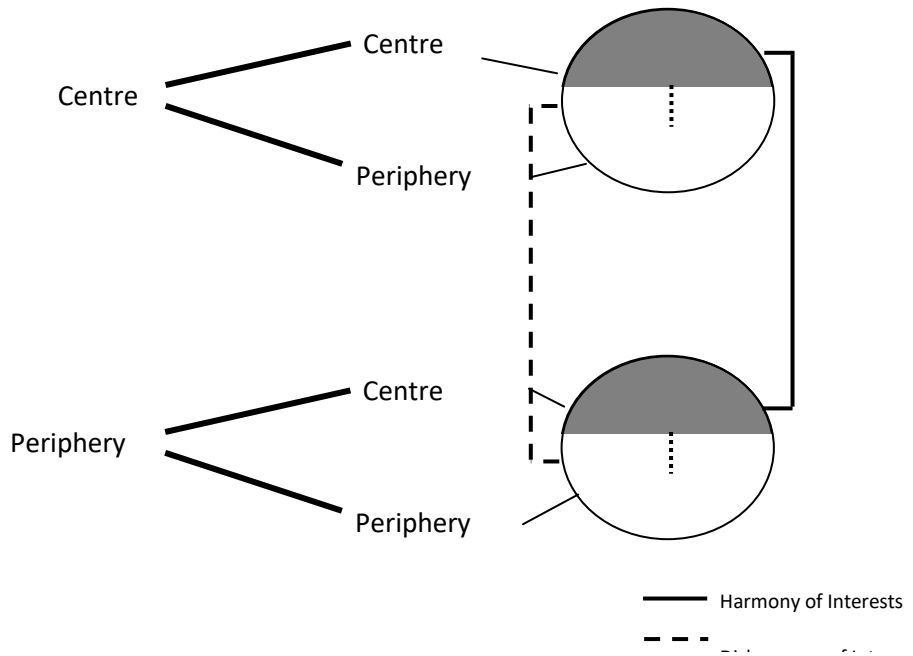


Fig. 1: The Structure of Imperialism.

Galtung explains:

1. There is harmony of interest between center in the centre nation and center in the periphery nations.
2. There is more disharmony of interest within the periphery nation than within the center nations.
3. There is disharmony of interest between the periphery in the center nation and the periphery in the center nation.

The LC (Living Condition) gap is not decreasing but is at best constant.

Galtung mentions five types of imperialism depending on the type of exchange between center and periphery nations.

Table - 1

Sr. No.	Type	Center Nations Provide	Periphery Nations Provide
1.	Economic	Processing, means of production	Raw materials, markets

2.	Political	Decisions, Models	Obedience, imitators
3.	Military	Protection, means of destruction	Discipline, traditional hardware
4.	Communication	News, means of communication	Events, passengers, goods
5.	Cultural	Teaching, means of creation – autonomy	Learning, validation – dependence

- Critical Views:** Radical dependency theory came under fire during the 1970s and went into decline. A number of countries in South East Asia, most notable the **‘four Tigers’** (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong) experienced rapid economic growth combined with world market integration. That was a blow to dependency theory’s prediction of stagnation and misery and seemed to support liberal modernization theory.

Secondly critics of dependence theories have complained of careless terminology, simplistic class analysis, lack of conceptual rigour, and excessive polemic. Dependency should be regarded more as a tool of interpretation, a critical methodology rather than a fully developed theory. It has not provided answers to Latin American problems but has provoked debate.

Thirdly, dependency theory severely downplayed domestic factors in their analysis, such as the role of the state and domestic social forces. To some extent, the world systems analysis by Wallerstein set forth earlier has an answer to such critiques.

2.8.3 Self Check Exercise

Self Check Exercise Q.1. What is global class conflict? Q.2. What is capitalist world economy? Q. 3. Write a short note on system theory of Wallerstein

2.8.4. World System Analysis

The foremost pioneer of contemporary world-system theory is Immanuel Wallerstein. It was he who located the origins of the modern world-system in what he called 'the long sixteenth century' from around 1450 to 1670. Before this period, Western Europe was feudal, and economic production was based almost entirely on agriculture. From 1300 onwards, however, agricultural production fell rapidly as changes in the European climate contributed to rapid increase in the incidence of epidemics among peasant population. It was not until the 1500s the Europe moved towards the establishment of a capitalist world economy, in which production was oriented towards exchange in the market rather than seasonal consumption, those who produced goods earned less than their value, and the driving force of capitalism became the endless accumulation of material goods.¹²

Wallerstein builds on ideas from dependency theory about unequal exchange and underdevelopment in the periphery. But in his view some countries, such as the 'Four Tigers', may well move ahead; other countries will simply move in the opposite direction and overall, hierarchy and unequal exchange continues to characterize the capitalist world-economy. Wallerstein also protests against labeling his analysis as economistic (as understood in academics); economics and politics affect each other in a dialectical interaction.

- In Wallerstein's own words, 'The modern world-system is not the only world-system that has existed. There were many others. It is however the first one that was organised and able to consolidate itself as a capitalist world-economy. Although initially formed primarily in (part of) Europe, its inner logic propelled it to seek the expansion of its outer boundaries. Over some four centuries, it proved durable and strong enough to be capable repeatedly of incorporating new areas and peoples within its division of labour until, by the late nineteenth century, its organisation or integrated labour processes effectively covered the entire globe, the first world-system in history to achieve this'.
- The capitalist world-economy is a system socially structured by an integrated axial division of labour, whose guiding principle is the ceaseless accumulation of capital. The key mechanism to realise this principle has been the construction of extensive commodity chains of production that cross multiple political boundaries.
- The activities of the more profitable nodes have tended to be geographically concentrated in a few, relatively small areas of the world-economy, which we may call collectively the core zone. The less profitable

nodes tend to have their units of economic activity more geographically dispersed, most of these units being located in a much larger area we may call the peripheral zone.

- Only the modern world-system (the capitalist economy) has evolved a political structure composed of states, each of which claims to exercise 'sovereignty' in a delimited geographical area, and which collectively are bound together in an inter-state system. Such a political structure is in fact the only kind of structure that can guarantee the persistence of the partially free market which is the key requirement of a system based on the ceaseless accumulation of capital.
- For Wallerstein the dominant form of social organization has been what he calls 'World-systems'. History has witnessed two types of world-system: world-empires, and world economies. The main distinction between a world-empire and a world-economy relates to how decisions about resource distribution—crudely, who gets what—are made. In a world-empire a centralized political system uses its power to redistribute resources from peripheral areas to the central core area. In the Roman Empire this took the form of the payment of 'tributes' by the outlying provinces back to the Roman heartland. By contrast, in a world-economy there is no single centre of political centres of power. Resources are not distributed by central decree but rather through the medium of market. However, the net effect of both type of system is the same, and that is the transfer of resources from the periphery to the core.
- According to Wallerstein there have been three major mechanisms that have enabled world-systems to retain relative political stability. They are:
 - (i) Concentration of military strength in the hands of dominant forces.
 - (ii) Pervasiveness of an ideological commitment to the system as a whole. He means the degree to which the staff or cadres of the system feel that their own well being is wrapped up in the survival of the system as such and the competence of its leaders.
 - (iii) Three layered structure of world system, when and if this ceases to be the case, the world system disintegrates.
- Temporal dimensions of Wallerstein's description of the world-economy. These are:
 - (i) **Cyclical Rhythms** – concerned with the tendency of the capitalist world-economy to go through recurrent periods of expansion and subsequent contraction.

- (ii) **Secular Trends** – Refers to Long term growth or contraction of the world economy.
 - (iii) **Contradictions** – A different or opposite set of behaviour. These constraints can best be illustrated as under consumption (Wallerstein refers it one of the main contradictions)
 - (iv) **Crisis** – For Wallerstein when within the system crisis manifests once in the lifetime of a world system. When all others (Cyclinical Rhythms, Secular Trends, or Contradictions work in a way that system can not continue to reproduce itself).
- Wallerstein’s important point of this theory is that he identifies three structural positions – core, peripheral and semi-peripheral.

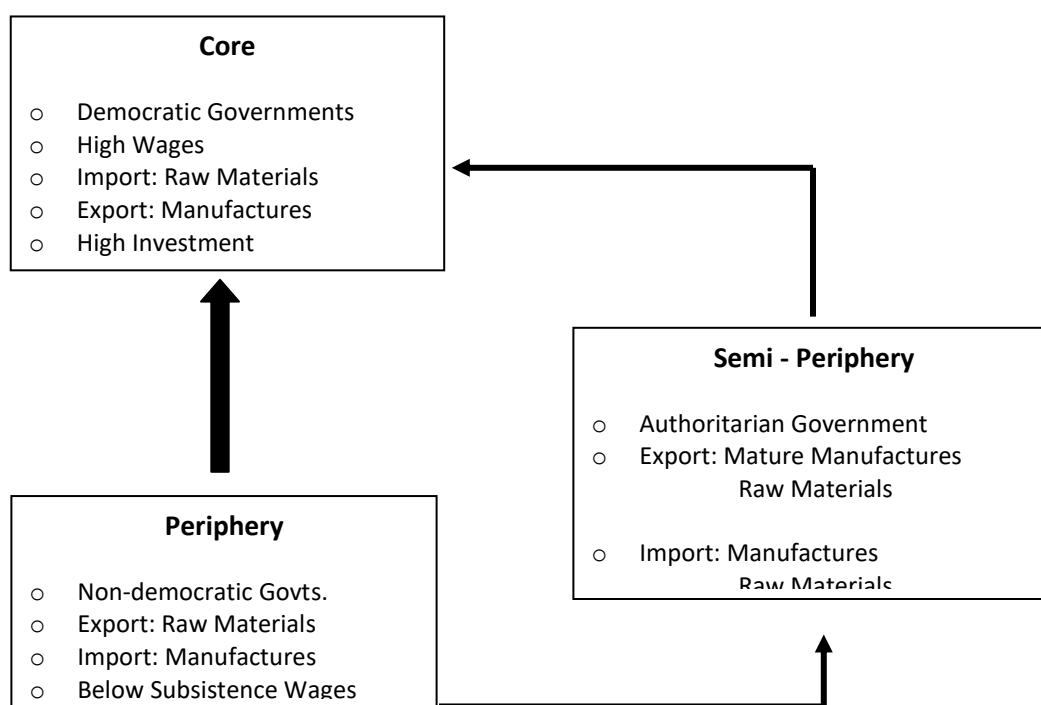


Fig. 2: Interrelationships in the world economy as described by Wallenstein.

Wallerstein, however, added another economic zone (somewhat controversially) in his description of the world economy, an intermediate semi-periphery. According to him, the semi-peripheral zone has an intermediate role with the world system displaying certain features characteristic of the core and others characteristics of the periphery. For example, although penetrated by core economic interests, the semi-periphery has its own relationship vibrant indigenously owned industrially base.

Wallerstein stated that 'In a world – empire, the middle stratum is in fact accorded the role of maintaining the marginally-desirable long-distance luxury trade, while the upper stratum concentrates its resources on controlling the military machinery which can collect the tribute, the crucial mode of redistributing surplus. By providing, however, for an access to a limited portion of the surplus to urbanized elements who alone, in pre-modern societies, could contribute political cohesiveness to isolated clusters of primary producer, the upper stratum effectively buys off the potential leadership of coordinated revolt.... The semi-periphery is then assigned as it were a specific economic role, but the reason is less economic than political. The existence of third category means precisely that the upper stratum is not faced with the unified opposition of all the others because the middle stratum is both exploited and exploiter.²¹ Semi-peripheral states are those states which combine within their boundaries a significant mix of core-like and peripheral economic activities. Semiperipheral countries regularly run very hard to stay in place.

In this way semi-periphery, because of its hybrid nature plays important political and economic role in the modern world system. According to world system theorists, the three zones of his world economy are linked together in an exploitative relationship in which wealth is drained away from the periphery to the centre. As a consequence, the relative positions of the zones become ever more deeply entrenched; the rich get richer while the poor become poorer.²³ Periphery becomes base of exploitation by both core and semi-periphery. Therefore, semi-periphery exploited by core, but in turn takes advantage of the periphery. Semi-periphery is a crucial buffer between core and periphery.

World systems theory refers the core to those regions that benefited most from change. In the period of initial expansion, this includes most of northwestern Europe (France, England and Holland). The region was characterized by strong central governments and large mercenary armies. The latter enabled the bourgeoisie to control international commerce and extract economic surplus. The periphery, in contrast, refers to regions lacking strong central governments, dependent on coercive rather than wage labour, and whose economies depend on the export of raw materials to the core. As Latin America and East Europe were key peripheral zones in the sixteenth century.

2.8.5 Summary

Finally, dependency or world system theorists point out that the international power structure in the international power structure supports the dominance of the North over the South in the international economic

structures. Specifically, foreign policies of the United States are argued to work to the advantages of US business interest. All foreign aids also serves the interest of the north because aid often supports elites in dependent countries whose interest are tied more closely to the elites of richer capitalist countries than to their own countries. Foreign investment in developing countries by MNCs does much more harm than good. The economic benefits MNCs do bring tend to be concentrated in areas and among people who are already relatively well off, and so they exacerbate the already unequal distribution of wealth in developing countries. So, the present world system of political economy works to maintain the status Quo.

According to Keith L. Shimko, ‘This vision of the world leads Marxists or neo-Marxists to a different set of concerns than those that normally animate realists and liberals. Despite their profound philosophical and theoretical differences, realists and liberals tend to focus on questions of war and peace. They may disagree about whether or not democracies are more peaceful than non democracies, but the problem of war and conflict is at the core of both liberal and realist thought. Marxist, on the other hand, is more focused on understanding the institutions and process that sustain what they see an unequal, exploitive, and unjust international order’.

2.8.6 Key Words

International order	Capitalism
Interdependency	Imperialism
Under development	Cyclical rhythms
Secular trends	Semi Peripheral
Capitalist world economy	Cyclical rhythms
Global Class Conflict	Imperialism
Under development	Secular trends
Semi Peripheral	

2.8.7 Short Answer Type Questions:

1. What are characteristics of Dependency Theory?
2. What is core, periphery and Semi-periphery
3. Who is the author of the book “Imperialism: The highest stage of Capitalism”

2.8.8 Long Answer Questions:

1. Write a detailed note on the historical perspective on the capitalist world economy?
2. Write a critical note on the world system theory developed by Wallerstein?

3. Write a critical essay on the Dependency Theory.

2.8.9 Suggested Readings

1. James Lee Ray and Juliet Kaarbo : Global Politics. 2002.
2. Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan : Key Concepts in International Relations. London, New York: Routledge. 2004
3. Stephen Hobden and Richard Wyn Jones : Marxist Theories of International Relations, 2005
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5. Iain Mclean and Alistair Mamilian : Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics. 2005

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