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(DSC/DSE)

FOUR YEAR BACHELOR'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER II

POLITICAL THEORY (PART-B)

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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BACHELOR OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This course in Political Science of the U. G. Programme of KKHSOU is titled “Political Theory (Part B)”. It is designed to help the learners to have an understanding of the basic theoretical elements with regard to the study of Political Science. To begin with, political scientists have adopted various approaches for carrying out a systematic the study of politics and political events at various stages. The approaches to political analysis can be broadly classified as traditional approaches (including the philosophical, historical, institutional and legal approaches and modern approaches (including the behavioural approach, the post-behavioural approach, the systems approach, the structural-functional approach, the communications theory approach and the decision-making approach) . Accordingly, the *first unit* of the course “Political Theory: Part B “ discusses two very important traditional approaches, namely, the Philosophical Approach and the Historical Approach while the *second unit* of the course discusses two other important traditional approaches, namely the Institutional Approach and the Legal Approach. The third unit of the course introduces the learners to two epoch-making modern approaches, namely, the Behavioural Approach and the Post-Behavioural Approach. Subsequently, in the *fourth unit*, the learners shall be able to read about two major modern approaches namely, the Systems Approach and the Structural-Functional Approach. The *fifth unit* discusses two other significant modern approaches, namely, the Communication Theory Approach and the Decision-Making Approach. Any discourse on politics and political science will be incomplete without a discussion on democracy. Accordingly, the *sixth unit* reflects on the various aspects of the contemporary perspectives on democracy, including Liberal Democracy and Marxist Democracy while at the same time acquainting the learners with the nature of democracy in the developing world. The *seventh unit* of the course focuses on the three fundamental organs of the government, namely, the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. In any modern state, the three organs need to exercise their respective powers and functions effectively so that the government as a whole could function smoothly. At the same time there should be a separation of powers between all the three organs in order to prevent concentration of powers in one single organ and facilitate enjoyment of liberty. Thus the unit also involves a discussion on Montesquieu’s Theory of Separation of Powers. As a corollary, the course goes on to discuss the various forms of democratic governments prevailing in the world today. Accordingly, while the *eighth unit* discusses the Federal and Unitary forms of government, the *ninth unit* discusses the Parliamentary and Presidential forms of government. When we look at the functioning any political system in the democratic world, political parties are found to play a very significant role in the political arena often acting as a link between the masses and the rulers. The *tenth unit* of the course therefore presents a discussion on the various

dimensions of Political Parties. The functioning of all democratic political systems is marked by the existence of certain groups in the form of pressure groups and interest groups. These groups operate outside the formal governmental or party system and aim at protecting their respective group interests by actively trying to influence the decision making process of the government in their own favour. Thus, the *eleventh unit* deals with the various aspects relating to Pressure Groups and Interest Groups. The primary concern of any political system is that of ensuring its continuity and sustainability. In this context, the process of formation of political values, attitudes and beliefs on the part of the citizens at various stages of their lives plays a very crucial role. This process whereby political values are transmitted from one generation to another is known as Political Socialisation which is elaborately discussed in the *twelfth unit* of the course. Another very significant concept associated with the study of political science is that of political culture and political participation. As a matter of fact, in order to have a deeper understanding of the nature and functioning of the political system of any country, it is essential to look into the political culture and political participation of the people of that particular country. Accordingly, the *thirteenth unit* discusses the important concepts of Political Culture and Political Participation. Finally the last unit of the course, i.e. *fourteenth* unit focuses on the concepts of Political Modernisation and Political Development. While political modernisation involves changes in a range of spheres covering social, cultural, economic and psychological dimensions, political development involves elements of state building and wider political participation.

While going through the units of the course, you will find that each unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. You will notice some alongside boxes while going through a unit , which have been included to help you know some of the difficult, unseen terms. Again, each unit carries certain *activities* after every section. These “ACTIVITIES” will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called “LET US KNOW” after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is “CHECK YOUR PROGRESS”. The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. It will be better if you answer the questions put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with “ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS” given at the end of each unit. Furthermore, a set of sample questions has been included under the category called “MODEL QUESTIONS”.

UNIT 1 : TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO POLITICAL ANALYSIS (PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH AND HISTORICAL APPROACH)

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives
1.2 Introduction
1.3 Traditional Approaches to Political Analysis
1.4 Philosophical Approach
1.5 Historical Approach
1.6 Let Us Sum Up
1.7 Further Reading
1.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
1.9 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the traditional approaches to political analysis
- discuss the philosophical approach to political analysis
- discuss the historical approach to political analysis
- explain the limitations of the philosophical and historical approaches.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

The various approaches to political analysis have been playing an important role in the field of study of politics and political events. The approaches to political analysis can be broadly classified as traditional approaches and modern approaches. While the Traditional Approaches to political analysis include the philosophical, historical, institutional and legal approaches, the Modern Approaches to political analysis include the behavioural approach, the post-behavioural approach, the systems approach, the structural-functional approach, the communications theory approach and the decision-making approach. In this unit we shall be focusing

on two traditional approaches namely, the Philosophical approach and the Historical approach.

1.3 TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO POLITICAL ANALYSIS

The traditional approaches to political analysis were widely prevalent till the outbreak of the Second World War. These approaches were mainly related to the traditional view of politics which emphasized the study of the state and government. Therefore, traditional approaches are primarily concerned with the study of the organization and activities of the state and the principles and ideas which underlie political organizations and activities. These approaches were ***normative*** and idealistic. The political thinkers advocating these approaches, therefore, raised questions like 'what should be an ideal state?' According to them the study of Political Science should be confined to the formal structures of the government, laws, rules and regulations. Thus, the advocates of the traditional approaches emphasize various norms - what 'ought to be' or 'should be' rather than 'what is'.



Normative: Prescribing norms or ethical standards.

- **Characteristics of Traditional approaches**
  - Traditional approaches are largely normative in nature and laid stress on the values associated with politics (e.g. moral issues of justice, equalty. etc.)
  - Emphasis is on the study of different political structures. (e.g. parliament, judiciary.etc.)
  - Traditional approaches made very little attempt to relate theory and research
  - These approaches believe that since facts and values are closely interlinked, studies in Political Science can never be scientific.
- **Various types of Traditional Approaches:**

  The traditional approaches can be sub-divided into the following-
  - Philosophical approach
  - Historical approach
  - Institutional approach
  - Legal approach.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention any two traditional approaches.

.....

Q 2: Traditional approaches were normative in nature. (True/ False)

.....

Q 3: State any two characteristics of the Traditional approaches.

.....

.....

1.4 PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

Now, let us discuss the Philosophical Approach to political analysis:

- **Philosophical Approach**: The Philosophical Approach is regarded as the oldest approach to the study of political phenomena and Political Science. The emergence of this approach can be traced back to the times of the Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle. Leo Strauss was one of the main advocates of the philosophical approach. He believes that "the philosophy is the quest for wisdom and political philosophy is the attempt truly to know about the nature of political things and the right or good political order." (Mahajan, V.D. : *Political Theory* S. Chand & Complany Ltd., New Delhi, 2006 p.18). German-American political philosopher, Leo Strauss was of the view that initially political philosophy was identical with Political Science. It was an all-embracing study of the affairs of the human society. Accordingly, there could not be a non-philosophical political science or non-scientific political philosophy. The philosophical approach firmly believes that the values cannot be separated from the study of politics. Therefore, its main concern is to judge what is good or bad in any political society. It is mainly an ethical and normative study of politics and, thus, idealistic. It deals with the problems of the nature and functions of the state, citizenship, rights and duties etc. The advocates of this approach firmly believe that political philosophy is closely linked with the political ideologies. Therefore, they are of the opinion that a political scientist

must have the knowledge of good life and good society. Political philosophy helps in setting up of a good political order. The philosophical approach was pre-dominant in most of the classical political theory. The emphasis was on moral reasoning. Leo Strauss believed that values were an indispensable part of political philosophy and could not be excluded from the study of politics. Thus, the philosophical approach aims at evolving standards of right and wrong. It is important for a political scientist to have the knowledge of good life and good society. Classical conceptions of individual rights, freedom, equality, justice and conditions of state intervention in the lives of the individuals were all formulated on moral grounds. The political views of writers such as J.S Mill, T.H.Green, Hobhouse, Laski, Barker and others reflected the philosophical approach.

- **Limitations of the Philosophical Approach**
  - The philosophical approach is criticised as being normative in nature and ignores political realities.
  - The question of what is ethical and what is not varies from situation to situation.
  - The philosophical approach is considered idealistic in nature.
  - Importance is given to inductive and deductive methods only.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Mention the names of any two advocates of the philosophical approach.

.....

Q 5: The philosophical approach firmly believes that the values cannot be separated from the study of politics. (True/False)

.....

Q 6: Explain briefly the philosophical approach. (within 75 words)

.....

.....

.....

.....



LET US KNOW

Greek philosopher Plato used the Philosophical Approach for studying Political Science. While giving his ideas on Philosopher King, Ideal State etc., he was more concerned with what 'ought to be' (what is desirable) rather than dealing with the existing realities of those societies. He had also set various norms for the philosopher kings and also of an ideal state.

1.5 HISTORICAL APPROACH

Now, let us discuss the Historical Approach to political analysis:

- **Historical Approach**: According to the advocates of this approach, political theory can be only understood when the historical factors like the age, place and the situation in which it is evolved are taken into consideration. As the name of this approach is related to history, it emphasizes the study of the history of every political event to analyze any situation. Political thinkers like Machiavelli, Sabine and Dunning believe that politics and history are intricately related and the study of politics should always have a historical perspective. Sabine is of the view that Political Science should include all those subjects which have been discussed in the writings of different political thinkers from the time of Plato. Moreover, history not only speaks about the past but also links it with the present events. History provides the chronological order of every political event and thereby helps in future estimation of events also. Hence, without studying the past political events, institutions and political environment it would be wrong to analyze the present political scenario or events. The historical approach aims at understanding politics through a historical account of the past. Apart from the fact that the study of the old political institutions is important from the standpoint of their role in a particular period of history, their study is also important from the point of view of assessing their contribution to the political behaviour of society as a whole throughout different stages of human history. Some important works where one can find the impact of the historical approach include "Ancient Law" (1861) and "Early History of Institutions" (1874) by

Sir Henry Maine; "Introduction to Political Science" (1896) by Sir John Seeley; "The State and the Nation" (1919), etc.



LET US KNOW

Applying the historical approach in the Indian context, one finds that the basic document of governance in India, i.e., the Constitution of India has its roots in the freedom movement of India. The ideas of liberty, equality, elimination of discrimination, social justice, secularism, fundamental rights, popular sovereignty, parliamentary democracy, federalism, national unity as reflected in the Indian Constitution were the dominant themes during the freedom movement inspiring the people to confront oppression and exploitation. Today a modern polity has been established in India. However, the foundation of the modern Republic of India can be traced back to the freedom movement led by Mahatma Gandhi and other national figures.

- **Limitations of the Historical Approach**
  - The Historical approach suffers from some limitations. Lord Bryce has said that though historical comparisons may be illuminating, yet sometimes they may be misleading too. Historical facts may be influenced by socio-cultural orientations of those who document historical facts.
  - Critics also point out ancient ideas may not be suitable in the contemporary times and historical events cannot help us in the contemporary times as the realities of political life have undergone vast changes.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: "Early History of Institutions" (1874) was written by whom?

.....

Q 8: Mention the names of any two political thinkers who believed that politics and history are intricately related.

.....

Q. 9 : Explain briefly the historical approach. (within 75 words)

.....

.....

.....

.....



1.6 LET US SUM UP

- The traditional approaches to political analysis were widely prevalent till the outbreak of the Second World War. These approaches were mainly related to the traditional view of politics which emphasized the study of the state and government.
- Traditional approaches are primarily concerned with the study of the organization and activities of the state and principles and the ideas which underlie political organizations and activities.
- These approaches were normative and idealistic. The political thinkers advocating these approaches, therefore, raised questions like 'what should be an ideal state?' Thus, the advocates of the traditional approaches emphasize various norms - what 'ought to be' or 'should be' rather than 'what is'.
- The traditional approaches can be sub-divided into Philosophical, Historical, Institutional and Legal approaches.
- The philosophical approach to political analysis is regarded as the oldest approach to the study of political phenomena and Political Science. The emergence of this approach can be traced back to the times of the Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle.
- Leo Strauss was one of the main advocates of the philosophical approach. Leo Strauss was of the view that initially political philosophy was identical with Political Science. It was as all-embracing study of

the affairs of the human society. Accordingly, there could not be a non-philosophical political science or non-scientific political philosophy.

- The philosophical approach firmly believes that the values cannot be separated from the study of politics. Therefore, its main concern is to judge what is good or bad in any political society. It is mainly an ethical and normative study of politics and, thus, idealistic.
- The philosophical approach deals with the problems of the nature and functions of the state, citizenship, rights and duties etc. The political views of writers such as J.S Mill, T.H.Green, Hobhouse, Laski, Barker and others reflected the philosophical approach.
- According to the advocates of the historical approach, political theory can be only understood when the historical factors like the age, place and the situation in which it is evolved are taken into consideration.
- Political thinkers like Machiavelli, Sabine and Dunning believe that politics and history are intricately related and the study of politics always should have a historical perspective. Sabine is of the view that Political Science should include all those subjects which have been discussed in the writings of different political thinkers from the time of Plato.
- This approach strongly upholds the belief that the thinking or the ideology of every political thinker is shaped by the surrounding environment. Moreover, history not only speaks about the past but also links it with the present events. History provides the chronological order of every political event and thereby helps in future estimation of events also. Hence, without studying the past political events, institutions and political environment it would be wrong to analyze the present political scenario or events.
- The historical approach aims at understanding politics through a historical account of the past. Apart from the fact that the study of the old political institutions is important from the standpoint of their role in a particular period of history, their study is also important from the point of view of assessing their contribution to the political behaviour of society as a whole throughout different stages of human history.
- Some important works where one can find the impact of the historical

approach include "Ancient Law" (1861), "Early History of Institutions" (1874) by Sir Henry Maine, "Introduction to Political Science" (1896) by Sir John Seeley, "The State and the Nation" (1919), etc. (Mahajan, V.D.: *Political Theory*, S,Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2006, p.19).



1.7 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Philosophical approach and Historical approach

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: (i) Traditional approaches are largely normative and stresses on the values of Politics

(ii) Emphasis is on the study of different political structures.

Ans to Q No 4: Leo Strauss and T.H.Green

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: The Philosophical approach approach is regarded as the oldest approach to the study of political phenomena and Political Science. The philosophical approach firmly believes that the values cannot be separated from the study of politics. Therefore, its main concern is to judge what is good or bad in any political society. It is

mainly an ethical and normative study of politics and, thus, idealistic.

Ans to Q No 7: Sir Henry Maine

Ans to Q No 8: Machiavelli and Sabine

Ans to Q No 9: According to the advocates of the historical approach, political theory can be only understood when the historical factors like the age, place and the situation in which it is evolved are taken into consideration. The historical approach aims at understanding politics through a historical account of the past. It emphasizes the study of the history of every political reality to analyze any situation. The study of politics always should have a historical perspective.



1.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Which is the oldest approach to the study of Political Science?

Q 2: Name one advocate of the philosophical approach and one advocate of the historical approach.

Q 3: Which approach aims at evolving standards of right and wrong.

Q 4: Works such as “Ancient Law” (1861) and “Introduction to Political Science” (1896) of Sir John Seeley is associated with which traditional approach?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Mention the characteristics of the traditional approaches to political analysis.

Q 2: Briefly write about the historical approach to political analysis.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the meaning of traditional approaches. Discuss the characteristics of the traditional approaches to political analysis.

Q 2: Discuss the philosophical approach to political analysis. Write about the limitations of the philosophical approach.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2: TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO POLITICAL ANALYSIS (INSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL APPROACH)

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Institutional Approach

2.4 Legal Approach

2.5 Let Us Sum Up

2.6 Further Reading

2.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.8 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the institutional approach to political analysis
- discuss the legal approach to political analysis
- explain the limitations of the institutional approach explain the limitations of the legal approach.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we discussed the meaning and two types of traditional approaches. In this unit we shall learn about two other very important traditional approaches, namely, the institutional approach and the legal approach. The main emphasis of these approaches is on the formal and legal framework of political phenomena. The study of the structural dimensions of any state is very important. These structures would include the various branches of the government, political parties, etc. At the same time, the study of the legal dimensions of various political institutions and legal documents like the Constitution is also very essential. Accordingly, the functioning of formal institutional structures and their legal framework

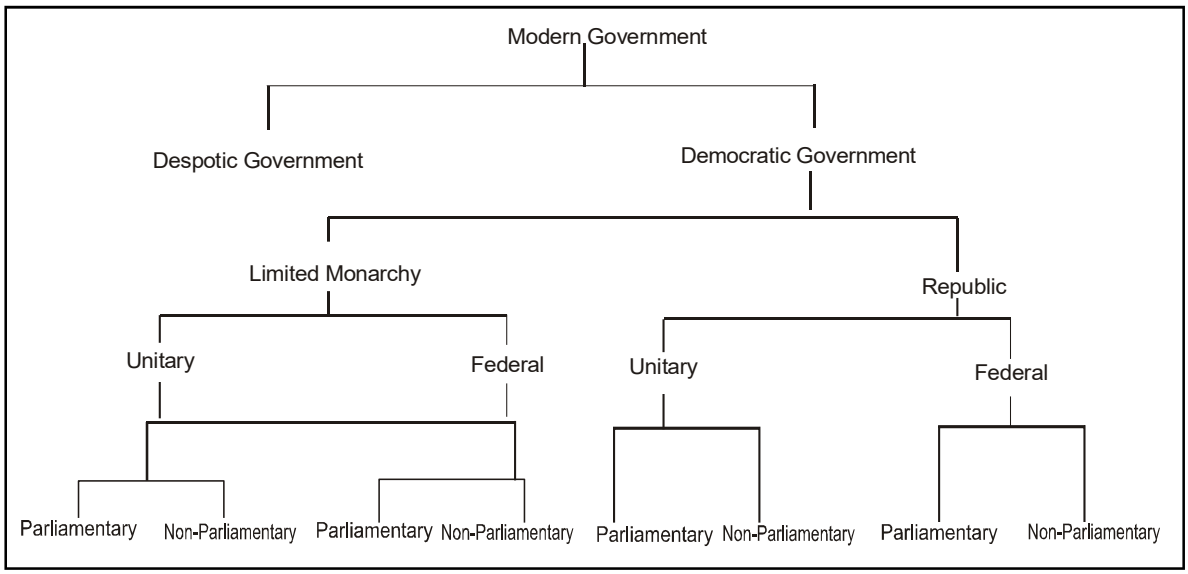
could be studied by adopting the institutional and legal approaches to political analysis.

2.3 INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

The Institutional Approach is a very old and important approach to the study of Political Science. This approach mainly deals with the formal aspects of government and politics emphasizes the study of the political institutions and structures. Thus, the institutional approach is concerned with the study of the formal structures like legislature, executive, judiciary, political parties, interest groups etc. The advocates of this approach include both ancient and modern political thinkers. Among the ancient thinkers Aristotle is an important contributor to this approach while the modern thinkers include James Bryce, Bentley, Walter Bagehot, Harold Laski, etc. Accordingly, the institutional approach studies the organization and functioning of government and its various organs, political parties and other institutions which influence politics and the political process. Aristotle's classification of governments (monarchy, tyranny, aristocracy, oligarchy, polity and democracy), Modern Classification (democracy and dictatorship, parliamentary and presidential, unitary and federal), study of different levels of government (federal, state and local) as well as branches of government (executive, legislative, judicial) with regard to their composition and powers, etc., constitute the subject matter of the institutional approach. The institutionalists lay stress on the study of institutions and structures, constitutions, rules and regulations and other legal documents. Thus, politics is the study of the structures and institutions of political activity.

- **Limitations of the Institutional Approach**
  - The Institutional Approach is regarded as a narrow approach as the approach is confined only to the study of formal structures and institutions.
  - The institutional approach does not take into account the sociological, psychological, political and economic conditions and factors which play an important role in the matter of actual functioning of the formal institutions.

Dr.Stephen Leacock's classification of modern governments is considered to be the most acceptable one. Parliamentary and Presidential forms and Unitary and Federal forms of government are all derivatives of Democratic government, which Dr.Leacock has shown in the form of a table as shown :





CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who classified governments into monarchy, tyranny, aristocracy, oligarchy, polity and democracy?

.....

Q 2: The advocates of the institutional approach includes both ancient and modern political thinkers. (True/False).

.....

Q 3: What are the limitations of the institutional approach?

.....

Q 4: Describe the Institutional Approach to the study of Political Science.(within 75 words).

.....

.....

.....

2.4 LEGAL APPROACH

The Legal Approach regards the state as the fundamental organization for the creation and enforcement of laws. Therefore, this approach is concerned with the legal process, legal bodies or institutions, justice and independence of judiciary, division of powers between the union and states, the bureaucracy and other legitimate authorities. The advocates of this approach are Cicero, Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, Jeremy Bentham, John Austin, Dicey and Sir Henry Maine. Formal and legal structures of different countries constituted the main subjects of study of the legal approach. Although the tradition of study of legal aspects of political institutions was visible in the ancient period, yet as a formal approach to the study of political analysis, the legal approach started with the study of political structures of democratic countries like those of the UK and USA. For instance, the constitutional or legal position of the King of England, the British Cabinet, the House of Commons, the House of Lords, the British judicial system were studied in detail. The legal approach focuses on the legal and constitutional framework determining the functioning of different governmental structures including their powers and functions and legal position. In the context of India, the legal approach to the study of Indian politics would include a study of the legal provisions and implications of the Indian Constitution, the decisions of the Supreme Court of India, legal procedures, position and powers and functions of the two houses of parliament and state legislatures, powers and functions and position of the President of India, Prime Minister, Governors, Chief Ministers and other constitutional authorities and the procedures of election of various institutions and authorities.

- **Limitations of the Legal Approach**
  - The legal approach basically deals only with formal structures and processes and ignores the complex environmental factors influencing their actual functioning such as the social, cultural, economic and political environment.
  - The legal approach is very restrictive in nature as it considers only legal nature and implications of political phenomena.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Mention the names of any two advocates of the legal approach?

.....

Q 6: As a formal approach to the study of political analysis, the legal approach started with the study of political structures of democratic countries like those of the UK and USA.(True/False)

.....

Q 7: Explain briefly the legal approach to political analysis. (within 75 words)

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 8: State the limitations of the legal approach.

.....

.....



2.5 LET US SUM UP

- The institutional approach is a very old and important approach to the study of Political Science. This approach mainly deals with the formal aspects of government and politics emphasizes the study of the political institutions and structures.
- The institutional approach is concerned with the study of the formal structures like legislature, executive, judiciary, political parties, interest groups etc.
- Accordingly, the institutional approach studies the organization and functioning of government and its various organs, political parties and other institutions which influence politics and the political process.
- Aristotle's classification of governments (monarchy, tyranny,

aristocracy, oligarchy, polity and democracy), Modern Classification (democracy and dictatorship, parliamentary and presidential, unitary and federal), study of different levels of government (federal, state and local) as well as branches of government (executive, legislative, judicial) with regard to their composition and powers, etc., constitute the subject matter of the institutional approach.

- The advocates of the institutional approach approach includes both ancient and modern political thinkers. Among the ancient thinkers Aristotle is an important contributor to this approach while the modern thinkers include James Bryce, Bentley, Walter Bagehot, Harold Laski, etc.
- The limitations of the institutional approach are: the Institutional Approach is regarded as a narrow approach as the approach is confined only to the study of formal structures and institutions; the institutional approach does not take into account the sociological, psychological, political and economic conditions and factors which play an important role in the matter of actual functioning of the formal institutions.
- The legal approach regards the state as the fundamental organization for the creation and enforcement of laws. Therefore, this approach is concerned with the legal process, legal bodies or institutions, justice and independence of judiciary.
- The advocates of this approach are Cicero, Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, Jeremy Bentham, John Austin, Dicey and Sir Henry Maine. Formal, legal and institutional structures of different countries constituted the main subjects of study of the legal approach.
- The limitations of the institutional approach are: the legal approach basically deals only with formal structures and processes and ignores the complex environmental factors influencing their actual functioning such as the social, cultural, economic and political environment; The legal approach is very restrictive in nature as it considers only legal nature and implications of political phenomena.



2.6 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory-Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



2.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Aristotle

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: (a) The Institutional Approach is regarded as a narrow approach as the approach is confined only to the study of formal structures and institutions.

(b) The institutional approach does not take into account the sociological, psychological, political and economic conditions and factors which play an important role in the matter of actual functioning of the formal institutions.

Ans to Q No 4: The institutional approach mainly deals with the formal aspects of government and politics emphasizes the study of the political institutions and structures. Thus, the institutional approach is concerned with the study of the formal structures like legislature, executive, judiciary, political parties, interest groups etc. The institutionalists lay stress on the study of institutions and structures, constitutions, rules and regulations and other legal documents. Thus, politics is the study of the structures and institutions of political activity.

Ans to Q No 5: Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes

Ans to Q No 6: True

Ans to Q No 7: The legal approach regards the state as the fundamental organization for the creation and enforcement of laws. Therefore, this approach is concerned with the legal process, legal bodies or institutions, justice and independence of judiciary, division of powers between the union and states, the bureaucracy and other legitimate authorities. Formal, legal and institutional structures of different countries constituted the main subjects of study of the legal approach.

Ans to Q No 8: (i) The legal approach basically deals only with formal structures and processes and ignores the complex environmental factors influencing their actual functioning such as the social, cultural, economic and political environment.

(ii) The legal approach is very restrictive in nature as it considers only legal nature and implications of political phenomena.



2.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Which approach regards the state as the fundamental organization for the creation and enforcement of laws?

Q 2: Mention the name of an ancient exponent of the institutional approach.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about the institutional approach.

Q 2: Write briefly about the legal approach.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q1: Write briefly about the institutional approach. State the limitations of the approach

Q 2: Write briefly about the legal approach. State the limitations of the approach.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 3: MODERN APPROACHES TO POLITICAL ANALYSIS (BEHAVIOURALISM AND POST BEHAVIOURALISM)

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Modern Approaches to Political Analysis

- 3.3.1 Meaning of Modern Approaches
- 3.3.2 Characteristics of Modern Approaches

3.4 The Behavioural Approach or Behaviouralism

- 3.4.1 Meaning of Behaviouralism
- 3.4.2 Salient Features of Behaviouralism
- 3.4.3 Merits of Behavioralism and Criticisms against Behaviouralism

3.5 The Post-Behavioural Approach or Post-Behaviouralism: Origin and Meaning

3.6 Let Us Sum Up

3.7 Further Reading

3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.9 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the modern approaches to political analysis
- explain the characteristics of the modern approaches
- discuss the behavioural approach to the study of Political Science
- discuss the post-behavioural approach to the study of Political Science.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units, we learnt about the traditional approaches to political analysis. In this unit we shall learn about the modern approaches

to political analysis. As opposed to the traditional approaches, the modern approaches are based on the study and analysis of facts .The modern approaches include behavioural approach, post-behavioural approach, systems approach, structural-functional approach, communication theory approach, etc. In this unit we shall focus on two major modern approaches, namely, Behaviouralism and Post-behaviouralism.

3.3 MODERN APPROACHES TO POLITICAL ANALYSIS

3.3.1 Meaning of Modern Approaches

After studying politics with the help of traditional approaches, the political thinkers of the later period felt the necessity to study politics from a new perspective. Thus, to minimize the deficiencies of the traditional approaches, various new approaches have been advocated by the new political thinkers. These new approaches are regarded as the "modern approaches" political analysis. Many thinkers regard was these approaches as a reaction against the traditional approaches. These approaches are mainly concerned with the scientific study of politics. The first breakthrough in this regard comes with the emergence of the behavioural revolution in Political Science. The modern approaches include : the Behavioural approach, the Post-Behavioural approach, the Systems approach, the Structural-Functional approach, the Communication Theory approach and the Decision-Making approach.

3.3.2 Characteristics of Modern Approaches

- Modern Approaches try to draw conclusion from empirical data.
- These approaches go beyond the study of political structures and its historical analysis and concentrate on the study of political behaviour based on factual understanding of political phenomena.
- Modern Approaches believe in inter-disciplinary study
- They emphasize scientific methods of study and attempt to draw scientific conclusions in Political Science



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention any two modern approaches.

.....

Q 2: Mention any two characteristics of modern approaches.

.....

.....

Q 3: Modern approaches believe in inter-disciplinary study. (True/False)

.....

Q 4: The first breakthrough with regard to the scientific study of politics was the emergence of which revolution in political science?

.....

3.4 THE BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH OR BEHAVIOURALISM

3.4.1 Origin and Meaning of Behaviouralism

The origin of behavioural movement can be traced back to the period of intellectual developments in the twentieth century. The main thrust of this approach has been on the day to day behaviour of the individuals as the members a political society. After the First World War a movement emerged towards the use of empirical and quantitative methods. Thus the emphasis on political behaviour in the first stage of the twentieth century later led to the emergence of the behavioural movement in Political Science. Significant landmark of this revolution is the publication of the book, Political Behaviour written by an American thinker Frank Kent in 1928. This approach takes into account the behaviour of persons and groups in society and not institutions, structures or ideologies. Hence, the emphasis of this approach is on the study of the individual as a member of the group.

After the Second World War this movement became very popular among the political thinkers of America as well as some European countries. Charles. E. Merriam who was a professor of Political Science at the Chicago University is regarded the father of the behavioural movement. The behaviouralists emphasize the use of quantitative data and statistical tables in political analysis. Several American political scientists like Gabriel Almond, Robert Dahl, David Easton, Harold Lasswell and Karl Deutsch have evolved some theoretical frameworks and research designs to do scientific and systematic research in Political Science. All these works have contributed towards the strengthening of behavioural movement.

Behaviouralism has been defined in different ways. Robert Dahl regards behaviouralism as "a protest movement within Political Science associated with a number of political scientists, mainly Americans who shared a strong sense of dissatisfaction with the achievements of conventional Political Science, particularly through historical, philosophical and the descriptive institutional approaches." He further opines that by linking politics with the empirical components of the society, the behavioural approach makes an attempt to make Political Science more scientific, objective and value free.

David Easton is of the view that the behavioural approach should look at the participants in the political system as individuals with their emotions, prejudices and predispositions of human beings. Scholars like Charles E Merriam and Harold Lasswell also believed that political investigations would be incomplete if psychological and social aspects are not taken into consideration. Therefore, the behavioural movement tried to shift the focus of study from the structure and origin of the government and various other institutions of the state to the individuals who constitute the political system. For studying the day to day problems of the individuals, behaviouralism put emphasis on the development of new methods and techniques of research. The behaviouralists mainly used the

techniques of observation, interview, survey, research, case studies, data collection, statistical analysis, quantification etc.



LET US KNOW

An important consideration of Behaviouralism has been the study of political behavior, as an area of study within Political Science. Its focus is on the individual as voter, leader, revolutionary, party member, etc., and the influences of the of the group or the political system on the individual's political behavior.

3.4.2 Salient Features of Behaviouralism

David Easton has pointed out certain salient features of behaviouralism which are regarded as its intellectual foundations. These are:

- **Regularities:** This approach believes that there are certain uniformities in political behaviour which can be expressed in generalizations or theories in order to explain and predict political phenomena. In a particular situation the political behaviour of individuals may be more or less similar. Such regularities of behaviour may help the researcher to analyze a political situation as well as to predict the future political phenomena. Study of such regularities makes Political Science more scientific with some predictive value.
- **Verification:** The behaviouralists do not want to accept everything as granted. Therefore, they emphasize testing and verifying everything. According to them, what cannot be verified is not scientific.
- **Techniques:** The behaviouralists put emphasis on the use of those research tools and methods which generate valid, reliable and comparative data. A researcher must make use of sophisticated tools like sample surveys, mathematical models, simulation etc.

- **Quantification:** After collecting data, the researcher should measure and quantify those data.
- **Values:** The behaviouralists have put heavy emphasis on separation of facts from values. They believe that to do objective research one has to be value free. It means that the researcher should not have any pre-conceived notion or a biased view.
- **Systematization:** According to the behaviouralists research in Political Science must be systematic. Theory and research should go together.
- **Pure Science:** Another characteristic of behaviouralism has been its aim to make Political Science a "pure science". It believes that the study of Political Science should be verified by evidence.
- **Integration:** According to the behaviouralists, Political Science should not be separated from various other social sciences like history, sociology and economics etc. This approach believes that political events are shaped by various other factors in the society and therefore, it would be wrong to separate Political Science from other disciplines.

Thus, with the emergence of behaviouralism a new thinking and new method of study were evolved in the field of Political Science.

3.4.3 Merits of Behavioralism and Criticisms against Behaviouralism

- **Merits of Behavioralism**

  We can list the merits of behavioural approach as follows:

  - It attempts to make Political Science scientific and brings it closer to the day to day life of the individuals.
  - Behaviouralism has first talked about bringing human behaviour into the arena of Political Science and thereby makes the study more relevant to the society.

- This approach helps in predicting future political events.

➢ **Criticisms against Behavioralism**

The behavioural approach has been appreciated by different political thinkers for its merits as mentioned above. However, the Behavioural approach has also faced criticism for its 'mad craze' for scienticism also. The main criticisms levelled against the Behavioural approach are mentioned below:

- The Behavioural approach has been criticized for its dependence on techniques and methods ignoring the subject matter.
- The advocates of the Behavioural approach were wrong when they said that human beings behave in similar ways in similar circumstances.
- Besides, it is a difficult task to study human behaviour and to get a definite result.
- Most of the political phenomena are unquantifiable. Therefore it is always difficult to use scientific method in the study of Political Science.
- Moreover, the researcher being a human being is not always value neutral as believed by the behaviouralists.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Mention the names of three behaviouralists.

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Q 6: Who is regarded as the father of Behavioural Revolution?

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Q 7: List out four features of behaviouralism.

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Q 8: Mention any two criticisms of Behaviouralism.

.....

.....

Q 9: A significant landmark of the behavioural revolution is the publication of the book titled ..... written by Frank Kent in 1928. (Fill in the Blank)

3.5 THE POST-BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH OR POST-BEHAVIOURALISM : ORIGIN AND MEANING

The growth of behavioural movement in Political Science is one of the important landmarks in the history of Political Science. The rise of behaviouralism clearly introduced a scientific vigour in the study of political phenomena. However, after sometime, it began to be realized that unlike natural sciences, generalizations could not be made in the field of social sciences, as the study of man in the societal context was a far more complex pursuit than the study of objects in the natural sciences. Therefore, a new thinking emerged among the behaviouralists for modifying behaviouralism. This led to the emergence of post-behaviouralism.

David Easton who was a staunch supporter of behaviouralism later became a strong critic of behaviouralism. In his presidential address to the Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association held in 1969, David Easton declared that he felt dissatisfied with the political research and teaching made under the impact of behaviouralism. He further said that because of too much use of mathematics, Political Science looked more of mathematics than of social science and that it had lost touch with the current and contemporary world. Behaviouralism also dissatisfied people as it failed to offer solutions to many social and political problems. Such dissatisfaction has led to the emergence of post- behaviouralism. This new approach believed that mere use of sophisticated techniques and research tools would not solve the social and political problems of the world. Therefore post behaviouralists opposed the idea of behaviouralists to make Political Science a value-free science like other natural sciences. Therefore, post-behaviouralists made an effort to make Political Science relevant to the

society by reintroducing the emphasis on values. However, it must be remembered that post-behaviouralism cannot be separated from behaviouralism as it has emerged out of behaviouralism. Through using different techniques and methods post-behaviouralists try to overcome the drawbacks of behaviouralism and make the study of Political Science more relevant to the society by laying equal emphasis on facts and values.



LET US KNOW

David Easton first pointed out the intellectual foundations of behaviouralism. Later he charted out certain salient features of post behaviouralism which are termed as 'Credo of Relevance'.

Post-behaviouralism believed that the use of scientific tools is beneficial if it can solve the various problems of the society. Behaviouralists gave too much emphasis on methods and techniques and believed that it was better to be wrong than vague. Post-behaviouralists on the other hand, believe that it is better to be vague than non-relevantly precise. The post-behaviouralists criticized behaviouralism on the ground that the latter had lost touch with the realities of the society because of over emphasis on techniques. Thus, post-behaviouralists may be regarded as the reform movement within behaviouralism. This new approach emphasizes identifying and solving the major issues of political and social life. According to post-behavioralism, the political scientists should find out different alternatives and means to solve the social problems. Thus, the main thrust of post-behaviouralism has been to make Political Science relevant to the society. However, it must be remembered that it is only a continuation of behaviouralism. It does not altogether reject the ideas of behaviouralism. It acknowledges the achievement of behavioralism and appreciates its effort to do objective research in Political Science. It only tries to bring research in Political Science closer to reality to make the subject more relevant to the society. Accordingly, the post-behaviouralists opposed the efforts of the behaviouralists to make Political Science a value-free science. It was argued by the post-behaviouralists that Political Science in order to be relevant to

the society must consider basic issues of society such as justice, liberty, equality, democracy, etc., The post-behaviouralists have described behaviouralism as a 'mad craze for scienticism'. Thus, post-behavioralism is a reformation of behavioralism as it shifts its focus strictly from empirical research to resolving problems confronting the society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 10: Post-behaviouralists tried to make the study of Political Science more relevant to the society. (True/False)

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Q 11: Name one behaviouralist who later became an advocate of post-behaviouralism.

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Q 12: Write briefly about post-behaviouralism. (within 75 words)

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ACTIVITY 3.1

Find out the major dissimilarities between behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism.

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3.6 LET US SUM UP

- After studying politics with the help of traditional approaches, the political thinkers of the later period felt the necessity to study politics from a new perspective. Thus, to minimize the deficiencies of the traditional approaches, various new approaches have been advocated by the new political thinkers. These new approaches are regarded as the "modern approaches" political analysis.
- Many thinkers regard these approaches as a reaction against the traditional approaches. These approaches are mainly concerned with the scientific study of politics. The first breakthrough in this regard comes with the emergence of the behavioural revolution in Political Science.
- The origin of behavioural movement can be traced back to the period of intellectual developments in the twentieth century. The main thrust of this approach has been on the day to day behaviour of the individuals as the members a political society. After the First World War a movement emerged towards the use of empirical and quantitative methods.
- The emphasis on political behaviour in the first stage of the twentieth century later led to the emergence of the behavioural movement in Political Science. Significant landmark of this revolution is the publication of the book, Political Behaviour written by an American thinker Frank Kent in 1928.
- The behavioural approach takes into account the behaviour of persons and groups in society and not institutions, structures or ideologies. Hence, the emphasis of this approach is on the study of the individual as a member of the group.
- After the Second World War this movement became very popular among the political thinkers of America as well as some European countries. Charles. E. Merriam of the Chicago University is regarded the father of the behavioural movement.

- The behaviouralists emphasize the use of quantitative data and statistical tables in political analysis. Several writers like Gabriel Almond, Robert Dahl, David Easton, Harold Lasswell and Karl Deutsch have evolved some theoretical frameworks and research designs to do scientific and systematic research in Political Science. All these works have contributed towards the strengthening of behavioural movement.
- David Easton has pointed out certain salient features of behaviouralism which are regarded as its intellectual foundations. These are: Regularities, Verification, Techniques, Quantification, Values, Systematization, Pure Science and Integration.
- The growth of behavioural movement in Political Science is one of the important landmarks in the history of Political Science. The rise of behaviouralism clearly introduced a scientific vigour in the study of political phenomena. However, after sometime, it began to be realized that unlike natural sciences, generalizations could not be made in the field of social sciences, as the study of man in the societal context was a far more complex pursuit than the study of objects in the natural sciences. Therefore, a new thinking emerged among the behaviouralists for modifying behaviouralism.
- David Easton who was a staunch supporter of behaviouralism later became a strong critic of behaviouralism. In his presidential address to the Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association held in 1969, David Easton declared that he felt dissatisfied with the political research and teaching made under the impact of behaviouralism.
- The Post-behavioural approach believed that mere use of sophisticated techniques and research tools would not solve the social and political problems of the world. Therefore post behaviouralists opposed the idea of behaviouralists to make Political Science a value-free science like other natural sciences. Therefore, post-behaviouralists made an effort to make Political Science relevant to the society.
- It must be remembered that post-behaviouralism cannot be separated

from behaviouralism as it has emerged out of behaviouralism. Through using different techniques and methods post-behaviouralists try to overcome the drawbacks of behaviouralism and make the study of Political Science more relevant to the society.

- Post-behaviouralism believed that the use of scientific tools is beneficial if it can solve the various problems of the society. Thus, post-behavioralism is a reformation of behaviouralism as it shifts its focus strictly from empirical research to resolving problems confronting the society.
- The post-behaviouralists opposed the efforts of the behaviouralists to make Political Science a value-free science. It was argued by the post-behaviouralists that Political Science in order to be relevant to the society must consider basic issues of society such as justice, liberty, equality, democracy, etc.



3.7 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory-Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Structural-functional approach and Communication Theory approach.

Ans to Q No 2: a) Modern approaches try to draw conclusion from empirical data.

b) Modern approaches go beyond the study of political structures and its historical analysis and concentrate on the study of political behaviour based on factual understanding of political phenomena.

Ans to Q No 3: True

Ans to Q No 4: The Behavioural revolution.

Ans to Q No 5: David Easton ,Charles E Merriam and Harold Lasswell

Ans to Q No 6: Charles. E. Merriam

Ans to Q No 7: Regularities, Verification, Techniques and Quantification

Ans to Q No 8: (i) The Behavioural approach has been criticized for its dependence on techniques and methods ignoring the subject matter.

(ii) The advocates of the Behavioural approach were wrong when they said that human beings behave in similar ways in similar circumstances

Ans to Q No 9: "Political Behaviour"

Ans to Q No 10: True

Ans to Q No 11: David Easton

Ans to Q No 12: The rise of behaviouralism clearly introduced a scientific vigour in the study of political phenomena. However, after sometime, it was felt that unlike natural sciences, generalizations could not be made in the field of social sciences.Therefore, a new thinking emerged among the behaviouralists for modifying behaviouralism in the form of post-behaviouralism. The post-behaviouralists made an effort to make Political Science relevant to the society by reintroducing the emphasis on values. Thus, the main thrust of post-behaviouralism has been to make Political Science relevant to the society.



3.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention the names of any four behaviouralists.

Q 2: Mention any two techniques used by the behaviouralists.

Q 3: Whose presidential address to the Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association held in 1969 paved the way for the emergence of Post-Behaviouralism?

Q 4: Which modern approach reintroduced the emphasis on values.

B. Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain any four features of behaviouralism.

Q 2: Write briefly about the reemphasis on values as propounded by post-behaviouralism.

C. Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the Behavioural approach.

Q 2: Discuss the Post-Behavioral Approach.

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UNIT 4: SYSTEMS APPROACH AND STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives
4.2 Introduction
4.3 Systems Approach
4.4 Structural-Functional Approach
4.5 Let Us Sum Up
4.6 Further Reading
4.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
4.8 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the meaning of a system
- discuss David Easton's Systems analysis
- explain the background of structural functionalism
- discuss Gabriel Almond's structural functional analysis.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we learnt about the modern approaches of behaviouralism and post-behaviouralism. In this unit, we shall learn about some other modern approaches, namely, the systems approach and the structural-functional approach. Modern political scientists have looked at politics not in isolation but as a product of the social system. A diverse range of influences from the social, cultural, economic and legal environments affect the functioning of the political system. Thus, the two modern approaches, namely, the systems approach and the structural-functional approach aims at studying politics in a comprehensive manner.

4.3 SYSTEMS APPROACH

- **Meaning of a System**

The systems approach is a modern approach. The political system analysis seeks to relate political science to other social sciences such as sociology, economics, psychology and anthropology. The basic idea of the systems approach is that all social phenomena, including political, economic, cultural, sociological, etc., are interrelated and affect each other. Accordingly, political life cannot be seen in isolation from other aspects of social life. Political life is the outcome of a set of interactions between different sub-systems.

- **David Easton's Political Systems Theory**

The systems approach makes an attempt to explain the relationship of political life with other aspects of social life. The idea of a system was originally borrowed from biology by the American sociologist, Talcott Parsons who first popularized the concept of social system. Later on David Easton further developed the concept of a political system. A political system includes not only governmental institutions such as the legislatures, executives, courts of law and administrative agencies but also such organizations as political parties, interest groups, channels of mass media, political phenomena such as riots and demonstrations, etc.

According to the systems approach, a political system operates within an environment. The environment includes the political, social, economic, legal, moral, cultural environments. Accordingly, it is not possible to analyze political events in isolation from other aspects of the society. In other words, influences from the society, be it economic, religious or otherwise, do shape the political process.

The environment generates "demands" from different sections of the society such as demand for reservation in the matter of employment for certain groups, demand for better working conditions or minimum wages, demand for better transportation facilities, demand for better health facilities, etc.

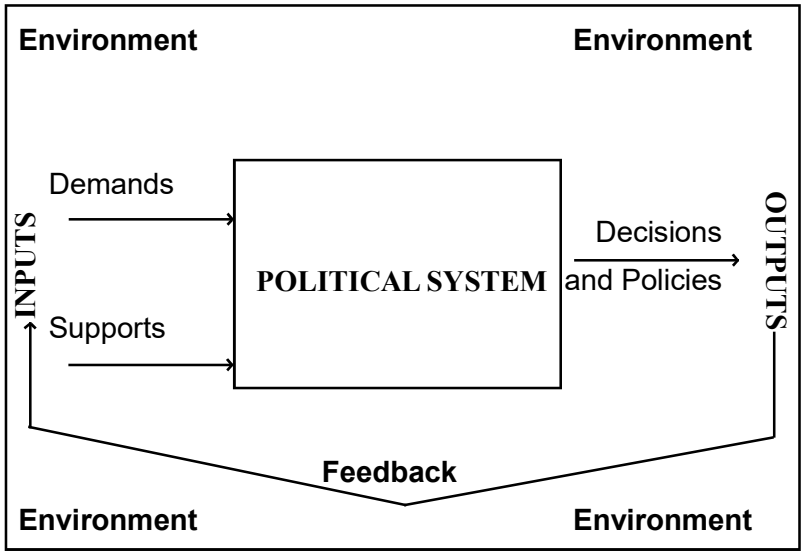
Again there exists "support" for the political system which may be manifested in different forms. Examples of support include payment of taxes to the government, respect for public authorities, symbols and ceremonies, obedience to laws, paying attention to governmental communications, etc.

Both "demands" and "support" constitute what Easton calls "inputs". The political system receives these inputs from the environment. After taking various factors into consideration, the government decides to take action on some of these demands while others are not acted upon. Through the conversion process, the inputs are converted into "outputs" by the decision makers in the form of policies, decisions, rules, regulations and laws. The process of conversion depends on the capacity of the political system and distribution of resources, among others. The "outputs" create reactions and responses in the environment which are fed back into the political system through the feedback loop. Feedback is a dynamic process. Information regarding the performance of the political system is communicated back to the system through the feedback loop affecting the subsequent behaviour of the political system. It may also give rise to fresh "demands" and subsequent "output" functions. Accordingly, feedback is a cyclical process.

When the political system functions as described above, we have a "stable political system". When the political system breaks down and cannot function as described above, we have a "dysfunctional political system".

The systems approach as developed by David Eason can be analyzed with the help of a diagram as follows:

David Easton's systems analysis could be applied to empirical analysis of the functioning of all political systems. Through the systems approach, David Easton provided a general framework for a scientific and empirical study of all types of political systems.





ACTIVITY 4.1

Try to apply the Systems Approach in the context of the Indian Political System.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who first popularized the concept of social system?

.....

Q 2: What constitutes "inputs" of a political system according to David Easton ?

.....

Q 3: The environment includes the political, social, economic, legal, moral, cultural environments. (True/False)

.....

Q 4: Write briefly about the conversion process.

.....

.....

4.4 STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

- **Background of Structural functionalism**

Structural functionalism as an approach has its roots in anthropology and sociology. It sees society as a complex system characterized by the presence of structures performing different functions, in terms of customs, traditions, norms and values. The structural functional approach looks at both social structures and social functions performed by these structures. This approach treats the society as a single inter-related system where each part of the system has a definite and distinct role to play. Initially, theories of functionalism were propounded by anthropologists and sociologists like Malinowski and Radcliff-Brown. Subsequently, these theories were adopted by Talcott Parsons and Marion Levy. Thus a new framework of analysis emerged in the field of sociological discussion.

- **Gabriel Almond's Structural-Functional Analysis**

Talking about the political sphere, several new factors in the modern period such as adult suffrage, emergence of political parties and pressure groups, new modes of communication media, etc. have brought about new forms of structures and new spheres of functions. Accordingly, in the 1970s, Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell applied the structural-functional approach to the field of politics. As a matter of fact, Structural-functionalism in politics is an offshoot of the systems approach. Almond and Powell were of the view that in order to understand the political system, it is necessary to analyse not only the institutions but also the functions of the political system. The main stress of the political system is structures and functions. According to Almond, political systems need to perform a set of functions for sustaining itself. These functions are performed by different kinds of political structures.

The structural-functional approach may be regarded as an offshoot of the system analysis. Gabriel Almond defines political systems as a special system of interaction that exists in all societies performing certain functions. According to him, the main characteristics of a political system are comprehensiveness, inter-dependence and existence of boundaries. Like Easton, Almond also believes that all political systems perform input and output functions. The input functions of a political system are political

socialization and recruitment, interest-articulation, interest-aggregation and political communication. Political socialization is a learning process whereby an individual acquires attitudes and orientations towards political phenomena. It implies the process of transmission of political norms, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour from one generation to another. Accordingly, political socialization helps in the shaping of the overall political culture. Some of the agents of political socialization include the family, school, peer groups, mass media, religion, political parties and work place experiences.

Recruitment implies the process whereby are recruited into the specialized role of the political system, whether as members of political parties, candidates contesting elections, etc. They are imparted training and skills so as to inculcate appropriate political values to serve in different capacities. Primary groups such as family and school are capable of playing this role effectively.

Interest articulation means the processes concerned with the formulation and expression of opinions, attitudes, beliefs, orientations and preferences of different sections in the form of claims and demands for political action. Interest articulation is the process whereby the diverse interests in the society are converted into political demands. This function is best performed by different interest groups.

Interest aggregation is the process whereby the diverse interests are combined by way of accommodation and compromise so that such political demands may be given a concrete shape for policy formulation. This function is best performed by political parties.

Political Communication is the process whereby different components of a political system such as individuals, groups and institutions transmit and receive information with regard to the functioning of the political system. The mass media can play an important role in this regard.

Again, Almond makes a three-fold classification of governmental output functions relating to policy making and implementation. These output functions are- rule making, rule application and rule adjudication. Thus, Almond believes that a stable and efficient political system converts inputs into outputs.

Almond's structural-functional approach is not free from criticisms. It is pointed out that the approach is basically modelled on the western political system and hence is not suitable for the study of developing countries where there are many problems based on religion, caste, language, ethnicity, poverty, etc. The sophisticated tools of analysis adopted by the structural-functional approach do not take these factors into consideration and therefore are of little use when it comes to studying the realities of political life in developing countries.

However, despite the criticisms, it must be said that the structural-functional approach by stressing on the study of structures and functions have provided a systematic tool for empirical investigation and political analysis.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Mention the names of two advocates of the theories of functionalism.

……

Q 6: In the 1970s, Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell applied the structural-functional approach to the field of politics. (True/False)

……

Q 7: The function of interest aggregation is best performed by different interest groups. (True/False)

.....

Q 8: Write briefly about recruitment as an input function of a political system. (within 75 words)

.....

.....

.....

.....



4.5 LET US SUM UP

- The systems approach is a modern approach which developed as a reaction to the traditional approaches to the study of political science. The political system analysis seeks to relate political science to other social sciences such as sociology, economics, psychology and anthropology.
- The basic idea of the systems approach is that all social phenomena, including political, economic, cultural, sociological, etc., are interrelated and affect each other. Accordingly, political life cannot be seen in isolation from other aspects of social life. Political life is the outcome of a set of interactions between different sub-systems.
- Thus, the systems approach makes an attempt to explain the relationship of political life with other aspects of social life. The idea of a system was originally borrowed from biology by Talcott Parsons who first popularized the concept of social system. Later on David Easton further developed the concept of a political system.
- According to the systems approach, a political system operates within an environment. The environment includes the political, social, economic, legal, moral, cultural environments. Accordingly, it is not possible to analyze political events in isolation from other aspects of the society. In other words, influences from the society, be it economic, religious or otherwise, do shape the political process.
- The environment generates "demands" from different sections of the society.Again there exists "support" for the political system which may be manifested in different forms.
- Both "demands" and "support" constitute what Easton calls "inputs". The political system receives theses inputs from the environment.
- Through the conversion process, the inputs are converted into "outputs" by the decision makers in the form of policies, decisions, rules, regulations and laws. The process of conversion depends on

the capacity of the political system and distribution of resources, among others.

- The "outputs" flow back into the environment through a "feedback" loop. Feedback is a dynamic process. Information regarding the performance of the political system is communicated back to the system through the feedback loop affecting the subsequent behaviour of the political system. It may also give rise to fresh "demands" and subsequent "output" functions. Accordingly, feedback is a cyclical process.
- Structural functionalism as an approach has its roots in anthropology and sociology. The structural functional approach looks at both social structures and social functions performed by these structures.
- Initially, theories of functionalism were propounded by anthropologists and sociologists like Malinowski and Radcliff-Brown. Subsequently, these theories were adopted by Talcott Parsons and Marion Levy. Thus a new framework of analysis emerged in the field of sociological discussion.
- In the 1970s, Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell applied the structural-functional approach to the field of politics. As a matter of fact, Structural-functionalism in politics is an offshoot of the systems approach.
- The main stress of the political system is structures and functions. According to Almond, political systems need to perform a set of functions for sustaining itself. These functions are performed by different kinds of political structures.
- Gabriel Almond defines political systems as a special system of interaction that exists in all societies performing certain functions. According to him, the main characteristics of a political system are comprehensiveness, inter-dependence and existence of boundaries.
- Like Easton, Almond also believes that all political systems perform input and output functions. The input functions of a political system are political socialization and recruitment, interest-articulation, interest-aggregation and political communication.

- Almond makes a three-fold classification of governmental output functions relating to policy making and implementation. These output functions are- rule making, rule application and rule adjudication. Thus, Almond believes that a stable and efficient political system converts inputs into outputs.



4.6 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory-Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



4.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Talcott Parsons

Ans to Q No 2: Demands and Supports

Ans to Q No 3: True

Ans to Q No 4: Through the conversion process, the inputs are converted into "outputs" by the decision makers in the form of policies, decisions, rules, regulations and laws. The process of conversion depends on the capacity of the political system and distribution of resources, among others.

Ans to Q No 5: Malinowski and Radcliff-Brown

Ans to Q No 6: True

Ans to Q No 7: False

Ans to Q No 8: Recruitment implies the process whereby are recruited into the specialized role of the political system, whether as members of political parties, candidates contesting elections, etc. They are imparted training and skills so as to inculcate appropriate political values to serve in different capacities. Primary groups such as family and school are capable of playing this role effectively.



4.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention any two "demands" emanating from the environment with regard to the systems approach.

Q 2: Outputs of the political system are visible in what forms?

Q 3: Mention the input functions of a political system as propounded by Gabriel Almond.

Q 4: Mention the output functions of a political system as propounded by Gabriel Almond.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Explain the inputs of a political system in the form of demands and supports.

Q 2: Explain the meaning of interest articulation and interest aggregation.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the systems approach.

Q 2: Discuss the structural-functional approach.

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UNIT 5: COMMUNICATION THEORY APPROACH AND DECISION MAKING APPROACH

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Communication Theory Approach

5.4 Decision-Making Approach

5.5 Let Us Sum Up

5.6 Further Reading

5.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.8 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- discuss the Communication theory approach
- explain the criticisms of the Communication theory approach
- discuss the Decision-Making approach
- explain the criticisms of the Decision-Making approach.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we learnt about two important modern approaches. In this unit also, we shall learn about two other important modern approaches, namely, the communication theory and the decision making approach. While the communication theory aims at studying the flow of communication within and between political systems, the decision making approach looks at the decision making process in the political system and the factors and processes involved.

5.3 COMMUNICATION THEORY APPROACH

The Communication theory approach tries to investigate how one segment of a system affects another by sending messages or information.

It was Norbert Wiener, the American philosopher and mathematician, who first spoke about this approach in the field of cybernetics. Later on Karl Deutsch developed it and applied the communication approach in Political Science. Deutsch believes that the political system is a network of communication channels and it is self regulative. He further believes that the government is responsible for administering different communication channels. This approach treats the government as the decision making system. According to Deutsch, the four factors of analysis in communication theory are - lead, lag, gain and load.

According to the Communication theory, the function of communication lies at the centre of all political activity. The communication theory treats the government as a decision-making system and looks at how information passes at various levels within the political system and between one political system and another. The decisions taken by the government are based on the flow of certain information. According to Karl Deutsch, there are four factors of analysis in communication theory. These are load, lag, gain and lead. Load implies the total amount of information that a system possesses at any point of time. Lag stands for the amount of delay between receiving the feedback on the consequences of decisions taken and the corrective action taken on the information that is received. Gain means the manner in which the system responds to the information received. Lead refers to the ability of the system to respond to predictions regarding the future consequences of actions and decisions taken.

Political systems differ in their capacity for receiving, storing, recalling and transmitting information accurately and rapidly. Certain political systems have a greater capacity than others in this respect. Thus, political systems are information-receiving and processing units, just like the human brain. Those political systems which efficiently receive, store, recall, transmit, process and act on the incoming information and successfully convert such incoming information into proper outputs or responses are better able to endure and survive under stressful conditions.

The contexts within which the issue of communication may be presented are listed below:

(a) Communication within the political system in terms of the passage of information between its different agencies

(b) Communication between the political system and its environment

(c) Communication between two or more political systems

(d) Criticisms of the Communication theory approach:

The communication theory approach is criticized on many grounds. These are as follows:

- The communication theory focuses on the flow of communication rather than on the substance of the decisions or the information itself.
- The communication theory lays greater emphasis on processes. It does not take into account the outcomes and consequences.
- The communication theory can provide us information regarding the location of power. But the concept of power is very complicated and the communication theory does not help us understand the concept of power.
- The communication theory has used engineering techniques to study human behaviour. However, engineering techniques tend to be mechanistic in nature and cannot be used for studying human behaviour which is dynamic in nature.

It may be stated here that despite the above mentioned criticisms, it must be said that the communication theory has provided us with a theoretical model for analysing the processes and channels of communication in the political system.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: According to Karl Deutsch, what are the four factors of analysis in communication theory?

.....

Q 2: What is meant by load?

.....

Q 3: Mention any two contexts within which the problem of communication may be presented ?

.....

.....

Q 4: Write briefly about the communication theory approach ? (within 75 words)

.....

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.....

.....

5.4 DECISION-MAKING APPROACH

The Decision-Making approach approach tries to find out the factors, processes, consequences and actors of decision making in the political system. Scholars like Richard Synder and Charles Lindblom have developed this approach. A political decision which is taken by a few actors influences the larger society and such a decision is generally shaped by a specific situation. Therefore, it takes into account psychological and social aspects of decision makers also.

The Decision-Making approach regards politics as a process of arriving at public decisions. According to Vernon Van Dyke: "Every actor is a decision-maker…… Voters decide whether to vote and for whom. Legislators decide which proposals to advance or support. Executives decide what legislation to seek, whether to sign or veto acts of the legislative body……" (Gauba, O.P.: An Introduction to Political Theory-fourth edition, Macmillan India Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.100). Let us look at some of the important aspects of the decision-making mechanism:

- Identifying the issues on which decisions are made
- The structures and actors involved in decision-making such as legislators, executives, etc.
- The alternative courses of action or options that were considered before taking a decision

- The factors which influenced the decision-makers to take a particular decision
- The fallout of the decision in political terms

Generally speaking, the decision-makers are assumed to be rational actors who are aware of the goals to be achieved and hence are inclined towards employing the most feasible or efficient means of attaining these goals. Thus decisions are not taken arbitrarily but in a rational way by weighing all possible courses of action.

Thus, every political action is the outcome of a particular decision. Such a decision has a public character and is taken by a few rational actors in a particular situation by following a particular process. Such a decision has a bearing on the larger society. The different categories of decisions include: who made the decision?, what was the decision?, when was the decision made?, how was the decision made?, where was the decision made?, why was the decision made?, etc.



LET US KNOW

We could analyse the decision making approach in the Indian context. In a developing country like India with a sizeable youth population, there is always a demand for creating employment opportunities by the state. Accordingly, while identifying the various issues for policy action, tackling unemployment has always featured as a priority issue for the Government of India. In this context, the Government at the Union periodically reviews the employment scenario across the nation. Thus, both the executive in the form of the Union Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister and the legislature in the form of the Parliament of India are seen to take up the issue with all seriousness. Subsequently, various courses of action to deal with the unemployment problem are deliberated upon, both at the executive and legislative levels. The government may come up with a range of policy decisions such as enhancing entrepreneurial skills among the youth, granting start up loans to start businesses, attracting foreign investments to create

jobs, laying stress on the manufacturing sector, expansion of the service sector, making agriculture a profitable venture, creating more public sector jobs and filling up existing vacancies, etc. Various factors are weighed and taken into account before the government actually takes any concrete policy decision in this regard. Finally, the decision taken by the government will have long term ramifications and generate varying levels of both support and opposition. The overall impact is noticeable when the government seeks a fresh mandate from the people at the election. If the satisfaction level of the people with regard to the specific government policies is high, then the government has not much difficulty in coming back to power.

- **Criticism against the Decision Making approach**

The decision making approach is not free from criticism. The decision making theory is based on exploring a range of possibilities which are known and fixed and on the basis of such expected possibilities, decision alternatives are counter weighed and a particular decision is arrived at. However, there may be unknown variations and possibilities which are unforeseen and unpredictable. In such situations, fixed models of decision-making cannot be tried. The decision-making approach does not give much importance to such variations.

Despite the criticism against the decision making approach, it must be said that the decision making approach has given us a scientific framework for investigating the relevant factors behind every political action as an outcome of a rational decision making process.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5 : The Decision-Making approach regards politics as a process of arriving at public decisions.(True/False)

.....

Q 6: Who developed the decision-making approach ?

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.....

Q 7: Write briefly about the decision making approach.

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Q 8: What are the criticisms against the decision making approach.

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5.5 LET US SUM UP

- The Communication theory approach tries to investigate how one segment of a system affects another by sending messages or information. It was Norbert Weiner who first spoke about this approach in the field of cybernetics.
- Karl Deutsch developed the communication theory and applied the communication approach in Political Science. Deutsch believes that the political system is a network of communication channels and it is self regulative.
- Karl Deutsch further believes that the government is responsible for administering different communication channels. This approach treats the government as the decision making system. According to Deutsch, the four factors of analysis in communication theory are - lead, lag, gain and load.
- According to the Communication theory, the function of communication lies at the centre of all political activity. The communication theory

treats the government as a decision-making system and looks at how information passes at various levels within the political system and between one political system and another.

- The decisions taken by the government are based on the flow of certain information. According to Karl Deutsch, there are four factors of analysis in communication theory. These are load, lag, gain and lead. Load implies the total amount of information that a system possesses at any point of time. Lag stands for the amount of delay between receiving the feedback on the consequences of decisions taken and the action taken on the information that is received. Gain means the manner in which the system responds to the information received. Lead refers to the ability of the system to respond to predictions regarding the future consequences of actions and decisions taken.
- The Decision-Making approach tries to find out the factors, processes, consequences and actors of decision making in the political system. Scholars like Richard Synder and Charles Lindblom have developed this approach.
- A political decision which is taken by a few actors influences the larger society and such a decision is generally shaped by a specific situation. Therefore, it takes into account psychological and social aspects of decision makers also.
- Generally speaking, the decision-makers are assumed to be rational actors who are aware of the goals to be achieved and hence are inclined towards employing the most feasible or efficient means of attaining these goals. Thus decisions are not taken arbitrarily but in a rational way by weighing all possible courses of action.
- Every political action is the outcome of a particular decision. Such a decision has a public character and is taken by a few rational actors in a particular situation by following a particular process. Such a decision has a bearing on the larger society. The different categories of decisions include: who made the decision?, what was the decision?, when was the decision made?, how was the decision made?, where was the decision made?, why was the decision made?, etc.



5.6 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory-Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



5.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No. 1: lead, lag, gain and load.

Ans to Q No. 2: Load implies the total amount of information that a system possesses at any point of time.

Ans to Q No. 3: (i) Communication within the political system in terms of the passage of information between its different agencies

(ii) Communication between the political system and its environment

Ans to Q No. 4: The Communication theory tries to investigate how one segment of a system affects another by sending messages or information. It was Norbert Weiner who first spoke about this approach in the field of cybernetics. Later on Karl Deutsch developed it and applied the communication approach in Political Science. This approach treats the government as the decision making system. According to Deutsch, the four factors of analysis in communication theory are - lead, lag, gain and load.

Ans to Q No. 5: True

Ans to Q No. 6: Richard Synder and Charles Lindblom

Ans to Q No. 7: The Decision Making approach tries to find out the factors, processes, consequences and actors of decision making in the political system. Scholars like Richard Synder and Charles Lindblom have developed this approach. Some of the important aspects of the decision-making mechanism are:

(i) Identifying the issues on which decisions are made, the structures and actors involved in decision-making such as legislators, executives, etc.

(ii) The alternative courses of action or options that were considered before taking a decision

(iii) The factors which influenced the decision-makers to take a particular decision

(iv) The fallout of the decision in political terms

(v) The fallout of the decision in political terms

Ans to Q No. 8: The decision making approach is not free from criticisms. The decision making theory is based on exploring a range of possibilities which are known and fixed and on the basis of such expected possibilities, decision alternatives are counter weighed and a particular decision is arrived at. However, there may be unknown variations and possibilities which are unforeseen and unpredictable. In such situations, fixed models of decision-making cannot be tried. The decision-making approach does not give much importance to such variations.



5.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q1: Who developed the communication theory in Political Science?

Q2: What is meant by lead?

Q3: Mention the name of any one scholar associated with the decision making approach.

Q4: Mention any two aspects with regard to the decision making

mechanism.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q1: Write the criticisms against the communication theory.

Q2: Write about load, lag, gain and lead.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q1: Discuss the communication theory. Write about the criticisms levelled against the theory.

Q2: Discuss the decision making approach. Write about the criticisms levelled against the theory.

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UNIT 6: CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY: LIBERAL AND MARXIST

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives
6.2 Introduction
6.3 Liberal Democracy
6.3.1 Characteristics of Liberal Democracy
6.3.2 Representative Government and Liberal Democracy
6.4 Marxist Democracy
6.4.1 Characteristics of Marxist Democracy
6.4.2 Communist One Party Model
6.5 Comparison between Liberal Democracy and Marxist Democracy
6.5.1 Democracy in the Developing World
6.6 Let Us Sum Up
6.7 Further Reading
6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
6.9 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will able to-

- explain the meaning and characteristics of Liberal Democracy
- explain the meaning and characteristics of Marxist Democracy
- make a comparison between Liberal Democracy and Marxist Democracy
- explain the nature of democracy in the developing world.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Democracy is a form of government and a way of life. In a democracy, people are the source of power. People themselves choose or elect their rulers, and rulers are accountable to the electorate. Welfare and protection of popular interest is the motto of democracy. It is considered the best form

of government where people enjoy rule of law, equality of rights and opportunity, liberty and freedom of speech, human dignity and justice without any discrimination. Such a state and society is democratic one. As such, democracy is also a means of managing civil society for a better life. The ancient traditions of Greek city states, the Roman Empire, ancient Indian and Chinese civilizations have contributed to the development of democracy. Greek city states followed direct democracy. Today indirect or representative democracy is more convenient for populous and big nation states. In this chapter we are going to explore two opposite perspectives on democracy, viz. Liberal and Marxist perspectives.

6.3 LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Liberal ideas and democratic procedures have gradually become complementary to each other in 20th century. Liberty and Equality are necessary conditions for democracy. Liberal perspective of democracy has its roots in the theories of European thinkers like John Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Jeremy Bentham, J.S. Mill and others. Rule of the majority, people's consent for governance, individual rights, universal suffrage, responsible government, public opinion and people's participation are crucial elements of liberal democracy. Today most of the democratic states are representative democracy based on the principles of liberal democracy. A truly representative democracy ensures decentralization of power, people's empowerment and virtuous government.



LET US KNOW

Leading western nation states like the United States of America (USA), Great Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Netherland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Australia are liberal democracies. Many developing and developed. Asian nations like India, Indonesia, South Korea, Japan, etc. have adopted liberal democracy in the 20th centry in order to ensure welfare and mass participation in nation building. The American Revolution and the French Revolution are two important milestones of democracy.

6.3.1 Characteristics of Liberal Democracy

- Liberal democracy is based on the idea of a limited government. The individuals are guaranteed protection from state intrusions. Thus various devices such as a constitution, a bill of rights for citizens, an independent judiciary, a system of checks and balances between different governmental organs, universal adult suffrage, etc act as a shield against state interferences. The government is run as per prescribed rules and procedures. There is no scope for arbitrary exercise of power in a liberal democracy as it is the constitution which guides the process of governance in the state. Accordingly, a liberal democracy is a constitutional government, meaning a government by laws and not by individuals.
- Political and legal equality is a determining principle of classical democracy. Equality before law and equal protection of law for all must be observed without any discrimination by the democratic state. There is no discrimination in a liberal state on the basis of religion, class, creed, gender, ethnicity, place of birth, status, educational qualifications, etc. The government must work for the welfare of all sections of the people.
- In liberal democracies, there exists the rule of the majority. The political party which gains majority in the election forms the government. However, the majority has to fully safeguard and respect the rights and opinions of the minorities.
- The party or parties which fails/ fail to win in the election plays/ play the role of the opposition until the next election. The opposition keeps an eye on the functioning of the government and engages itself in constructive criticism of the policies and actions of the government whenever necessary.
- Political pluralism is another feature of liberal democracy. In liberal democracies there takes place free and open competition between political ideologies, political parties,

political movements and so on. Freedom of thought and expression is the hallmark of liberal democracy.

- People's consent is the agreed principle of democratic rule. Free and fair periodical election in which political parties compete to woo the voters freely is another hallmark of democracy. Political parties contest elections and propagate their political ideologies to attract the voters. The citizens vote on the basis of the promises and agenda of the political parties and whichever party/ group of parties form the government remain accountable to the mass people for fulfillment of the promises made by it/them. A liberal democratic government executes various welfare policies for the people.
- The representatives of the people in a liberal democracy remain accountable to the people and public opinion and must try to fulfill the genuine grievances of the voters. Voters also freely discuss and criticize the policies and actions of their representatives and government.
- The electorate in a liberal democracy wields the ultimate power. The ruling party is required to seek the fresh mandate of the people at regular intervals in the form of elections. The electorate accordingly exerts its power at the time of election. If the electorate is dissatisfied with the government, it can vote the government out of power at the time of election.
- Separation of power among the three organs of government- legislature, executive and judiciary- is a distinct feature of liberal democracy. According to the theory of separation of powers, the three organs of the government, i.e. the executive, the legislature and the judiciary should be separated from each other. Each organ is autonomous in its own sphere and is free from interference from the other two organs. This is how checks and balances is maintained.
- Mass media in a liberal democracy is not controlled by the state and it is free to comment and highlight all dimensions of

government actions and thus contribute to people's awareness. It is called the fourth pillar of democracy.

- In liberal democracies, different groups and associations are formed to represent the interests and demands of different sections of people. These are known as interest groups and pressure groups. These may be trade unions, religious bodies, environmental groups, professional groupings, etc. These groups exert pressure on the government in order to have their demands met.
- Liberal thinking and philosophy is nurtured in the society in a free political environment. Public opinion and public awareness about the activities of the government is an essential aspect of liberal democracy. People have the freedom of speech and can criticize policies and decisions of the government. The government does not ignore public interest and opinion.

6.3.2 Representative Government and Liberal Democracy

Representative democracy has no alternative today. Such a government is run by elected people's representatives. Representative democracies are often called liberal democracies. John Locke, Rousseau and J.S. Mill advocated for subordination of government to law (Rule of Law), granted individual rights, a judiciary with sufficient independence to act as the guardian of the law and individual rights. Only under such preconditions and in the presence of a conscious citizenry, can the representative government succeed. J.S. Mill was especially concerned for minority rights in democracy. In his book *Considerations on Representative Government* Mill justifies the excellence of popular government and the necessity of individual rights, tolerance and a liberal society for the proper functioning of democracy. He, like Rousseau, regards democracy as necessary for progress since it promotes virtue, intelligence and excellence in citizens. J.S. Mill also considers representative democracy as capable of ensuring freedom and the right of self

determination. In such a democracy, citizens, regardless of their status, are politically equal and only popular sovereignty gives legitimacy to the government. As such, J.S. Mill harmonized liberal democratic ideals with representative government.



ACTIVITY 6.1

Why is democracy regarded as the best form of government today?

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention the names of two European thinkers whose theories gave rise to the Liberal perspective of democracy?

.....

Q 3: Today most of the democratic states are representative democracy based on the principles of liberal democracy. (True/ False)

Q 5: Who wrote the book "Considerations on Representative Government"?

.....

Q 6: Mention any two characteristics of Liberal Democracy?

.....

.....

6.4 MARXIST DEMOCRACY

Marxism or communism since the 19th century has emerged as both a critique and an alternative to liberal democratic politics through the writings of Karl Marx and Engels. Marx criticized liberal democracy on the ground that its guarantee of legal and political rights amidst social and economic inequalities makes democracy a system that serves the interests of only the capitalist class. Socialist or Marxist democracy is a rule of the

proletarian majority i.e. working class. This can be realized following the overthrow of the capitalist system. For the socialists, removal of class difference between the have and haves nots, abolition of private property and privileges are necessary steps to freedom, equal status and democracy. Socialist revolution by the working class leads to the overthrow of the capitalist class and raises the proletariat to the position of ruling class marking the beginning of democracy for the first time. With the abolition of the capitalist domination over economic means the exploitation, of the working class both direct and indirect, would end, and everybody would equally enjoy rights, justice and lead a dignified life. The main aim of this socialist democracy run by the working class was to abolish private property and to destroy bour geoisie (capitalist) culture and ideology. By so doing, the establishment of a classless society would be possible. With the establishment of a classless society, the state will become obsolete and it will ultimately disappear as the society will be able to govern itself without the state. This is what Marx called "withering away of the state".

In the socialist democracy, the state would be governed through a 'commune system'. Commune is an association in which members own everything in common, not in private. Small communes would manage their own affairs and would elect their delegates for larger administrative units like towns, districts up to the national level. This is described as 'pyramidal structure of direct democracy' or people's democracy. The delegates would be bound by the instructions of their electorates downwards. True democracy according to Marx meant elimination of the class structure, wage labour, money, and private property.

Marx advocated for the elimination of the basic inequalities for genuine freedom and rights for the majority. (The wor King class) The State and liberal democratic institutions are instruments of oppression or handmaid of the propertied class. V.I. Lenin also criticizes representative parliamentary democracy as being a shell to conceal the exploitation of the working class. People are never free and sovereign in a system controlled by the bourgeoisie.

6.4.1 Characteristics of Marxist Democracy

Some of the characteristics of Marxist democracy are as follows:

- There is no special privilege for individuals based on caste, creed or status in Marxist democracy. Everybody is entitled to equal opportunity and benefits.
- The Marxian concept of democracy is not only anti-class but also anti-state. According to Marx, a popular revolution is required to bring about the desired social order. The centralised bureaucratic state run by a group of professional politicians will be destroyed. Professional army, police and professional officials and judges will cease to exist. Marx was in favour of complete democratisation of executive power at all levels. In the legislative sphere, people will directly vote on important legislative matters by referendum. Elections to the representative assembly shall also be held. The judiciary shall also be an elective one.
- Election for the legislature and executive are held periodically, but multi party system is not allowed to operate in Marxist democracy. The only political party is the communist party which acts as the vanguard of people's interests. As such there is no opposition too.
- Marxist democracy does not believe in separation of powers between legislature, executive and judiciary. There is close relationship and cooperation among the three organs of government.
- In Marxist democracy people enjoy fundamental rights and freedom without any discrimination. But individuals must uphold social interests while enjoying liberty. Duty to fellow citizens, society and State is always given preference in Marxist democracy.
- Individual right to freedom of speech and expression is limited in Marxist democracy. Individuals and media have no right to

criticize government actions and policies as the latter are taken in the larger interest of the people.

- The State regulates society and economy. Hence individuals have no distinct identity and they form an integral part of the social whole.

6.4.2 Communist One Party Model

Vladimir Lenin introduced in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution the communist one party model of democracy. Later it spread to other countries like China, Cuba, Venezuela, Vietnam and many nation states of East Europe. One party communist rule is called "Dictatorship of the Proletariat". The Communist party rule is necessary for gradual transformation of the feudal and capitalist society. Marx believed that State will wither away when Communism is established after the proletariat revolution; when there will be no class division, no inequality, no insecurity, no poverty and no need of law and prison to regulate people and there will be no need of a state also. However when it was found that revolutionary overthrow of capitalism was not possible and capitalism did not collapse as predicted by Marx, Lenin evolved the idea of vanguard political party (in the form of the Communist Party) to educate the masses and prepare for socialist revolution and establishment of Communism. In the communist model of democracy decisions are taken by the leaders.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 5: The main aim of this socialist democracy run by the working class was to abolish private property and to destroy bourgeois culture and ideology. (True/False)

.....

Q 6: Mention two features of Marxist Democracy.

.....

.....

Q 7: What is "withering away of the state"?

.....

.....

Q 8: Who introduced in Russia the communist one party model ?

.....

.....

6.5 COMPARISON BETWEEN LIBERAL DEMOCRACY AND MARXIST DEMOCRACY

Liberal democracy and Marxist democracy stem from two antagonistic political ideologies-Liberalism and Socialism. There are basic differences between the two. These are cited below:

- Liberal democracy emphasizes individual liberty and limited state, whereas Marxist democracy advocates for communism and the State is allowed to exercise control over society and individuals. Individual liberty is subordinate to the larger social interest in Marxist democracy.
- Multiparty system and alteration of Poltical power among the parties is the hallmark of liberal democracy while Marxist democracy is a one party system. The Communist party rules forever. There is no opposition in such a political system.
- Liberal democracy protects private property. But Marxist democracy wants to eradicate private property because it widens the gap between the rich and the poor.
- Liberal democracy looks for uplifting the conditions of all sections and classes of citizens. On the other hand, Marxist democracy gives more importance to the labour and working class. This type of democracy wishes to eradicate the propertied class and create an egalitarian society.
- Liberal democracy nurses capitalism and free market economy. Liberal democracy recognizes private business. The State in liberal democracies ensures security and creates condition for private enterprise. But Marxist democracy is opposed to capitalism. Marxist

democracy allows the State to exercise control over the means of production and private enterprise is not allowed in Marxist democracy.

- Liberal democracy has faith upon constitutional and parliamentary system. It preaches peaceful evolutionary social transformation but Marxist democracy wants to usher in a new society through revolution.
- Marxist democracy rejects the separation of power theory, whereas Liberal democracy is based upon the concept of separation of power. All the three organs of government-legislature, executive and judiciary enjoy autonomy in their respective spheres in liberal democracy.
- Freedom of speech and independence of mass media are special features of liberal democracy. Goverment policies can be openly critised by the mass media in tiberal democracies. But in Marxist democracy freedom of speech is limited and mass media is also controlled by the state.

6.5.1 Democracy in the Developing World

The developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America which got independence from the yoke of colonial rule in 20th century follow a new model of democracy. The prominent countries of the developing world like India, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Singapore, South Africa, Argentina, Brazil and others have adopted a blend of socialist and liberal democracies. These nations vow to protect individual rights through a constitution while upholding social and economic equality at the same time. The poltical system of the above mentioned developing world are marked by social and economic disparities. Accordingly, for the purpose of national security and development, a strong and centralized state authority exists in these democracies aimed at reconciling social justice with individual freedom. Accordingly, these countries have provided a mixed model of democracy containing elements of both liberal democracy (such as political and civil liberties, parliamentary government, etc.) and socialist democracy (such as nationalization of certain industries, ceiling on land holdings, etc.).



ACTIVITY 6.2

Try to make a list of a few Liberal democratic states and Socialist democratic states of the world today.

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 9: Write two differences between Liberal and Marxist concepts of democracy.

.....

.....

Q 10: Mention the names of any two countries of the developing world that have adopted a blend of socialist and liberal democracies.

.....



6.6 LET US SUM UP

- Democracy is a form of government and a way of life where people are the source of power. They themselves choose or elect their rulers and rulers are accountable to people.
- Today indirect or representative democracy is more convenient for populous and big nation states.
- Liberal perspective of democracy has its roots in the theories of John Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Jeremy Bentham, J.S.Mill etc
- People's consent for governance, individual rights, Rule of law, responsible government, public opinion and people's participation in free and fair election, independent mass media are crucial elements of liberal democracy.
- Both representative democracy and liberal democracy are used interchangeably now a days. The concept of representative democracy was developed by J.S.Mill.

- The writings of Karl Marx and Engels are the basis of Marxist perspective on democracy. The Marxists criticize liberal democracy as a farce as it grants civil and political rights amidst social and economic inequality.
- According to the Marxists, true democracy is possible only in the classless communist society where majority working class will be the ruling class and there will be no inequality.
- Vladimir Lenin introduced in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution the communist one party model of democracy
- The motto of socialist democracy is abolition of feudal social system and establishment of rule of the people.
- There are basic differences between Liberal and Marxist perspectives on democracy. These perspectives represent two antagonistic political ideologies-Liberalism and Socialism.



6.7 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory-Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: John Locke and Rousseau

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: J.S.Mill

Ans to Q No 4 :

i) Political and legal equality is a determining principle of classical democracy. Equality before law and equal protection of law for all must be observed without any discrimination by the democratic state. There is no discrimination in a liberal state on the basis of religion, class, creed, gender, ethnicity, place of birth, status, educational qualifications, etc. The government must work for the welfare of all sections of the people.

ii) Political pluralism is another feature of liberal democracy. In liberal democracies there takes place free and open competition between political ideologies, political parties, political movements and so on. Freedom of thought and expression is the hallmark of liberal democracy.

Ans to Q No 5 : True

Ans to Q No 6 :

(i) Election for the legislature and executive are held periodically, but multi party system is not allowed to operate in Marxist democracy. The only political party is the communist party which acts as the vanguard of people's interests. As such there is no opposition too.

(ii) Marxist democracy does not believe in separation of powers among legislature, executive and judiciary. There is close relationship and cooperation among the three organs of government.

Ans to Q No 7 : With the establishment of a classless society, the state will become obsolete and it will ultimately disappear as the society will be able to govern itself without the state. This is what Marx called "withering away of the state".

Ans to Q No 8 : Vladimir Lenin

Ans to Q No 9 :

(i) Liberal democracy emphasizes individual liberty and limited state, whereas Marxist democracy advocates for communism and the

State is allowed to exercise control over society and individuals. Individual liberty is subordinate to the larger social interest in Marxist democracy.

(ii) Multiparty system is the hallmark of liberal democracy while Marxist democracy is a one party system. The Communist party rules forever. There is no opposition in such a political system.

Ans to Q No 10 : India and South Africa



6.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Who harmonized Liberal democratic ideals with representative government?

Q 2: According to Marx, the socialist society would be run by which class?

Q 3: The countries of the developing world have provided what model of democracy?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write four characteristics of Liberal democracy.

Q 2: Explain the commune system in a Marxist socialist democracy.

Q 3: Explain the model of democracy adopted by countries of the developing world.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the meaning and characteristics of liberal democracy.

Q 2: Discuss the meaning and characteristics of Marxist democracy.

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UNIT 7 : ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT: EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE AND JUDICIARY; MONTESQUIEU'S THEORY OF SEPARATION OF POWER

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 The Executive

- 7.3.1 Meaning of the Executive
- 7.3.2 Types of Executive
- 7.3.3 Functions of the Executive

7.4 The Legislature

- 7.4.1 Meaning of the Legislature
- 7.4.2 Types of Legislature
- 7.4.3 Functions of the Legislature

7.5 The Judiciary

- 7.5.1 Meaning of the Judiciary
- 7.5.2 Independence of the Judiciary
- 7.5.3 Functions of the Judiciary

7.6 Montesquieu's Theory of Separation of Powers

7.7 Let Us Sum Up

7.8 Further Reading

7.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.10 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the meaning of the Executive
- discuss the types of Executive
- discuss the functions of the Executive
- explain the meaning of the Legislature

- discuss the types of Legislature
- discuss the functions of the Legislature.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

A government is the machinery through which the state is run. The government has to perform these functions in the interest of the collective welfare of the people of the state. The three main types of functions that a government performs are- the legislative, the executive and the judicial. The executive function means implementing the laws and policies of the state, legislative function means making of laws for the state, and judicial function means interpreting the laws while judging various cases. In a modern democratic state, these three types of functions are performed by three separate organs, namely the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. All these organs are to perform their respective duties so that the government could function properly. At the same time there should be a separation of powers between all the three organs in order to prevent concentration of powers in one single organ and facilitate enjoyment of liberty.

7.3 THE EXECUTIVE

7.3.1 Meaning of the Executive

The executive is one of the important organs of the government. The executive is the main decision making body of a state and is responsible for the implementation of the laws and policies of the state. Without the executive, the effects of the laws cannot be realised by the society. The executive includes both the political executive (the President, Prime Minister and Council of Ministers, etc.) and the non-political executive (the bureaucracy and the officials engaged in administration). The executive is the centre around which the entire administration of the state revolves.

The executive can be understood in both the broad and narrow sense. In the broader sense, the executive includes the totality of all the functionaries who are involved in the execution of the

policies and laws made by the legislature. It includes the top to bottom ranges of functionaries who are executing the laws and policies for the administration of the state. In the narrow sense, the executive means the head of the state, his ministers, advisers and the departmental heads.

7.3.2 Types of Executive

The executive can be of different types, such as, real and nominal, single and plural, hereditary and elected or nominated, political and non-political, parliamentary and presidential.

- **Real Executive and Nominal Executive**

A real executive is an executive who exercises power in the real sense in policy making and governance of the country. On the other hand, a nominal executive is one who exercises power only in name and act as per the advice of the real executive. The power of the nominal executive is exercised by some other authority constituting the real executive. In India the President is the nominal executive and the Union Council of Ministers is the real executive. Whereas in Britain the Queen or the King is the nominal executive and the Cabinet is the real executive.

- **Single Executive and Plural Executive**

A single executive is one in which only a single individual exercises the executive power. One important thing to be mentioned here that in case of a single executive, the power may be vested on one or several individuals, but the power is exercised in a collective capacity as one single unit. On the other hand, in case of a plural executive, the executive power is exercised by more than one individual. The difference between these two types of executive is not on the basis of number, but on the basis of responsibility. Countries like India, USA, Britain, and France have a single executive organ. Switzerland has a plural executive.

- **Hereditary Executive, Elected Executive and Nominated Executive**

A hereditary executive is one wherein the executive power is assumed through inheritance. An elected executive is one who is elected by the people directly or indirectly for a definite time. The King or the Queen of Britain represents a hereditary executive. The Presidents of India and the USA are elected executives. On the other hand, nominated executive is one who is nominated in a different country, for example the Viceroy and Governor General in British India were nominated by the British Government.

- **Political Executive**

The political executive is elected by the people to exercise executive power for a definite term. They generally come from political parties and are also known as temporary executive. According to the result of the election the political executive changes from time to time. A non-political executive consists of the civil servants who are recruited through open competitive examinations on the basis of qualifications and merit. They hold office for a definite tenure. They are called permanent executive since they continue to function in office till the age of their retirement irrespective of rise or fall of the political executive. In India the President and the Council of Ministers are the political executive and the bureaucrats are the non-political or permanent executive.

- **Parliamentary Executive and Presidential Executive**

A parliamentary executive is chosen from among the directly elected representatives of the people and remains also to the legislature. The parliamentary executive continues to remain in office as long as it has the majority support or confidence of the legislature. A presidential or a non-parliamentary executive is chosen by the people directly and remains responsible to the people. It works independently of the legislature. India and Britain have parliamentary executive while the executive of USA is an example of presidential or a non-parliamentary executive.

7.3.3 Functions of the Executive

The functions of the executive can be mentioned as follows:

- The main function of the executive is to execute the laws and policies. The execution of the laws and policies is very important for the proper administration of the state. The executive is also responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the state. The executive has to ensure the smooth functioning of the governmental machinery. Accordingly, it is responsible for appointment, direction, transfer and removal of officers and issues instructions and orders.
- The executive makes important appointments in various departments of the government. It also prepares the rules and regulations regarding appointments, retirements, transfer and other service conditions of the employees of the departments.
- The executive has to perform some legislative functions. Sometimes it has to make certain bye-laws and rules. It can also issue an ordinance. The executive in a parliamentary government summons, prorogues and dissolves the legislature.
- The executive is also entrusted with certain financial functions. It prepares the budget and places it in the legislature. It has to get the budget passed in the legislature. The executive collects taxes and uses them for the welfare of the nation.
- The executive has to maintain foreign relations. It has to prepare foreign policy and take measures for maintaining good relations with countries of the world. It appoints diplomatic officials to be sent to foreign countries and concludes treaties and agreements with other countries. The executive has to take decisions on war and peace.
- The executive is not only responsible for maintaining internal peace but also to defend the country from foreign aggression. For that purpose it has to keep a well-equipped and sufficiently

strong army, navy and air-force which can meet any eventualities.

The sphere of the executive has also extended to the legislative field by way of growth of the principle of delegated legislation. The legislature is burdened with increasing workload. At the same time, laws are becoming increasingly complex. Accordingly, the legislature is resorting to the practice of passing bills only in their skeletal framework. Now it is the executive which supplements the law by issuing the detailed rules and regulations or orders-in-council in pursuance of the law passed by the legislature. This is what is known as delegated legislation.

- The executive has the power to make judicial appointments. It is also vested with the power of prerogative of mercy and grants pardon and reprieve.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1 : What is the difference between single executive and plural executive?

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Q. 2 : Discuss any two functions of the executive.

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7.4 THE LEGISLATURE

7.4.1 Meaning of the Legislature

One of the important organs of the government is the legislature. This organ is responsible for the making of laws. Laws are very essential for running a state. Legislature is also known as

'parliament'. The literal meaning of parliament is a body of persons assembled for discussion. In a democratic state, legislature works as a platform for discussing various significant issues of the state by the representatives of the people. On the basis of the discussions and deliberations in the legislature, laws are made whenever necessary.

7.4.2 Types of Legislature

Legislatures are of two kinds- unicameral and bi-cameral. A unicameral legislature is one which has only one chamber or house in it. An example of unicameral legislature is the Chinese legislature. The Chinese legislature is known as National People's Congress. On the other hand, a bi-cameral legislature is one which has two chambers or houses in it. Of the two chambers one is called the first chamber and the other is called the second chamber. The legislature of India is an example of a bi-cameral legislature. The Indian Parliament has two houses- Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

7.4.3 Functions of the Legislature

The foremost function of the legislature is to legislate, that is, to make laws for the country. Besides this, it has to perform some other functions also. The functions of the legislature can be discussed in the following way.

- The legislature makes laws for the welfare of the people. Sometimes it has to reform or modify some old laws as per the demands of changing time and the requirements of the society. It has to make new laws to meet new needs of the society.
- The legislature in a parliamentary form of government has the responsibility to monitor and control the executive. It has to see whether the executive is working properly or not. In a parliamentary form of government, the executive is responsible

for all its work to the legislature and the legislature can pose questions to the executive, move a resolution and even pass a no confidence motion against the executive.

- The legislature has important financial functions. It has to pass the budget of the government. Without the approval of the legislature, the executive can spend no money at all. The legislature also decides upon the rate of revenue or tax. In a democratic country no tax can be levied or expenditure authorised without the proper approval of the legislature.
- In some states, the legislature performs some judicial functions also. It can remove the higher officials of the judiciary by passing a resolution against them. The impeachment of executive in several countries is also made by the legislature. In India both houses of the Parliament can introduce a charge for the impeachment of the President. In USA the Senate sits as the court of impeachment for the trial of the President and Vice-President. Again in Britain, the House of Lords acted as the highest court of appeal until the establishment of Supreme Court in October 2009.
- The legislature has some constitutional functions as well. A legislature also bears the responsibility of amending the constitution from time to time.
- The legislature has to perform some electoral functions also. The legislature usually elects its own officials. Besides this, it also elects some high executive officials. For example, in India the President and Vice president are elected by both the houses of the Parliament.
- Legislature also works as an organ of inquires. The legislature often appoints various Commissions and Committees for inquiring various issues in different departments.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3 : What are the two kinds of legislature?

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.....

Q.4 : What do you mean by bi-cameral legislature? (within 75 words)

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7.5 THE JUDICIARY

7.5.1 Meaning of the Judiciary

Another important organ of the government is the judiciary. It is that branch of the government which is responsible for the interpretation of the laws made by the legislature to decide and adjudicate cases. It is responsible for settling civil and criminal disputes and providing justice in the society. In a federal form of government, the judiciary acts as the guardian of the constitution and settles disputes between the federal government and state governments. The judiciary also plays a very important role in protecting the rights and liberties of the people. It protects rights and liberties of individual from all possible public and private encroachments and violations. The judiciary issues writs and orders for the enforcement of people's fundamental rights.

7.5.2 Independence of the Judiciary

For the success of democracy an independent and impartial judiciary is necessary. There are many means to ensure the independence of the judiciary.

For maintaining the independence of the judiciary the judges are to be appointed by the executive on the basis of qualification.

Only well-qualified, meritorious, efficient persons with high integrity should be appointed as judges.

The removal procedure of the judges should not be easy, so that they can perform their duties independently. They should be given security of tenure as long as their behaviour conforms to the norms prescribed by the constitution.

The judges should be paid fixed and adequate salary and emoluments, including retirement benefits to ensure their financial satisfaction. Further, judges should be kept above criticism in matters of performance of their duties.

Besides, all the mentioned provisions one most important way of securing independent of judiciary is to ensure separation of judiciary from the executive. There should be separation of judicial functions from executive functions.

7.5.3 Functions of the Judiciary

The functions of judiciary can be discussed as follows:

- The main function of the judiciary is to provide justice to the people according to the law. The judiciary hears appeals in constitutional, civil and criminal cases. It settles disputes between individuals, between the state and individuals and provides justice to the people or parties concerned.
- Another important function of the judiciary is to interpret laws to decide cases. The judges determine the precise meaning of the laws in trying cases and settling disputes.
- The judiciary not only interprets the laws made by the legislature but sometimes it has to make new laws also when there is no existing laws to decide certain new cases. These judge made laws can be used in future in similar cases.
- The judiciary protects the rights and liberties of the people. It has been given the power to protect the law-abiding people and punish the law violators. When the rights are violated people can approach the courts of law for their protection.

- The judiciary also acts as the custodian of the constitution. Neither the legislature nor the executive can violate the provisions of the constitution. If any violation of any provision of the constitution occurs then the judiciary can declare it as unconstitutional. This power of the judiciary is known as the power of judicial review.
- Sometimes the judiciary has to advise the executive on legal matters. The executive on some important legal issues can seek the advice of the judiciary. However, it is the up to the executive whether to accept such advice or not.
- The judiciary also performs some executive functions. The court can appoint the guardian of a minor and receivers to manage properties in disputes between individuals or corporations, grant licenses and register marriages.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 5: Mention any two means to ensure independence of the judiciary.

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Q. 6: Mention any two functions of the judiciary.

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7.6 MONTESQUIEU'S THEORY OF SEPARATION OF POWERS

The theory of separation of powers is an important theory in Political Science. According to the theory of separation of powers, the functions of government should be differentiated and there should be distinct organs to perform the different functions. Each organ should be independent in its own sphere of action and no organ should encroach upon the sphere of the other organs.

It is a theory of functional division of powers between the three organs of the government. The French writer Montesquieu is called the father of this theory. He discussed this theory in his book *The Spirit of the Laws (1748)*.

According to the theory of separation of powers, the three organs of the government, i.e. the executive, the legislature and the judiciary should be separated from each other. The government has to perform three types of functions and these functions should be given to three separate organs. The advocates of this theory believe that if all three functions are performed by one individual or only one organ then there will be misuse of power. Then the government will become all powerful and rights of the people may be violated. Again, one individual or one organ may not be able to perform all the legislative, executive, and judicial functions efficiently and properly. Thus in order to have a good government the three functions must be separated and the executive, legislative and judicial functions must be performed separately by three separate organs. In the process, one organ operates as a balance against the other and there will be a check on power.

- **Basic Principles of the Theory of Separation of Powers**

  The theory of separation of powers has certain basic principles which are:

  - Power should not be concentrated in the hands of one person or one organ, rather it should be vested in separate persons or organs of the government.
  - Through division of powers and functions, concentration of power can be prevented. According to this theory, each person or organ of the government must be assigned its own functions and powers. Accordingly each organ of the government remains confined to its only designated sphere of functioning and does not trespass into the sphere of the other organ or organs.
  - Although under the theory of separation of powers, each organ of the government can function independently in its own sphere, yet a significant feature of the theory is the principle of check and balance. Check and balance principle implies that each

organ of the government wields a limited degree of control over the other organs. Through this principle every organ of the government can put a check on the other organs so that no organ can become too powerful and go beyond its allotted jurisdiction. For instance, in India, through the power of judicial review, the Supreme Court and High Courts can examine the constitutional validity of any law passed by the parliament or any executive order.

- **Criticisms against the Theory of Separation of Powers**

However, there are certain criticisms against this theory. These criticisms are:

- Firstly, it is not possible to keep the three organs of the government completely separate. Because they are the parts of the same system and if they remain separated then the whole system will fail.
- Secondly, without any co-operation and co-ordination between them, it will be very difficult for the three organs to perform their respective functions also. There will be deadlock between them. The three organs of the government must cooperate with one another and work harmoniously for efficient performance of the government.
- Thirdly, it is also wrong on the part the advocates of this theory to assume that all the organs can have same amount of power. On the other hand, in most of the states, the legislature is made more powerful than the executive and the judiciary.
- Again, it is also incorrect to say that for the enjoyment of liberty, powers of the government should be separated. Without the separation of power, people can enjoy liberty if granted by the constitution of the state.

Though, the theory of separation of powers has its criticism yet the theory of separation of powers must be appreciated for its concern for upholding importance of the liberty of the people and good government. This theory wants to achieve three main objectives- (a)

specialization in administration, (b) good governance, and (c) protection of individual liberty.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7 : Who is called the father of the theory of Separation of Powers?

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.....

Q.8 : Mention any two principles of the theory of Separation of Powers?

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7.7 LET US SUM UP

- The executive is one of the important organs of the government. The executive is the main decision making body of a state and is responsible for the implementation of the laws and policies of the state. Without the executive, the effects of the laws cannot be realised by the society.
- The executive can be understood in both the broad and narrow sense. In the broader sense, the executive includes the totality of all the functionaries who are involved in the execution of the policies and laws made by the legislature. In the narrow sense, the executive means the head of the state, his ministers, advisers and the departmental heads.
- The executive can be of different types, such as, real and nominal, single and plural, hereditary and elected or nominated, political and non-political, parliamentary and presidential.
- The executive performs several functions including, execution of the

laws and policies., making important appointments in various departments of the government, making certain bye-laws and rules, preparing the budget and placing it in the legislature, maintaining foreign relations, etc.

- One of the important organs of the government is the legislature. This organ is responsible for the making of laws. Laws are very essential for running a state.
- Legislatures are of two kinds- unicameral and bi-cameral.
- The foremost function of the legislature is to legislate, that is, to make laws for the country.
- The legislature has the responsibility to monitor and control the executive.
- The legislature has important financial functions. It has to pass the budget of the government.
- In some states, the legislature performs some judicial functions also. It can remove the higher officials of the judiciary by passing a resolution against them.
- nother important organ of the government is the judiciary. It is that branch of the government which is responsible for the interpretation of the laws made by the legislature to decide and adjudicate cases. It is responsible for settling civil and criminal disputes and providing justice in the society.
- In a federal form of government, the judiciary acts as the guardian of the constitution and settles disputes between the federal government and state governments.
- The judiciary also plays a very important role in protecting the rights and liberties of the people. It protects rights and liberties of individual from all possible public and private encroachments and violations. The judiciary issues writs and orders for the enforcement of people's fundamental rights.
- For the success of democracy an independent and impartial judiciary is necessary. There are many means to ensure the independence of the judiciary.

- The main function of the judiciary is to provide justice to the people according to the law. The judiciary hears appeals in constitutional, civil and criminal cases. It settles disputes between individuals, between the state and individuals and provides justice to the people or parties concerned.
- The judiciary also acts as the custodian of the constitution. Neither the legislature nor the executive can violate the provisions of the constitution. If any violation of any provision of the constitution occurs then the judiciary can declare it as unconstitutional. This power of the judiciary is known as the power of judicial review.
- The theory of separation of powers is an important theory in Political Science. According to the theory of separation of powers, the functions of government should be differentiated and there should be distinct organs consisting of different bodies of persons to perform the different functions. Each organ should be independent in its own sphere of action and no organ should encroach upon the sphere of the other organs.
- It is a theory of functional division of powers between the three organs of the government. The French writer Montesquieu is called the father of this theory. He discussed this theory in his book "The Spirit of the Laws" (1748).
- According to the theory of separation of powers, the three organs of the government, i.e. the executive, the legislature and the judiciary should be separated from each other. The government has to perform three types of functions and these functions should be given to three separate organs. The advocates of this theory believe that if all three functions are performed by one individual or only one organ then there will be misuse of power.
- In order to have a good government the three functions must be separated and the executive, legislative and judicial functions must be performed separately by three separate organs.



7.8 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory-Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

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4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



7.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1 : A single executive is one in which only a single individual exercises the executive power. One important thing to be mentioned here that in case of a single executive, the power may be vested on one or several individuals, but the power is exercised in a collective capacity as one single unit. On the other hand, in case of a plural executive, the executive power is exercised by more than one individual. The difference between these two types of executive is not on the basis of number, but on the basis of responsibility. Countries like India, USA, Britain, and France have a single executive organ. Switzerland has a plural executive.

Ans. to Q. No. 2 :

(i) The main function of the executive is to execute the laws and policies. The execution of the laws and policies is very important for the proper administration of the state. The executive is also responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the state. The executive has to ensure the smooth functioning of the

governmental machinery. Accordingly, it is responsible for appointment, direction, transfer and removal of officers and issues instructions and orders.

(ii) The executive makes important appointments in various departments of the government. It also prepares the rules and regulations regarding appointments, retirements, transfer and other service conditions of the employees of the departments.

Ans. to Q. No. 3 : Unicameral and Bi-cameral.

Ans. to Q. No. 4 : A bi-cameral legislature is one which has two chambers or houses in it. Of the two chambers one is called the first chamber and the other is called the second chamber. The legislature of India is an example of a bi-cameral legislature. The Indian Parliament has two houses- Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

Ans. to Q. No. 5 :

(i) For maintaining the independence of the judiciary the judges are to be appointed by the executive on the basis of qualification. Only well-qualified, meritorious, efficient persons with high integrity should be appointed as judges.

(ii) The removal procedure of the judges should not be easy, so that they can perform their duties independently. They should be given security of tenure as long as their behaviour conforms to the norms prescribed by the constitution.

Ans. to Q. No. 6 :

(i) The main function of the judiciary is to provide justice to the people according to the law. The judiciary hears appeals in constitutional, civil and criminal cases. It settles disputes between individuals, between the state and individuals and provides justice to the people or parties concerned.

(ii) Another important function of the judiciary is to interpret laws to decide cases. The judges determine the precise meaning of the laws in trying cases and settling disputes.

Ans. to Q. No. 7 : Montesquieu

Ans. to Q. No. 8 :

(i) Power should not be concentrated in the hands of one person or one organ, rather it should be vested in separate persons or organs of the government.

(iii) Through division of powers and functions, concentration of power can be prevented. According to this theory, each person or organ of the government must be assigned its own functions and powers. Accordingly each organ of the government remains confined to its only designated sphere of functioning and does not trespass into the sphere of the other organ or organs.



7.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : What are the three important organs of the government?

Q. 2 : What is meant by nominated executive ?

Q. 3 : Mention the three main objectives of the theory of Separation of Powers.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1 : Write briefly about (a)Political executive and Non-Political executive (b) Parliamentary and Presidential executive

Q. 2 : Write briefly about the means through which the independence of the judiciary can be ensured.

Q. 3 : Write a short note on the basic principles of the theory of Separation of Powers.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1 : Discuss the theory of Separation of Powers. What are the criticisms against the theory of Separation of Powers.

Q. 2 : Discuss the functions of the legislature.

Q. 3 : Discuss the functions of the executive.

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UNIT 8 : FORMS OF GOVERNMENT-UNITARY AND FEDERAL

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives
8.2 Introduction
8.3 Unitary form of Government
8.3.1 Meaning of Unitary form of Government
8.3.2 Characteristics of Unitary form of Government
8.3.3 Merits and Demerits of Unitary form of Government
8.4 Federal form of Government
8.4.1 Meaning of Federal form of Government
8.4.2 Characteristics of Federal form of Government
8.4.3 Merits and Demerits of Federal form of Government
8.5 Let Us Sum Up
8.6 Further Reading
8.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
8.8 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to –

- describe the meaning and characteristics of the Unitary form of government
- describe the meaning and characteristics of the Federal form of government
- list the merits and demerits of the Unitary form of government
- list the merits and demerits of the Federal form of government.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

The machinery of the government is necessary for controlling and managing the affairs of any nation state. There are different forms of government depending on the nature of the political system. In this unit we shall learn about the Unitary and Federal forms of government.

8.3 UNITARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Division of powers is the criterion of classification of governments as the Unitary and Federal forms. Let us first discuss the Unitary form of government.

8.3.1 Meaning of Unitary form of Government

The form of government in which the constitution concentrates all powers in the single central government is known as a Unitary government. In the words of British political scientist Dr.Finer, a Unitary government is 'one in which all the authority and power are lodged in a single centre whose will and agents are legally omnipotent over the whole area.' Unitary government exists in the UK, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and some other states. In a Unitary government, the central government, for the convenience of administration, may create certain political divisions but such divisions have no constitutional existence. The central government may abolish them at any time.

8.3.2 Characteristics of Unitary form of Government

The following are the characteristics of a Unitary government:

- **Single government :** In a Unitary government, there is only one integrated system of government. The central government consisting of a legislature and an executive exercises powers over the territory of the entire state. Accordingly, supreme power belongs to the central government alone.
- **Concentration of power :** Concentration of power in a single centre is the basis of a Unitary government. There is no constitutional division and distribution of powers.
- **Administrative units at the mercy of the centre :** The administrative units created under a Unitary government have no constitutional existence. Therefore, these can be abolished or reorganized without amending the constitution.

- **Written or unwritten constitution :** The constitution of a Unitary state may be either written or unwritten. For example, the UK has a Unitary government with an unwritten constitution, but the Netherlands, another Unitary state, has a written constitution.
- **Flexibility of the Constitution :** In a Unitary govern-ment, the constitution may be rigid or flexible. But generally, the constitutions of Unitary governments are flexible.
- **Supremacy of Legislature :** In a Unitary system, there is one supreme legislature. It is the supreme law-making body in the land. Its actions are not subject to judicial review. For instance, theoretically, the British Constitution establishes supremacy of Parliament. There is no judicial review and no authority can declare the laws made by Parliament as unconstitutional.
- **Single citizenship :** In a Unitary government, there is only one citizenship-the citizenship of the whole country.

8.3.3 Merits and Demerits of Unitary form of Government

Merits of Unitary Government :

A Unitary government has certain advantages:

- A Unitary system has only one government which can maintain uniformity of laws, policy and administration in the whole country. It provides better scope for bringing about unity among the people.
- As the Unitary form of government is marked by a single executive and a single legislature, there can be no conflict regarding authority and responsibility for work. This accounts for administrative efficiency.
- In a Unitary government, the central government can follow a vigorous domestic and foreign policy. The government is known for its promptness of decision and firmness of action.
- This government is very much suitable during emergency. As the government can take decisions promptly, it can face any

situation quickly and with determination.

- The constitution in a Unitary government is relatively flexible. It can be more progressive and responsive to the people as the constitution can be amended without much difficulty to meet the demand of particular situations.

Demerits of Unitary Government :

The following are some of the demerits of a Unitary government:

- The greatest demerit of the Unitary form of government is its inapplicability in states with larger territory inhabited by people of different religions, cultures and languages, etc. In such a state different laws may be necessary for meeting the needs of different localities, or else some areas may be neglected.
- In a Unitary system, all powers are concentrated in the central government. As such, a Unitary state may be transformed into a totalitarian state.
- In a Unitary government, sometimes, local self-government is ignored. The central government has no time to devote attention to local matters. Thus, people may not take interest in local matters.
- In a Unitary government, people have to depend on only the central government for everything. As a result, the single government in a Unitary system has to bear the heavy burden and responsibility of all work.
- As there is no separate legislature in the states and there is less local self-government in a Unitary government, elections are also less frequently held. As such, the people and their representatives do not receive much political education in this form of government.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: In a Unitary government, there is concentration of power in a single centre . (True/False)

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.....

Q.2: In a Unitary government, there exists dual citizenship. (True/False)

.....

Q.3: State any two charactirstics of a Unitary government.

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8.4 FEDERAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT

8.4.1 Meaning of Federal form of Government

The idea of Federal government is a comparatively modern concept in Political Science. In fact, it may be said that it started with the establishment of the USA in 1787. In this form of government, a number of independent units combine to constitute a sovereign state keeping the autonomy of each unit intact in its internal administration.

According to political scientist and constitutional expert K. C. Wheare, in the federal system 'the powers of the government are divided between a government for the whole country and governments for parts of the country in such a way that each government is legally independent in its own sphere.' The Federal form of government exists in countries like the United States of America, Canada, Australia and India.

8.4.2 Characteristics of Federal form of Government

- **The co-existence of two sets of governments:** The Co-existence of two sets of governments is the most important feature of a Federal government. In every Federal state, there is a central government and one government in each of the constituent units. The units have their constitutional existence and are, therefore not subject to abolition by the central government.
- **Constitutional division of powers:** Constitutional divisition of powers between the central government and the governments of the units is another feature of a Federal government. Both the central and the state governments have the right to promulgate laws and run the administration. The division of powers is not similar in all cases. The United States and Australia follow one pattern but Canada and India follow another.



LET US KNOW

In India we have a federal structure of government with two sets of government-Central and state governments. The Constitution of India has provided for division of powers between the Centre and the states. The scheme established by the Constitution consists of three Lists, the Union List, the State List and the Concurrent List. The Central government makes laws on the items enlisted in the Union List which include matters of national importance such as defence, armed forces, foreign affairs, currency, etc. The state governments make laws on the items enlisted in the State List which include matters of local interest such as public order and police, education, forests, etc. With regard to the items enlisted in the Concurrent List, both the Union and the state governments can make laws. The Residuary Powers not mentioned in the Union, State and Concurrent Lists are vested in the Lok Sabha. In the United States, the residuary powers are vested with the Federal government.

- **The Constitution of a Federal state should be written and rigid:** enumerating the powers of the central government and of the constituent units, so that there is no confusion regarding the same. Every federal constitution must be rigid to the extent that its federal character cannot be changed.
- **Supremacy of the Constitution:** The constitution of a federal state is the supreme law of the land. Both the centre and the units obey the constitution and have full faith in the same. Any act violating the Constitution is declared illegal.
- **Supremacy of Judiciary:** In a federation, there must be a supreme independent and impartial judiciary as the guardian and interpreter of the constitution. It is necessary for settling constitutional conflicts between the centre and the units.
- **Double Citizenship:** An ideal federation is characterized by double citizenship. A person is a citizen of the whole country as well as of the particular State in which he or she lives.
- **Equal representation of the units in the upper house:** Equal representation of the units in the upper house of the central legislature is considered to be a characteristic of a federation by some scholars.
- **Constituent units should have a share in the amendment of the constitution :** In a federation, the constituent units should have a share in the amendment of the constitution. No amendment is to be given effect without the consent of the Central legislature and the legislatures of the constituent units.

8.4.3 Merits and Demerits of Federal Government

Merits of Federal Government :

The following are the merits of Federal government:

- Federation provides an opportunity to small and weak states to unite together and become part of a large and powerful state. This gives them better security and more prestige.

- In a Federal government, the federating units maintain their autonomy although they become parts of large and powerful state. Accordingly, both regional autonomy and national unity is possible.
- A Federal form of government is the most suitable one for vast states with heterogeneous populations. Under a federation, people with linguistic, cultural and religious diversities can have autonomy on affairs which particularly concern them.
- The Federal system prevents despotism. In such a state the autonomous units with constitutional powers can successfully prevent the central government from assuming despotic powers.
- The division of powers between the central government and the governments of the constituent units relieves the central government of the responsibilities of solving local issues and leaves it free to give more attention to matters of national importance.

Demerits of Federal Government :

The following are the demerits of Federal government:

- There is every possibility of conflict between the central government and the governments of the units as well as among the governments of the constituent units themselves regarding authority and responsibility for work.
- The Federal system is inconvenient for arriving at quick decisions. In certain matters, the central government requires the support of the state governments and in certain matters, the governments of the units require prior approval of the central government for taking decisions.
- A Federal government also involves more expenditure as the organization of the government is highly complex. Expenditure has to be incurred with regard to both the Central and provincial governments.

- As the Federal system is often characterized by a rigid constitution, it is very difficult on the part of a Federal government to cope with the changing needs of the people. Amendments to the constitution cannot be brought about easily.
- In the federations allowing dual citizenship, the allegiance of a citizen is divided between the whole country and the province in which he lives. This kind of mentality may be a source of regionalism and could weaken the federation.



ACTIVITY 8.1

In India we have two sets of governments-the Central Government and the State governments. Is this a federal or a unitary feature?

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: The co-existence of two sets of governments is an important characteristic of a Federal government. (True/False)

.....

Q.5: In a Federal system, the constitution of the state need not be written and rigid. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: Explain any two characteristics of Federal Government . (within 75 words)

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8.5 LET US SUM UP

- Governments are classified into Unitary and Federal forms based on division of powers.
- In the Unitary form of government, all powers are concentrated in the single central government.The political divisions created under such a government have no constitutional existence.
- The important characteristics of the Unitary form of government include the existence of single governmnet, concentration of power, administrative units at the mercy of the centre, written or unwritten constituion, flexibility of the constitution, supremacy of legislature and single citizenship.
- In the Federal form of government, a number of independent units combine to constitute a sovereign state, with each unit being able to keep its autonomy intact in the matter of internal administration.
- The important characteristics of the Federal form of government include co-existence of two sets of governments (central and state), constitutional division of powers between the central and state governments, written and rigid constitution, supremacy of the constitution, supremacy of judiciary, double citizenship, equal representation of the units in the upper house of the central legistature and role of the constituent units in the amendment of the constitution.



8.6 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R. C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K. K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur, A. C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi:S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan V. D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

8.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1 : True

Ans. to Q. No. 2 : False

Ans. to Q. No. 3 : (a) Single government

(b) Concentration of power

Ans. to Q. No. 4: True

Ans. to Q. No. 5 : False

Ans. to Q. No. 6 :

a) The co-existence of two sets of governments

b) Supremacy of Judiciary

8.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1 : Mention the names of any two countries where the Unitary form of government exists.

Q.2 : Mention the names of any two countries where the Federal form of government exists.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1: Point out any four merits of the Federal form of government.

Q.2: Point out any four characteristics of the Unitary form of government.

C) Long Questions : (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1: Explain the characteristics of the the Federal form of government.

Q.2: Explain the merits and demerlts of Unitary government.

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UNIT 9: FORMS OF GOVERNMENT- PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Parliamentary form of Government

- 9.3.1 Meaning of Parliamentary form of Government
- 9.3.2 Characteristics of Parliamentary form of Government
- 9.3.3 Merits and Demerits of Parliamentary form of Government

9.4 Presidential form of Government

- 9.4.1 Meaning of Presidential form of Government
- 9.4.2 Characteristics of the Presidential form of Government
- 9.4.3 Merits and Demerits of the Presidential form of Government

9.5 Let Us Sum Up

9.6 Further Reading

9.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.8 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- describe the characteriistics of the Parliamentary form of government
- describe the characteriistics of the Presidential form of government
- list the merits and demerits of the Parliamentary form of government
- list the merits and demerits of the Presidential form of government.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit, we discussed the Unitary and Federal forms of government. Governments can further be divided into Parliamentary and Presidential types. As a matter of fact, we could see the functioning these

two very significant forms of democratic governments in different countries of the world today. The present unit therefore discusses the Parliamenatry and Presidential forms of government.

9.3 PARLIAMENTARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Democratic governments are classified into Parliamentary and Presidential types on the basis of the relationship between the executive and the legislature. Let us first discuss the Parliamentary form of government.

9.3.1 Meaning of Parliamentary form of Government

The form of government in which the executive is selected from among the members of the legislature and is responsible to the legislature is called Parliamentary government. A Parliamentary government is also known as the cabinet form of government because the ***cabinet*** is the real executive in it. It is also called *responsible government*, since the cabinet always remains responsible to the legislature for its activities.

9.3.2 Characteristics of Parliamentary form of Government

The following are the main characteristics of the Parliamentary form of government:

- **Dual Executive:** The Parliamentary form of government provides for two executives-the real executive and the nominal or titular executive. The nominal executive is represented by the head of the state who may either be a hereditary or an elective one; legally, the head of the state possesses all powers and privileges which the constitution and laws may confer upon him. But in practice, all powers are exercised by the real executive represented by the Prime Minister and the Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister is the head of the government. A classic example of this form of government is the UK where the King or Queen is the titular head (Head of the State)

whereas the Prime Minister is the real head (Head of the Government).

- **Collective Responsibility:** Another important feature of Parliamentary form of government is that the Cabinet is collectively responsible to the legislature. It means that once a decision is taken by the Cabinet, it becomes the responsibility of each minister to support it, in and outside the parliament. If a motion of no-confidence is passed by the parliament against a single Minister while pursuing cabinet policy, it would be considered to be a vote of no-confidence against the whole cabinet and the cabinet has to tender its resignation.
- **Individual Responsibility:** Each minister is individually responsible to the Parliament for the administration of his own department. The Members of the Parliament can put questions to the minister who is responsible for all acts of omission and commission concerning his own department. For example, when China invaded India in October 1962, the then Defence Minister, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon resigned as an instance of individual responsibility.
- **Close relationship between the Executive and Legislature:** In the Parliamentary form of government, there is a close relationship between the executive and the legislature. The members of the executive must be the members of the legislature. If anybody is not a member of the legislature at the time of his appointment to the cabinet, he must get himself elected to the legislature, within the stipulated period. The members of the cabinet take active part in law making. The cabinet remains in office as long as it enjoys the confidence of the parliament.
- **Political homogeneity:** It means that the members of the cabinet belong to the same political party. Usually they are taken from the majority party in the legislature. But there are instances when no single party secures the majority in the

legislature. In that case, the only alternative is the formation of a coalition government, consisting of more than one political parties. In Great Britain such governments are called national governments.

- **Secrecy of procedure:** The secrecy of cabinet proceed-ings is another pre-requisite of the Parliamentary form of government. The minister should not divulge in the public or anywhere else whatever is discussed in the cabinet. Any violation of this is considered to be a serious violation of discipline and the Cabinet Minister may lose his or her seat.
- **Leadership of the Prime Minister:** The Prime Minister is the acknowledged leader of the Parliamentary form of government. Generally, the leader of the majority party in the lower house of the legislature is appointed as the Prime Minister. He or she is therefore the leader of the house. The Prime Minister has an overall control over the cabinet. On the recommendations of the Prime Minister, other ministers are appointed. He or she can reshuffle the portfolios of his or her cabinet colleagues as well as induct new ministers into his cabinet when he or she desires.

The Parliamentary form of government exists, at present, in the UK, Australia, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, India, Japan and many other countries of the world.



LET US KNOW

Great Britain is the classic home of parliamentary democracy. The system of parliamentary government is not the result of any formal constitutional device; it is rather, a result of gradual evolution. The parliamentary form of government in Great Britain assumed its present form during the first half of 18th century. Subsequently it was adopted by many other countries of the world.

9.3.3 Merits and Demerits of Parliamentary form of Government

Merits of Parliamentary form of Government :

The following are some of the advantages or merits of the Parliamentary system of government:

- The Parliamentary form of government is marked by cooperation between the legislature and the executive. Accordingly, the cabinet can get its measures passed promptly by the legislature.
- This form of government cannot become autocratic. Since ministers are responsible to the legislature, they are answerable to the legislature for their actions.
- It provides an alternative government. In case the majority party loses its majority in the legislature, the opposition party may form the government. But it must prove its majority in the legislature.
- A Parliamentary form of government has the advantage of flexibility. People can easily change the government and sometimes they may choose a leader to meet a particular emergency. During the Second World War, Churchill replaced Chamberlain as Prime Minister in England without any difficulty.
- The Parliamentary form of government has high educative value. The political parties mould public opinion through political meetings on important issues. During election, every party publishes its manifesto highlighting its proposed plans.

Demerits of Parliamentary form of Government :

Some of the disadvantages or demerits of Parliamentary form of government are listed below:

- It violates the theory of separation of powers and leads to the concentration of legislative and executive powers in the hands of the cabinet. This may result in ***tyranny***. Sometimes, it is described as cabinet dictatorship.

- In the Parliamentary form of government, the executive takes part in law-making and the legislature sometimes interferes excessively and unnecessarily in administrative matters .This may result in confusion as well as inefficiency of both the legislature and the executive.
- When no party is in a position to get clear majority, coalition government comes into being. Its existence generally is short and at the same time it may not be efficient.
- Parliamentary government is criticized as a government by amateurs. The ministers' lack of knowledge of the portfolios they hold make them heavily dependent on the civil servants. Such a government becomes a bureaucratic government in practice.
- The Parliamentary form of government tends to become election centric. Each political party only aims at winning elections. They manipulate the voters which lead to what is popularly known as 'vote bank politics'.



ACTIVITY 8.1

When the Parliament is in session, there is a special programme everyday on Doordarshan about the proceedings in Parliament of India. Watch the proceedings or read about it in the newspapers and observe how the ministers face questions from members of parliament as an indication of the principle of individual responsibility of the ministers to parliament.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The Parliamentary form of government provides for two executives. (True/False)

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Q.2: There is a close relationship between the executive and the legislature in the Parliamentary form of government. (True/False)

.....

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Q.3: List two features of the Parliamentary government?

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.....

9.4 PRESIDENTIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT

9.4.1 Meaning of Presidential form of Government

The system of democratic government, in which the executive is constitutionally independent of the legislature, is known as the Presidential form of government. In this form of government, the head of the state who is also the head of government is designated as the *President* and hence the phrase, *Presidential* form of government.

9.4.2 Characteristics of Presidential form of Government

The main characteristics of the Presidential form of government may be summarised as under:

- **Separation of Powers :** There is a separation of powers in the Presidential government. In this system, the executive and legislature are separate from each other and they have equal status. The President and his or her secretaries (cabinet members) are not members of the Legislature and are not responsible to it. The legislature cannot remove them through a vote of no-confidence.

  Since complete separation of powers is not possible, the Presidential system follows the principle of 'checks and balances' as well. For instance, through his or her power of patronage and veto-power over legislation, the President

exercises control over the legislature. Similarly, the legislature is empowered to remove the President by ***impeachment.*** The Supreme Court can declare the laws passed by the legislature and the orders of the President as unconstitutional.

- **Single Executive :** In a Presidential government, the President is the Head of the State as well of the government. The President is not merely a nominal head, but is the real executive who enjoys real powers of administration. The President actually exercises all powers given to him or her under the constitution and the law.
- **Fixed Term of the President :** In a Presidential government, the President is elected for a fixed term and except impeachment for the violation of the constitution, he or she cannot be removed from office before the expiry of his or her term.
- **Preeminence of the President :** The President occupies a pre-eminent position in this system of government. The members of the President's cabinet, who are designated as secretaries, are not his or her colleagues but his or her subordinates. The secretaries help the president in the administration and they are appointed by him or her on the basis of ability. It depends on the will of the president to accept or reject their advice.

At present, the Presidential government is seen in the United States of America, Brazil and in some other countries of South America.



LET US KNOW

The Government of the United Stales is an ideal example of the Presidential form of government. The makers of the US Constitution have provided for three branches of government, namely, the President (executive), the Congress (legislature) and the Supreme Court (judiciary) each one of which is independent of the other two and derives its authority from the Constitution.

9.4.3 Merits and Demerits of Presidential form of Government

Merits of Presidential form of Government :

The following are some of the merits of the Presidential form of government:

- It is a stable form of government as the President is elected for a fixed term and the process of impeachment is rarely adopted. It can follow a continuous and consistent policy.
- It is argued that the application of separation of powers and "checks and balances" as the basis of the Presidential system ensures that none of the three organs of the government can become despotic. It ensures individual liberty.
- The Presidential form of government enables the appointment of experts to head the various departments of the government without consideration of their party affiliations. This leads to efficiency in administration.
- A Presidential system is suitable for emergencies.It can face national crisis without difficulty. As the President need not depend too much on the direction of the cabinet or legislature, he or she can afford to take prompt decisions to meet a crisis and also to carry them out.
- As compared to the Parliamentary government, the influence of political parties in this system is less. This is because the President has full control over administration and his survival is not dependent upon the majority support in the legislature.

Demerits of Presidential form of Government :

The following are some of the demerits of the Presidential form of government:

- As the executive is separated from the legislature in this form of government, there may be conflict between the President and the legislature particularly when the latter is dominated by the opposition party. As a result of that, public interest might be hampered.

- A Presidential form of government may become despotic as the President cannot be controlled by the legislature and the latter has no control over matters of daily administration. Impeachment is a difficult process and is resorted to only under exceptional circumstances.
- Personal loyalty plays a very important part in securing cabinet berths. The merit or experience of an individual may be ignored.
- A Presidential form of government is also very complex. There are too many commissions and committees under it.
- The Presidential system has been frequently criticized as being incapable of conducting a vigorous foreign policy. It is often said that in the US, the President's dependence on the Congress in certain foreign policy matters makes US foreign policy a slow moving and uncertain affair.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: The Presidential form of Government exists in the USA. (True/False)

.....

Q.5: The Presidential form of Government is characterised by separation of powers. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: List out two features of Presidential Government.

.....

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.....



9.5 LET US SUM UP

- Democratic governments are classified into Parliamentary and Presidential types on the basis of the relationship between the

executive and the legislature.

- In the Parliamentary form of government, the executive is selected from among the members of the legislature and is responsible to the legislature.
- The important characteristics of the Parliamentary form of government include the existence of dual executive (nominal executive and real executive), collective responsibility, individual responsibility, close relationship between the executive and legislature, political homogeneity, secrecy of procedure and leadership of the Prime Minister.
- In the Presidential form of government, the executive is constitutionally independent of the legislature.
- The important characteristics of the Presidential form of government include separation of powers, single executive, fixed term of the President and preeminence of the President.



9.6 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R. C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K. K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Kapur, A. C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi:S. Chand and Company.

4) Mahajan, V. D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



9.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1 : True

Ans. to Q. No. 2 : False

Ans. to Q. No. 3 : (a) Dual Executive

(b) Collective Responsibility

Ans. to Q. No. 4 : True

Ans. to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans. to Q. No. 6 : (a) Separation of Powers

(b) Single Executive



9.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1 : Dual Executive is a characteristic of which form of government?

Q.2 : Mention the name of any country where the Presidential form of government exists.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1: Point out any four characteristics of the Parliamentary form of government.

Q.2: Point out any four characteristics of the Presidential form of government.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1: Discuss merits and demerits of the Parliamentary form of government.

Q.2: Discuss merits and demerits of the Presidential form of government.

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UNIT 10: POLITICAL PARTIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Meaning and Features of Political Party

10.3.1 Meaning of Political Party

10.3.2 Features of Political Party

10.4 Types of Political Parties

10.5 Functions of Political Parties

10.6 Importance of Political Party

10.7 Let Us Sum Up

10.8 Further Reading

10.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.10 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to -

- explain the meaning of Political Parties
- describe the types of Political Parties
- discuss the features and functions of Political Parties
- explain the importance of Political Parties.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

Political Parties are an indispensable part of any political system. With a few exceptions of some monarchies like Saudi Arabia and military dictatorships, political parties are present everywhere in the world. It acts as a link between the masses and the rulers. Political Parties are essential for smooth functioning of the governmental activities especially in democratic political systems. In other words, democracy and political parties go together and can be regarded as two sides of the same coin. Without having political parties, no democratic government can perform its works properly.

Political Parties have given a new dimension to the working of democratic government. Through Political Parties, citizens can express their demand and expectations. It is, therefore necessary for us to understand about the different aspects of Political Parties. In this unit, an effort is made to present the basic concepts of Political Parties i.e. meaning and definition, features, types, functions and its importance.

10.3 MEANING AND FEATURES OF POLITICAL PARTY

10.3.1 Meaning of Political Party

The study of political parties occupies an important place in Political Science from past to present era. However, in recent years, this study has become more interesting for which the political scientists have coined a new term i.e. 'Stasiology' to study about political parties.



LET US KNOW

"Stasiology" It is a term meaning scientific study of party politics. It originates from a Greek word 'stasis.' Stasiology implies a scientific study of party politics with special emphasis on the role of factions and groups operating within political parties so as to have a thoroughly empirical study of the subject.

Generally, a political party is an organization of like-minded individuals with common goal, ideology, and belief with aims to capture political power through constitutional means. With the help of some common political programmes, they try to win the support of the majority voters and form government either singly or in alliance with other Political Parties. Thus, the main aim of every political party is to form the government by capturing political power.

Regarding the definition of political party, different scholars have forwarded different views. Among them, some are mentioned below:

- According to British-Irish statesman, Edmund Burke, "Political party is body of men united for the purpose of promoting by

their joint endeavours the public interest upon some principle on which they are all agreed."

- According to American scholar, R.G. Gettell, "political party is a group of citizens, more or less organised who act as political unit and who by the use of their voting power aim to control the government and carry out their general policy."
- British scholar R.M. MacIver said, "Political party is an association organised in support of some principle or policy which, by constitutional means, it endeavours to make the determinant of government."
- R.N.Gilchrist, the American scholar observes, "A political party may be defined as an organised group of citizens who profess to share the same political views and who, by acting as a political unit, try to control the government."
- Stephen Leacock, the Canadian scholar defined political party as "a more or less organised group of citizens who act together as a political unit. They share or profess to share the same opinions on public questions and by exercising their voting power towards a common end, seek to obtain control of the government."
- According to American political scientist Harold Lasswell, "Political party is an organisation specialized with regard to presenting candidates and issues under its own name in elections."
- French jurist M. Duverger defined political party as "groups organised for the purpose of achieving and exercising power within a political system."

It is, thus clear from the above definitions that a political party is a group of persons with some belief, rules and regulations of their own which may be different from one another. However, the common aim of every political party is that they try to capture political power through peaceful and constitutional means. Besides, the political parties adopt various programmes and policies to influence

the voters and win the elections. Thus, it can be said that the main aim of political parties is to form the government by capturing political power either singly or in alliance with other political parties.

10.3.2 Features of Political Party

From the above definitions of a political party, we may discuss some of its features of it. These features may not be common in case of all political parties or in all political systems. However, to be a political party, it must have certain common features. Let us discuss these features below:

- **Group of people :** Political Party is a group of like-minded people. It consists of several groups of people like young and old, rich and poor, men and women, landlords and workers and some others as simple members. Even, some others work as supporters with full sympathy for the political ideology and programme. Thus, a political party is a whole consisting of different groups of people having similar views and opinions. Therefore, French Political scientist Maurice Duverger holds that a political party is a mass membership party.
- **Common Principles :** Every political party has some common principles of their own. Without these, no political party can survive for long and secure popular support from the people. Therefore, every member of a political party expresses similar views and opinions on public or critical issues. Besides, with the help of some attractive principles, the political parties try to capture political power by influencing the voters to their own sides.
- **Associated with National Interest :** Political Parties are associated with national interests. In other words, they always try to promote national interest and not sectional or individual interests. Sometimes, it is seen that some regional political parties are formed on the basis of some local or regional sentiments or issues. However, they are also closely associated

with national interests. Thus, it can be said that every political party can survive as a part of the whole and by protecting the national (whole) interests, it can secure its self interests. That is why, Edmund Burke remarked, "Political party is a body of men united for the purpose of promoting by their joint endeavours the public interest upon some principle on which they are all agreed."

- **Own Organization :** Without proper organisation, no political party can survive in the game of power. Political party is also an organisation of people. It has its own constitution where the aims and objectives, policies and programmes as well as structural organisation of the party are defined clearly. Proper organisation can strengthen the unity and integrity among the members of political party. Therefore, emphasizing about proper organisation, MacIver opined that without party organisation there can be no unified statement of principles and no orderly evolution of policy by means of which a party seeks to gain or maintain power.
- **Aim at Capturing Power :** Capturing political power is another important feature of political party. Every political party tries to remain in power by influencing the voters in various ways specially during the time of election. For this purpose, they try to establish mass base or popular support. Without such support, no political party will be able to implement its policies and programmes as well as retain political power for long time. Thus, every political party aims at capturing power to survive their existence.
- **Specific Programme :** Each political party has some specific programme on the basis of which it tries to influence the voters to retain power. Such programme includes- socio-economic, political, cultural and other relevant issues of the society. The political parties also try to implement their policies and programmes when they come to power. However, these

programmes keep changing as old issues are solved and new ones take birth. In other words, every political party tries to include relevant issues and programme in election manifestos.

- **Faith in Ballot Boxes :** Each political party should have faith in ballot box to capture political power. In other words, political parties always try to capture power through peaceful and constitutional means. Of course, it is sometimes seen that some parties resort to violent method to capture power especially during the time of election. However, this cannot be generalized because every political party generally tries to win the spontaneous support of the voters in a peaceful way.

It is clear from the above analysis that political parties contain different features which differentiate them from other groups in the society. In short, it can be said that a political party is a group of like-minded people associated with national interest, having its own organization and some common principles with specific programme aiming at capturing power.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Write the definition of political party given by MacIver.

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Q 2: "A political party may be defined as an organised group of citizens who profess to share the same political views and who, by acting as a political unit, try to control the government", who said this?

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Q 3: Discuss two features of political parties.

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10.4 TYPES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

There is no universally accepted classification regarding the types of political parties. It is different from one political system to another. Generally, political parties are formed on the basis of the socio-economic, political or cultural conditions of that country. Broadly speaking, political parties can be classified under the following heads:

a) Single or One Party System,

b) Two or Bi-Party System, and

c) Multi-Party System.

These are discussed below:

- **Single or One Party System**

When only one political party operates in the political system, then it is calleda Single or One-Party system. Here, the ruling party either dominates or suppresses all other groups or the opposition. The supporters of this system try to continue the system in the name of national unity and integrity. In other words, they do not allow other parties to come into existence. Only the ruling party can control the whole administration of the country which is legally allowed in the system. For example, the then Communist Party of USSR, China, Nazi Party under the leadership of Hitler in Germany, etc., can be mentioned here.

- **Two or Bi-Party System:**

A Two or Bi-Party system is one in which two dominant political parties contest election and power alternates between them. Here, the party which secures majority votes forms the government and the other remains as the opposition. However, there may exist other political parties also but they cannot challenge the two dominant parties. The Democratic Party and the Republican Party of USA, The Conservative Party and the Labour Party of UK are the best examples of the two party system. Other countries like Canada, New Zealand, Australia etc have also bi-party system.

- **Multi-Party System:**

In a Multi-Party System, there is no limit on the number of political parties. It is a system where more than two parties exist. In this system, it is

not always that one party may secure absolute majority and it may be difficult for any one party to capture majority support in the election to form the government. Thus, in this system, the parties may either be equal or unequal in strength and no single party may be dominant enough to control the administration. In such cases, the multi-party system may lead to formation of a coalition government. Multi-party system is working in India, Switzerland, France, Spain etc.

These are the major types of political parties. However, there may be other forms of political parties also like- Charisma-oriented parties, Interest-oriented parties, Ideology-oriented parties, Regional, National and Religious Political parties etc.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 4: Mention the names of two countries where bi-party system exists.

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Q 5: Define Multi-party system.

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ACTIVITY 10.1

Try to find out the names of the dominant political parties in UK, USA and Switzerland.

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10.5 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The political parties perform many important functions today without which democratic government cannot work properly. Different political scientists have put forward different functions of political party in their own

ways. However, we can discuss the major functions of political parties under the following heads:

- **Formulation of Policy :**

Formulation of policies and programmes is the first important function of a political party. To solve the problems faced by the society as well as the state, each party tries to formulate its policies and programmes based on the burning issues. The political parties try to convince the voters that if they are entrusted with political power, they will solve the serious problems of the society. In this way, the political parties formulate various policies and programmes to attract the voters though these policies are changing because when the old issues are solved new ones are taken.

- **Link between the People and the Government:**

Political parties provide a link between the people and the government. They provide up-to-date knowledge and information about the various decisions, policies and programmes of the government to the people. They also act as the people's representatives and present various needs and demands of the citizens in the Assembly or Parliamentary debates. Without political parties, citizens will not be able to fulfill their demands as per their needs. Highlighting the importance of this function, American political scientist, S. Neumann said, "since democracies are pyramids built from below, the connection between leaders and followers becomes a necessity in the two-way traffic of democracy. It is the major function of the party to keep these lines of communication open and clear."

- **Formation of Public Opinion:**

This is another important function of a political party. Through wide publicity about the various policies and programmes of the party, they try to form public opinion in their favour. In this regard, they also criticize the policies and programmes of other parties or the ruling government. Even, they use different techniques like organizing public meeting, distribution of pamphlets and hand-bills, interviews in the newspaper, journals and electronic media etc. to win the support of the voters.

- **Selection of Candidates:**

Every political party selects suitable candidates to contest in the

election. It is the political parties which introduce the candidates before the voters at the time of election or before that because the candidate may not be known to the public earlier. So, the selection of the candidates is an important function of every political party. In this respect, every party takes utmost care in considering different aspects of the candidates like their ability, contribution to the society, party loyalty, acceptance of the society and the voters etc.

- **Election Campaign:**

Political parties are associated with the process of election. It plays an active and important role in any constitutional election so that their candidates can win and capture power. During the time of election, political parties organize various election campaigns to attract the voters and win their support. The party leaders help the contesting candidates through different public meetings, with funds and materials. Every political party adopts many techniques during the time of election like- processions and rallies, posters and handbills, door to door visit, interview in radio, TV etc to win the support of the masses in the election.

- **To Impart Political Education:**

Every political party tries to impart political education to the masses to make them conscious politically. They make efforts to mobilize the masses in their favour. For this purpose, the political parties express their views on important public issues and measures to solve them. They also use mass media of communication like- radio, TV, newspaper, journals, public debates etc. to make the citizens aware about the different critical issues as well as the policies and programmes of the government and of other political parties. In this way, political parties are always busy to make the people aware politically especially at the time of election.

- **To Recruit Political Leaders:**

Recruitment of leaders is another important function of political party. In any political system, democratic or totalitarian, leaders are recruited through political parties. Political parties provide necessary training and education to its members to be a leader. In other words, political parties are the builders of leaders who go on to hold public office. Therefore, every

political party tries to recruit the leaders who have charismatic quality and mass support at ground level.

- **Formation of the Government:**

In every political system, the political parties act as legislators. Every political party wants to form the government as it is their main aim. It is also important for bringing political stability in any political system. Therefore, every political party tries to form the government by winning the majority support of the voters in the election. After forming the government, the party tries to implement its policies and programmes to win the hearts of the people so that they can continue their rule for long time. Thus, political party plays an important and active role in the formation of government as well as in controlling the activities of the government.

- **To maintain Discipline:**

Political party has to maintain discipline and order among its members. It controls its members from indulging in unconstitutional activities which may harm the image of the party among the people. In this regard, we may mention about the party whip which is a source of unity and solidarity among the representatives of the people. It also control the activities of the representatives as desired by the party. Thus, to maintain discipline and control over the members is another important function of political parties.

- **Non-political Activities:**

Political parties perform various social welfare activities in order to win the support of the people. These can be termed as non-political activities. For example, during the time of natural calamities like flood, drought, earthquake, famine etc, parties work for the relief operations among the affected people. Besides, they work for the eradication of different social evils like untouchability, illiteracy by organizing awareness camps etc.

In this way, political parties perform several important functions for the greater interest of the party as well as for the benefit of the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 6: Describe two functions of a political party.

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Q 7: Mention the non-political activities of political parties.

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10.6 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTY

Political parties have become an essential and indispensable part of our political life. It acts as a link between the masses and the rulers. Political Parties are essential for smooth running of the government activities especially in the democratic political system. In other words, democracy and Political Parties go together and can be regarded as the two sides of the same coin. Without having Political Parties, no democratic government can perform its works properly. Regarding the importance of political party, the following points are put forward:

- Political Parties are essential for smooth running of the governmental activities. It connects the people with the government. They also provide up-to-date knowledge and information about various decisions, policies and programmes of the government to the people.
- They also act as the representative of the people and present various needs and demands of the citizens in the Assembly or Parliamentary debates. Without political parties, citizens will not be able to fulfill their demands as per their needs.
- Political parties are also essential for shaping public opinion. They make the demands of the people hearable. This public opinion can be a guideline for the government, while formulating policies and making laws.
- Political parties create political awareness among the people. They educate the people politically through wide publicity of their manifestos.

They also make the citizens aware about the different critical issues as well as policies and programmes of the government and other political parties through mass media of communication.

- A political party is also important for bringing political stability in any political system. They harmonize the different organs of the government. Political parties also mediate between the different pressure groups in the society. In other words, it is a unifying force among the different groups in the society.
- Political parties are also essential to check and control the autocratic functioning of a government. It is the watch dog of the activities of the government and whenever the incumbent government follows and implements policies that may go against the interest of the people political parties stand up to safeguard the public interest.

It is thus, clear from the above discussion that political parties play an important role in our society especially in a democratic political system. However, the political parties should work for the greater interest of the society as a whole leaving their narrow political interests behind.



ACTIVITY 10.2

Prepare a list of countries which are dominated by Single-party system along with the names of the party.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 8: Write about the importance of political parties for smooth running of the governmental activities.

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Q. 9: Write about the importance of political parties in creating political awareness among the people.

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10.7 LET US SUM UP

- Political Parties are an indispensable part of every political system. Without having Political Parties, no democratic government can perform its works properly.
- Political party is a group of persons with some ideology, rules and regulations of its own and these may be different from one another. The main aim of political parties is to form the government by capturing political power either singly or in alliance with other political parties.
- Political parties contain different features which differentiate them from other organizations and groups in the society.
- There is no universally accepted classification regarding the types of political parties. It is different from one political system to another. However, political parties can be classified as - Single or One Party System, Two or Bi-Party System, and Multi-Party System.
- Political Parties are essential for smooth running of the government activities. It connects the people with the government. Without political parties, citizens will not be able to fulfill their demands as per their needs.



10.8 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Kapur,A.C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

3) Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

4) Srivastava, Smita (ed.) (2012). *Fundamentals of Political Theory*. New Delhi: Pearson.

10.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: Political party is "an association organised in support of some principle or policy which by constitutional means it endeavours to make the determinant of government."

Ans to Q. No. 2: Gilchrist.

Ans to Q. No. 3:

a) Group of people: Political Party is a group of like-minded people. It consists of several groups of people like- young and old, rich and poor, men and women, landlords and workers and some others as simple members. Even, some others work as supporters with full sympathy. Thus, political party is a whole consisting of different groups of people having similar views and opinion. Therefore, French Political scientist Maurice Duverger holds that a political party is a mass membership party.

b) Common Principles: All political parties have some common principles of their own which are different from one another. Without these, no political party can survive for long and secure popular support from the people. Therefore, members of a political party can express similar views and opinions on public or critical issues. Besides, with the help of some attractive principles, the political parties try to capture political power by influencing the voters to their own sides.

Ans to Q. No. 4: UK and USA.

Ans to Q. No. 5: It is a system where more than two parties exist. In this system, there is no political party which has absolute majority. Here, it is difficult for any party to capture majority support in the election to form the government. Thus, in this system, the parties may either be equal or unequal in strength but no party is dominant to control the administration.

Ans to Q. No. 6:

1) Formulation of Policy: Formulation of policies and programmes is the first important function of political party. To solve the problems faced by the society as well as the state, each party tries to formulate its policies and programmes based on burning issues. The political parties try to convince the voters that if they are entrusted with political power, they will solve the serious problems of the society. In this way, the political parties formulate various policies and programmes to attract the voters though these policies are changing because old are solved and new ones are taken.

2) Formation of Public Opinion: This is another important function of political party. Through wide publicity about the various policies and programmes of the party, they try to form public opinion in their favour. In this regard, they also criticize the policies and programmes of other parties or the ruling government. Even, they use different techniques like- organizing public meeting, distribution of pamphlets and hand-bills, interviews in the newspaper, journals and electronic media etc. to win the support of the voters.

Ans to Q. No. 7: Political parties also perform various social welfare activities to win the support of the people. These can be termed as non-political activities. For example, during the time of natural calamities like flood, drought, earthquake, famine etc, parties work for the welfare of the people. They also work for the eradication of different social evils like untouchability, illiteracy, awareness camps etc. However, the political parties have a motive behind these non-political activities i.e. to capture majority votes in the elections.

Ans to Q. No. 8: Political Parties are essential for smooth running of the government activities. It connects the people with the government. They also provide up-to-date knowledge and information about various decisions, policies and programmes of the government to the people.

Ans to Q. No. 9: Political parties create political awareness among the people. They educate the people politically through wide publicity of their manifestos. They also make the citizens aware about the different

critical issues as well as policies and programmes of the government and other political parties through mass media of communication.



10.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions:

Q. 1: Mention the definition of political party given by Edmund Burke.

Q. 2: Write the meaning of Political party?

Q. 3: What is 'Stasiology'?

B) Short Questions: (Answer each question in about 150 words).

Q. 1: Write briefly about the meaning of political party.

Q. 2: Write three differences between the single party system and bi-party system.

Q. 3: Discuss two merits and two demerits of multi-party system.

C) Long Questions: (Answer each question in about 300-500 words).

Q. 1: Define political party. What are the features of political party?

Q. 2: Examine the various functions of political party.

Q. 3: Discuss the role and importance of political parties in a democracy.

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UNIT 11: PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTEREST GROUPS

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Pressure Groups

- 11.3.1 Meaning and Definition of Pressure Groups
- 11.3.2 Types of Pressure Groups
- 11.3.3 Importance of Pressure Groups

11.4 Interest Groups

- 11.4.1 Meaning and Definition of Interest Groups
- 11.4.2 Types of Interest Groups
- 11.4.3 Importance of Interest Groups

11.5 Distinction between Pressure Groups and Interest Groups

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Reading

11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.9 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:-

- explain the meaning of Pressure Groups and Interest Groups
- describe the types of Pressure Groups and Interest Groups
- explain the importance of Pressure Groups and Interest Groups
- discuss the distinction between Pressure Groups and Interest Groups.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Pressure groups and Interest groups play an important role in modern political system. In every political system, especially in a democratic political system, these groups are found working outside the government or existing

party system. These groups, in order to protect their interests, actively try to influence the decision making process of the government in their favour. Pressure groups differ in terms of their strength and influence. The more influential a pressure group is, the more successful it is in getting its demands met by the government.

Due to the rapid growth of industrialization and modernization, the role of pressure and interest groups are increasing greatly in different spheres of the society today. There may be different kinds of pressure or interest groups in a political system based on different aspects or issues of the society. In other words, various kinds of pressure and interest groups, having specific sectional or localized interests are playing a significant role in our society and the role may vary from one society to another.

11.3 PRESSURE GROUPS

11.3.1 Meaning and Definition of Pressure Groups

Pressure groups occupy a significant place in the study of Political Science. It plays an important role in any political system. Generally, pressure group is an organisation of individuals having some common and specific interests which may be sectional, local, national or even international. A pressure group has no political aim but it tries to influence the decision making process of the government in power to protect the interests of the particular group of people it represents and tries to shape government policies in a way that is favourable to the particular group of people represented by the pressure group.

Different scholars have defined the term "Pressure Groups" differently. In this regard, the following definitions can be mentioned:

- According to American political scientist H. Zeigler, "Pressure group is an organised aggregate that seeks to influence the context of the government's decisions without attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities."

- According to American political scientist Robert Dahl, "Any association that tries to secure advantage from the state policies favourable to its members or followers, is a pressure group."
- American scholar Henry A. Turner said, "Pressure groups are non partisan organisations which attempt to influence some phase of public policy."
- American political scientist Leiserson defined pressure group as a non partisan organisation of individuals joined together for achieving some objectives and for the protection or promotion of material activities that are supposed to be vital for the existence or survival of the group."
- According to American political scientist Harry Eckstein , "By pressure group, we mean any organised group which attempts to influence government decisions without seeking to exercise the formal powers of government."

It is, thus clear from the above definitions that Pressure group is a group of persons having some specific interests which may be sectional, local, national or even international. They do not attempt to place its members in formal governmental capacities. However, they try to influence some phase of public policy. In other words, they attempt to promote a goal they share or to resist some objective of government or other groups that somehow relates to the political process.

Every pressure group is formed on the basis of certain common interest. They only try to fulfill their interests without participating in politics directly. In other words, they try to protect and promote their specific interests. For this purpose, they use different techniques and methods.

Thus, it can be said that the main aim of pressure group is to influence the government to protect their interests without capturing political power.

11.3.2 Types of Pressure Groups

There is no universally accepted classification regarding the types of pressure groups. It is differs from one political system to another. Generally, pressure groups are formed to fulfil various needs and demands of the society which may be socio-economic, political, cultural or many more. However, the classification made by Gabriel Almond is worth mentioning here. It is applicable for both democratic and non-democratic political system. It is given below:

a) Associational pressure groups,
b) Non-Associational pressure groups,
c) Institutional pressure groups, and
d) Anomic pressure groups

The various types of pressure groups are discussed below:

- **Associational Pressure Groups**

Associational pressure groups are the groups which represent the interests of a particular category of persons. Such groups have specific identity having its own name, offices and professional employees. They follow certain principles to protect and fulfill their interests. In this regard, we may refer to the various labour associations, business and professional groups, students' organisations and so on. Such groups are increasing today due to the development of modern means of communication and technology besides other factors.

- **Non-Associational Pressure Groups**

A Non-Associational pressure group is just the opposite of Associational group. A Non-Associational pressure group has no specific identity or formal structure. Even, the members have no formal communication among themselves. But the nature and interests of these groups are same. These groups are formed on the basis of religion or caste or clan. For example, members of a particular caste or religion or ethnic group could be said to be part of a Non-associational pressure group.

- **Institutional Pressure Groups**

The Institutional pressure groups are those groups which are formed under the control of the government. They are well organised groups having some specific interests of their own. In this category, we may mention government bureaucrats, members of armed forces, etc., constituting examples of institutional pressure groups.

- **Anomic Pressure Groups**

Anomic pressure groups are spontaneously formed. They are concerned with a specific issue. In other words, these groups are formed to protest some specific policies of the government without having any pre-plan or organisation. Thus, anomic groups can be termed as the groups which emerge without any specific efforts to protest a particular policy of the government. For example, the people coming together at the time of procession, riots, protest movements etc could be said to be part of Anomic pressure groups.

In this way pressure groups can be divided into various divisions. These groups may be permanent or temporary, big or small, powerful or weak. All these groups try to influence the decision making process of the government to fulfill their interests.

11.3.3 Importance of Pressure Groups

Pressure groups have become an essential and indispensable part of our political life. It acts as a link between the people and the government. Pressure groups are essential for smooth running of the government activities especially in the democratic political system. In other words, democracy and pressure groups go together and can be regarded as the two sides of the same coin. Without having Pressure groups, no democratic government can perform its works properly. Regarding the importance of pressure groups, the following points can be forwarded:

- Pressure groups are essential for smooth running of the government activities. It connects the people with the government. They also provide up-to-date knowledge and

information about various decisions, policies and programme of the government to the people.

- They also act as the representatives of people and present various needs and demands of the citizens in an organised way. Without pressure groups, citizens will not be able to fulfill their demands as per their needs.
- Pressure groups are essential for moulding public opinion. They make the demands of the people hearable. This public opinion can be a guideline for the government while formulating policies and making laws.
- Pressure groups can also make the citizens aware about various critical issues as well as policies and programmes of the government and other political parties through mass media of communication.
- It is also important for bringing political stability in any political system. They harmonize the different organs of the government. Pressure groups also mediate between government and the people in the society. In other words, it is a unifying force among the different groups in the society.
- Pressure groups are also essential to control the autocratic functioning of the government. It is the pressure groups which can control the activities of the government that go against the interest of the citizens.

Thus, it is clear from the above discussion that pressure groups play an important role in our society especially in a democratic political system. However, the pressure groups should work for the greater interest of the society as a whole leaving the narrow interest behind.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1: Write the definition of pressure groups as given by H. Zeigler.

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Q. 2: "Any association that tries to secure advantage from the state policies favourable to its members or followers, is a pressure group" who said this?

.....

Q. 3: What do you mean by Associational and Anomic Pressure Groups?

.....

Q. 4: Write two points regarding the importance of pressure groups in a political system.

.....

.....



ACTIVITY 11.1

Try to make a list of dominant pressure groups in some of the developed and developing countries.

11.4 INTEREST GROUPS

11.4.1 Meaning and Definition of Interest Groups

Interest groups, like pressure groups, play a significant role in any political system. Generally, an interest group is an organised group of individuals which wants to influence public policy. These groups have specific interests based on which they perform their activities. In other words, a group of individuals which are associated with a specific interest can be termed as interest group. They try to influence the legislature to pass, withdraw or repeal legislation. Interest groups make us of lobbying tactics to get their demands met.



LET US KNOW

Lobbying is a technique by which the members of the interest groups meet and try to influence legislators to propose and support bills promoting the

interests of the particular interest group. They are concerned mainly with the legislature while it is in session and are concerned with the passage or defeat of particular bills. This term originally started in U.S.A.

Different scholars have put forward different definitions of interest groups. These are given below:

- According to American political scientists Almond and Powell, "Interest groups are those voluntary groups of individuals who are linked by a particular bond or concern of advantage and who have awareness of those bonds. These groups represent the socio-economic and political interests of a particular segment of the polity."
- To American sociologists Schaefer and Lamm, "An interest group is a voluntary association of citizens who attempt to influence public policy."
- According to American scholar David Truman, "Interest group is a shared attitude that make certain claims upon or through institutions of government."
- According to The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology, "an interest (or pressure) group is an organisation whose purpose is to influence the distribution and use of political power in a society."
- American political scientists Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan remarked, "A group is an organised aggregate and an interest group is an interest aggregate."

From the above definitions, it is clear that interest group is an organised group of individuals which wants to influence public policy. The individuals are associated with a specific interest and they try to influence public policy. In other words, they try to influence the legislature to promote, withdraw or repeal legislation. These groups play an important role in political process.

11.4.2 Types of Interest Groups

There is no agreement among the scholars regarding the types of interest groups. These groups are formed based on the socio-political or other factors of the state. However, the common interest groups can be mentioned under the following heads:

- **Associational or Professional Interest Groups:** These groups are related with professional interests. The members of these groups join together to share or promote professional interests. They represent a section of society like workers, consumers etc.
- **Business Interest Groups:** This is one of the major interest groups in any political system. In case of India they are mainly concerned with the Planning Commission (now replaced by the NITI Ayog) and Economic Ministries etc. and try to influence them to protect and promote business interests. These groups are playing an important role due to the increasing impact of liberalization, privatisation and globalization on our politics and governance.
- **Cause Interest Groups:** It is a group which represents a particular cause or issue upheld by a section of the society. It is a non-economic group and concerned with the promotion of or focuses on a particular issue for collective social welfare. This group is also known as public interest group. It may or may not be well organised. For example, Narmada Bachao Andolan, Big Dam Movement in Assam etc. can be mentioned here.
- **Linguistic Interest Groups:** These groups have emerged due to the multiplicity of languages in use in our society. These groups represent the interests of a variety of people across the country speaking different languages. Generally, all major languages have their own linguistic interest groups like- Asom Sahitya Sabha for the Assamese speaking people, Bodo

Sahitya Sabha for the Bodo speaking people etc.

- **Religious Interest Groups:** These groups have emerged in order to protect and promote the interests of a particular religion. Sometimes their religious views and activities may seem communal in nature. But these groups are concerned with a particular community and try to promote its interest or reform it. In other words, it is helpful for the protection and promotion of their members.
- **Tribal Interest Groups:** These groups are related to the interests of the tribal people. They preserve and protect the interests of their our community and help their community in bargaining for more socio-economic and political benefits from the government. They have their own specific identity.

It is clear from the above discussion that interest groups are divided into various divisions. All these groups are concerned with fulfilling the interests of their particular groups. In other words, they try to protect, promote and preserve their own interests only.

11.4.3 Importance of Interest Groups

Interest groups play an important role in a political system. It is essential for smooth running of the government activities especially in the democratic political system. In other words, democracy and interest groups can be regarded as the two sides of the same coin. Without having these groups, no democratic government can perform its works properly. Regarding the importance of interest groups, the following points can be noted:

- Interest groups, specially public interest groups serve a useful role in protesting against the undue influence of the rich and powerful individuals and raise the demands and needs of the common citizens before the government.
- Interest groups act as the representatives of particular group/ groups of people and present before the government the various demands and needs of the members in an organised

way which may be difficult for an individual member to raise.

- Interest groups, to some extent, can mould public opinion also. They present the demands of the particular group to the government at the time of formulating policies and making laws.
- Interest groups are also important for bringing political stability in a political system. They harmonize the different organs of the government. In other words, an interest group is a unifying force among different groups in the society.
- Interest groups are sometimes necessary in order to control the autocratic rule of the government. Like the pressure groups, the interest group also can raise its voice against and thereby control such activities of the government that go against the interest of the people belonging to different interest groups.

It is thus, clear from the above discussion that interest groups play an important role in our society specially in a democratic political system. However, the interest groups should work for the greater interest of the society as a whole leaving their narrow group interest behind. Finally, we may conclude with the remark that interest groups are essential for compelling the government to remain a constitutional government.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 5: Write the definition of interest groups as given by David Truman.

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Q. 6: "An interest group is a voluntary association of citizens who attempt to influence public policy", who said this?

.....

Q.7: Explain the meaning of Associational or Professional Interest Groups and Business Interest Groups.

.....

.....

Q.8: Write two points regarding the importance of pressure groups in a political system.

.....

.....

11.5 DISTINCTION BETWEEN PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTEREST GROUPS

The pressure and interest groups are generally supposed to be the same group and usually no difference can be drawn between the two. But, in practice, it is seen that both the groups are not alike in all their aspects. Different political scientists have written about some points of distinction between the two as given below:

- Pressure groups depend much more on spontaneous participation of the masses. But, this is not in case of interest groups. The latter does not depend on spontaneous participation of the masses.
- Pressure groups protect the common interest by using different techniques including extra constitutional means to influence and compel the decision making process of the government. On the other hand, interest groups, to protect a specific interest do not use any pressure tactics or even extra constitutional means as is done by the pressure groups.
- Both the groups are separated from each other in regards to their scope also. Pressure groups are concerned not only with the interests of its members but also with the welfare of the other members of the society. But, interest groups are solely concerned with the specific interests of their members only. In other words, the scope of pressure groups is wider than that of the interest groups.
- Pressure groups use pressure techniques for influencing the formulation and administration of public policy. On the other hand, interest groups, have faith in mutual cooperation and persuasive methods among the members to fulfill their interests. Thus, pressure groups are pressure-focused while interests groups are interest-

oriented.

- Every pressure group is an interest group but every interest group is not a pressure group. It is because the interest groups are always concerned with the interests of members only. The pressure groups think not only about their members but also about the larger public interests.

It is thus, clear from the above explanation that pressure groups are different from interest groups in many aspects. However, it can be said that there is no organic difference between the two groups. Both pressure and interest groups are essential for smooth functioning of the government especially in a democratic political system.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 9: Write two differences between pressure groups and interest groups.

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ACTIVITY 11.2

"Pressure and interest groups are essential for the development of democratic political environment". Try to present make arguments both for and against it.

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11.6 LET US SUM UP

- Pressure groups and interest groups play an important role in modern political system. In every political system, especially in a democratic political system, these groups are found to be working outside the government or existing party system.
- Pressure groups have specific sectional or localized interests.

- They do not attempt to place its members in formal governmental capacities. Their main aim is to influence the government to protect their interests without capturing political power.
- The different types of pressure groups are : Associational pressure groups, Non-Associational pressure groups, Institutional pressure groups and Anomic pressure groups.
- Interest groups, like pressure groups, play a significant role in any political system.

  Generally, an interest group is an organised group of individuals and it wants to Influence public policy.
- Interest groups have specific interests on the basis of which they perform their activities.
- Interest groups try to influence the legislature to promote, withdraw or repeal legislation. Interest groups employ lobbying tactics to get their demands met.
- The different types of interest groups are: Associational or Professional Interest Groups, Business Interest Groups, Cause Interest Groups, Linguistic Interest Groups, Religious Interest Groups and Tribal Interest Groups.
- There are differences between pressure groups and interest groups.



11.7 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: According to H. Zeigler, "Pressure group is an organised aggregate that seek to influence the context of the governments decisions without attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities."

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Robert Dahl.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: a) Associational Pressure Groups: Associational pressure groups are the groups which represent the interests of a particular category of persons. Such groups have specific identity having their own names, offices and professional employees. They follow certain principles to protect and fulfill their interests. In this regard, we may cite as examples the various labour associations, business and professional groups, students' organisations and so on.

b) Anomic Pressure Groups: Anomic pressure groups are spontaneously formed interest group. They are concerned with a specific issue. In other words, these groups are formed to protest some specific policies of the government without having any pre-plan or organisation. Thus, anomic groups can be termed as the groups which emerge without any specific efforts to protest against a particular policy of the government. For example, the people coming together at the time of procession, riots, protest movements etc.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: a) Pressure groups act as the representatives of some people and present various needs and demands of the citizens in an organised way. Without pressure groups, citizens will not be able to fulfill their demands as per their needs.

b) Pressure groups are also essential to control the autocratic rule of the government. It is the pressure groups which can control the activities of the government that go against the welfare of the citizens.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: According to David Truman "Interest group is a shared attitude that make certain claims upon or through institutions of government."

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Schaefer and Lamm.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: (a) Associational or Professional Interest Groups:

These groups are related with professional interests. The members of these groups join together to share or promote professional interests. They represent a section of society like workers, consumers etc.

(b) Business Interest Groups:

This is one of the major interest groups in any political system. They are mainly concerned with the Planning Commission, Economic Ministries etc. and try to influence them to protect and promote business interests. These groups are playing important role due to the increasing concept of liberalization, privatisation and globalization.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: a) Interest groups, especially public interest groups serve a useful role in protesting the undue influence of rich and powerful individuals and remind the demand and needs of the common citizens before the government.

b) Interest groups are necessary to control the autocratic rule of the government. Like the Pressure groups, it is the interest groups which can control the activities of the government that go against the welfare of the citizens.

Ans. to Q. No.9: a) Pressure groups depend much more on spontaneous participation of the masses. But, this not in case of interest groups. They never depend on spontaneous participation of the masses.

b) Every pressure group is an interest group but every interest group is not a pressure group. It is because the interest groups are always concerned with the interests of its members only. The pressure groups think not only about its members but also about public interests.



11.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions:

Q. 1: Mention any two types of pressure groups?

Q. 2: Mention any two types of interest groups?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words).

Q. 1: Write briefly about the meaning of pressure groups.

Q. 2: Write any four differences between pressure and interest groups.

Q. 3: Discuss two merits and two demerits of interest groups.

C) Long Questions: (Answer each question in about 300-500 words).

Q. 1: Define pressure groups. What are the different types of pressure groups?

Q. 2: Define interest groups. What are the different types of interest groups?

Q. 3: Discuss the role and importance of pressure and interest groups in a democracy.

Q. 4: Examine the differences between pressure groups and interest groups.

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UNIT 12: POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Meaning and Definitions of Political Socialisation

12.4 Agents of Political Socialisation

12.5 Importance of Political Socialisation

12.6 Let Us Sum Up

12.7 Further Reading

12.8 Answer to Check Your Progress

12.9 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through the unit, you will be able to -

- explain the meaning of political socialisation,
- discuss the importance of political socialisation,
- analyze the role of various agents those contribute in the process of political socialisation of an individual.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

One of the major problems which confront all political systems is how to prepare the members of the system for the political responsibilities. Therefore the concept of political socialisation is the most relevant one in the discipline of Political Science. The concept of political socialisation has attracted the attention of political scientists since very early times. The ancient Greek philosopher Plato laid emphasis on the process of political socialisation through his idea of communisms of property and family. Aristotle showed keen interest in the process of political socialisation and put emphasis on civic education. However, with the rise of Christianity, politics began to be considered as primarily a matter of morality and civic education. It was not given any importance till the middle of the 20th century. However

in the modern period the issue of political socialisation has received much attention. In contemporary discourse the concept of political socialisation has become a very important issue as it is through this process of political socialisation that citizens of a country can become aware of the political system and process of their country. In this unit we will discuss about the meaning, agents and importance of political socialisation.

12.3 MEANING AND DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

The term 'Political Socialisation' is generally used to describe the process of formation of political values, attitudes and beliefs. The process of political socialisation is a continuous process. The process of political socialisation goes on throughout the life of the individual. It starts in childhood and comes to an end only with the death of an individual. It includes all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate as well as unplanned, which cover the whole span of an individual's life.

One of the basic objectives of the process of political socialisation is to transmit political values from one generation to another and to bring about political stability. Political socialisation introduces values, norms and orientation in the minds of individuals so that they develop trust in their political system. Political socialisation shapes and transmits a nation's political culture. There are different viewpoints regarding the definitions of political socialisation. Some of the important definitions of political socialisation are as follows:

According to the American Political Scientists Gabriel Almond and G.B.Powell "Political Socialisation is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed". [Verma, S.P. (1980). Modern Political Theory. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House] According to the American Political Scientists Easton and Dennis, "Political socialisation is that development process by which persons acquire political orientation and pattern of behaviour". (Mahajan, V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand).

The view of J.Austin Ranney, an American political scientist, is that, political socialisation generally means socialisation of masses, the process

by which ordinary people develop their attitudes towards their political system (Gogoi, P. (2007). Degree Political Theory. Guwahati: Banalata Publication).

English Political Scientist Allan R. Ball defines political socialisation as establishment and development of beliefs about the political system. (Gogoi, P. (2007). Degree Political Theory. Guwahati: Banalata Publication)

American political scientist Roberta Siegel says that political socialisation 'is the gradual learning of the norms, attitudes and behaviour acceptable to the ongoing political system' (Mahajan, V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand).

After analysing the above mentioned definitions, we can sum-up that political socialisation refers to the process through which an individual becomes acquainted with the political system and helps in determining his or her reaction to political phenomena. It is a learning process by which individuals are trained to become well functioning members of a political community.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1: Political socialisation is a lifelong process. (True/False)

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Q. 2: 'Political socialisation is that development process by which persons acquire political orientation and pattern of behaviour'- who said?

.....

Q. 3: State the definition of political socialisation provided by J Austin Ranney.

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Q. 4: Mention one of the objectives of political socialisation.

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12.4 AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

The process of political socialisation is a continuous process which starts at the very early stage of an individual. A number of agents play significant role in this process. The main agents of political socialisation can be discussed as follows:

- **Family:** The family is the first important agency of political socialisation. It exercises both latent and manifest influence on the child from the very beginning of his life. Family through its authority, structure and decision making process plays a significant part in developing a person's orientation towards authority and obedience in the political sphere. In the family mother, father, brothers and sisters exercise their influence over the child. American political scientist Robert Lane says that the family provides the foundations of the political beliefs of a child in three ways, such as- by overt and covert indoctrination, by placing the child in a particular social context, and by moulding the child's family in the process of political socialisation. As the basic and innate requirements of the child are satisfied by the family he or she tends to identify himself or herself with his or her parents and adopt their outlook towards the political system.
- **School:** The educational institution also exercises immense influence upon the child. Children getting education in a particular educational institution may develop a particular kind of frame of mind. Every school has a definite educational pattern which greatly influences the attitude of the child towards the political system. Allen R. Barec says that, "the educational system has important effects on the process of socialisation. The values imparted by school and universities may not be the result of direct political indoctrination, but are nonetheless important".
- **Religious institution:** Religious institution also plays an important role in the process of political socialisation of individuals. The importance of religious institution in shaping political belief and value has been prevailing since the early time. In the medieval period, church

played a vital role in the political process of European countries. In the contemporary period also different kinds of religious practices of different religions continuously moulded political values in the society and thus play important role in the political socialisation of individuals.

- **Peer Groups:** The peer group is a group of people approximately of the same age. The members of the peer groups share similar problems. In addition to parents and teachers, most of the people spend a great deal of their lives in the company of peer groups. These groups become increasingly important as it influences on political attitude and behaviour of an individual. These groups include organizations like student unions, branches of political parties etc. The peer groups exercises deep impact on the mental attitude of the individual and play a great role in the process of political socialisation of individuals.
- **Experiences in employment:** Another agent of political socialisation is work place related experiences. Each individual encounters different ideas and experiences at his or her work place during the course of his or her employment. Every employee comes into contact with people of different communities at his or her work place. An employee develops specific orientations by way of his or her participation in unions, demonstrations, collective bargaining and negotiations and in decision making processes of the organisation. Informal groups of employees exert influence on the attitude of their members towards political objects and events.
- **Mass-media:** Mass-media is one of the important agents of political socialisation. The channels of mass communication such as newspapers, radio, television etc are very powerful media of political socialisation and exercise a deep impact on the personality of the individual. These channels of communication provide lots of information about political happenings and thus help in the process of political socialisation of individuals. By observing the important role played by the mass media, Lucian Pye remarked, "Socialisation through the mass media is best short run technique available and it is crucial to modernisation".

- **Political parties and Pressure groups:** Political parties and pressure groups also act as an agent of political socialisation. These influence the process of political socialisation in a big way. Individual's orientation to politics is often conditioned by direct contact with the political parties. His or her relationship with political parties, pressure groups and influential leader determine his or her attitude towards politics. The political parties and pressure groups have a great role in shaping public opinion of the people and thus play a very significant role in the process of political socialisation of the people.
- **Impact of Political System:** A particular political system, which is prevailing in a country, also greatly influences the process of political socialisation. Different kinds of socialisation can take place in different circumstances. For example, people will adopt co-operative attitude towards the authorities if the political system operates in the interest of public welfare. On the other hand, people are bound to be alienated if the political system goes against people's demands. Almond and Powell expressed views regarding the impact of the political system on the process of political socialisation. According to them, 'no matter how positive the view of political system which has been included by family and school, when a citizen is ignored by his party, cheated by his police, starved in the bread line, and finally conscripted into the army, his views on the political realm are likely to be altered'.
- **Symbols:** Symbols also play an effective role in the political socialisation of individuals. The observation of birth days or martyrdom days of national heroes like Mahatma Gandhi, Lachit Barphukan, Bhagat Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai and others inculcates a new spirit among the youths and inspire them to work for the nation.

12.5 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL SOCIALISATION

Political socialisation is one of the major concepts of modern political science. The importance of political socialisation has been recognised by all sections of the society. Political socialisation reflects the process by which

the individual learns to confirm to the norms of the group in the political context. In establishing a strong political culture and in maintaining the political stability of a country; the role played by the process of political socialisation is of crucial importance. Political culture of a particular society largely depends on political socialisation. Political socialisation process is also important for the politicians or leaders to understand the peculiarities of the political system. It is also essential for the understanding of political stability and development of a country. Political socialisation has great value, specifically in modern complex society. It helps in studying society in a scientific way. Knowledge about human society is needed in order to achieve progress in various fields. Political socialisation helps us to know about the social nature of men. It examines the relationship between individual, society and political system of a particular country. In this way the process of political socialisation carries a lot of significance in modern society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 5: What do you mean by peer group?.

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Q. 6: What are the important agents of political socialisation?

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Q. 7: Write briefly about the role of family as an agent of political socialisation. (within 75 words)

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Q. 8: Write a short note on the role of the mass media in the process of political socialisation. (within 75 words)

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12.6 LET US SUM UP

- The concept of 'political socialisation' is generally used to describe the process of formation of political values, attitudes and beliefs.
- The process of political socialisation is a continuous process. It starts in childhood and continues throughout the life of the individuals.
- One of the basic objectives of the process of political socialisation is to transmit political values from one generation to another and to bring about political stability.
- There are some important agents of political socialisation, such as - family, educational institutions, religious institutions, peer groups, employment experience, mass media, political parties and pressure groups, symbols, impact of political systems.
- The family is the first important agency of political socialisation. It exercises both latent and manifest influence on the child from the very beginning of his life. Family through its authority, structure and decision making process plays a significant part in developing a person's orientation towards authority and obedience in the political sphere.
- The educational institution also exercises immense influence upon the child. Children getting education in a particular educational institution may develop a particular kind of frame of mind. Every school has a definite educational pattern which greatly influences the attitude of the child towards a system.
- Religious institution also plays an important role in the process of

political socialisation of individuals. The importance of religious institution in shaping political belief and value has been prevailing since the early time. In the medieval period, church played a vital role in the political process of European countries. In the contemporary period also different kinds of religious practices of different religions continuously moulded political values in the society and thus play important role in the political socialisation of individuals.

- The peer group is a group of people approximately of the same age. These groups become increasingly important as they influence political attitude and behaviour of an individual. The peer groups exercises deep impact on the mental attitude of the individual and play a great role in the process of political socialisation of individuals.
- Another agent of political socialisation is work place related experiences. An employee develops specific orientations by way of his or her participation in unions, demonstrations, collective bargaining and negotiations and in decision making processes of the organisation. Informal groups of employees exert influence on the attitude of their members towards political objects and events.
- Mass-media is one of the important agents of political socialisation. The channels of mass communication such as newspapers, radio, television etc are very powerful media of political socialisation and exercise a deep impact on the personality of the individual. These channels of communication provide lots of information about political happenings and thus help in the process of political socialisation of individuals.
- Political parties and pressure groups also act as an agent of political socialisation. These influence the process of political socialisation in a big way. An Individual's orientation to politics is often conditioned by direct contact with political parties. Political parties and pressure groups have a great role in shaping public opinion and thus play a very significant role in the process of political socialisation of the people.
- A particular political system, which is prevailing in a country, also greatly influences the process of political socialisation. Different kind of

socialisation can take place in different circumstances. For example, people will adopt co-operative attitude towards the authorities if the political system operates in the interest of public welfare. On the other hand, people are bound to be alienated if the political system goes against their demands.

- Symbols also play an effective role in the political socialisation of individuals. The observation of birth days or martyrdom days of national heroes like Mahatma Gandhi, Lachit Barphukan, Bhagat Singh, Subhash Chandra Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai and others inculcates a new spirit among the youth and inspire them to work for the nation.
- We cannot ignore the importance of political socialisation in establishing a strong political culture and in maintaining the political stability of a country. The role played by the process of political socialisation is of great importance.
- Political socialisation has a great value specifically in modern complex society. It helps in studying society in a scientific way. Political socialisation helps us to know about the social nature of men. It examines the relationship between individual, society and political system of a particular country.



12.7 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chands & Company Ltd.

2) Ashraf, A & Sharma, L.N. (2007). Political Sociology. Hyderabad: Universities Press (India) Private Limited.

3) Chakraborty, S (ed) (2005). Political Sociology. Delhi: Macmillan Publications.

4) Gogoi, P. (2007). Degree Political Theory. Guwahati: Banalata Publication.

5) Mahajan, V.D. (2008). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chands & Company Ltd.

6) Mukhi, H.R. (2008). Political Sociology. Delhi: SBD Publisher's Distributors.

7) Ralhan, S.S. & Lambat, S.R. (2006). Political Sociology. Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers.



12.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: American Political Scientists Easton and Dennis

Ans to Q No 3: Political socialisation generally means socialisation of masses, the process by which ordinary people develop their attitudes towards their political system.

Ans to Q No 4: One of the basic objectives of the process of political socialisation is to transmit political values from one generation to another and to bring about political stability.

Ans to Q No 5: The peer group is a group of people approximately of the same age. The members of the peer groups share similar problems

Ans to Q No 6: Family, educational institutions, religious institutions, peer groups, employment experience, mass media, political parties and pressure groups, symbols, impact of political system.

Ans to Q No 7: The family is the first important agency of political socialisation. It exercises both latent and manifest influence on the child from the very beginning of his life. Family through its authority, structure and decision making process plays a significant part in developing a person's orientation towards authority and obedience in the political sphere. In the family mother, father, brothers and sisters exercise their influence over the child. American political scientist Robert Lane says that the family provides the foundations of the political beliefs of a child in three ways, such as- by overt and covert indoctrination, by placing the child in a particular social context, and by moulding the child's family in the process of political socialisation.

As the basic and innate requirements of the child are satisfied by the family he or she tends to identify himself or herself with his or her parents and adopt their outlook towards the political system.

Ans to Q No 8: Mass-media is one of the important agents of political socialisation. The channels of mass communication such as newspapers, radio, television etc are very powerful media of political socialisation and exercise a deep impact on the personality of the individual. These channels of communication provide lots of information about political happenings and thus help in the process of political socialisation of individuals. By observing the important role played by mass media, Lucian Pye remarked, "Socialisation through the mass media is best short run technique available and it is crucial to modernisation".



12.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: Mention the definition of political socialisation provided by Almond and Powell.

Q. 2: Mention any two important agents of political socialisation.

B) Short Questions (answer each question in around 150 words)

Q.1: What do you mean by political socialisation?

Q.2: Write about the importance of political socialisation.

C) Long Questions (answer question in around 300-500 words)

Q.1: Explain the meaning and importance of political socialisation.

Q.2: Discuss the role played by various agents in the process of political socialisation.

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UNIT 13: POLITICAL CULTURE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Political Culture

- 13.3.1 Meaning and Definitions of Political Culture
- 13.3.2 Kinds of Political Culture
- 13.3.3 Importance of Study of Political Culture

13.4 Political Participation

- 13.4.1 Meaning of Political Participation
- 13.4.2 Determinants of Political Participation

13.5 Let Us Sum Up

13.6 Further Reading

13.7 Answer to Check Your Progress

13.8 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of political culture and political participation
- describe the kinds of political culture
- analyze the importance of study of political culture
- discuss determinants of political participation.

13.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we discussed the concept of political socialisation. Along with it, two other important issues, associated with the discipline of Political Science, are political culture and political participation. These two concepts became popular only after the end of the World War II. If we want to have a deeper understanding of the nature and functioning of the political system of a country, then understanding and knowledge of the political

culture and political participation of that particular country are very important. There is a close relationship between political culture and political participation. Strong political culture is always very much conducive for active political participation. In this unit efforts will be made to discuss the concepts of political culture and political participation in detail.

13.3 POLITICAL CULTURE

The concept of political culture is comparatively of recent origin. Political culture is considered to be the beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviour of the people towards a political system. It is necessary to know the political culture of a nation in order to understand the political system of that nation. It is primarily concerned with the study of political attitudes, behaviours and thinking of the people in their actual cultural working. In the following sections we shall discuss the meaning, kinds and importance of the study of political culture.

13.3.1 Meaning and Definitions of Political Culture

Political culture is dependent on the attitudes and beliefs of the people towards the political system. It is the product of several inter-related factors, such as history, geography and socio-economic conditions. The political culture of a society is symbolised by its national flag and national anthem. The term 'political culture' was used, for the first time, by Gabriel Almond. The concept of political culture was discussed in a detailed manner by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba in the book "The Civic Culture" (Gogoi, P. (2007). Degree Political Theory. Guwahati: Banalata Publication, page 533). Almond observed that every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientation to political actions.

There are different viewpoints regarding the meaning of political culture. To have a better understanding of the meaning of political culture, first it will be important to refer to some of the definitions of political culture as given by scholars. Some of the

important definitions of political culture are as follows:

According to American political scientist Sidney Verba, "Political culture consists of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values which define the situation in which political action takes place" (Gogoi, P. (2007). Degree Political Theory. Guwahati: Banalata Publication, page 533).

In the words of American political scientist Eric Rowe, "A political culture is a pattern of individual values, beliefs and emotional attitudes" (Mahajan, V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chands, Page No 190).

According to American political scientists Gabriel Almond and G.B.Powell, "Political culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, values and skills which are current in an entire population as well as those special propensities and patterns which may be found within separate parts of that population" (Gogoi, P. (2007). Degree Political Theory. Guwahati: Banalata Publication, page 533).

In the words of American political scientist Heinz Eulan, "Political culture refers to the patterns that can be inferred from the political behaviour of groups as well as the beliefs, guiding principles, purposes and values that the individuals in a group, whatever its size, hold in common" (Mahajan, V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand, Page No 190).

The International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences defines political culture "as the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in a political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity. Political culture is thus the manifestation in aggregate forms of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics" (Mahajan, V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand, Page No 191).

By summing up all the above mentioned definitions, we can say that political culture generally refers to individual orientations

towards the political system of his or her country. It refers to the political beliefs and attitude held by an individual. The concept of political culture is not static. It is rather dynamic and keeps on changing in response to the needs of the political system from time to time.

13.3.2 Kinds of Political Culture

- Almond and Powell have classified political culture in three ways: parochial political culture, subject political culture and participant political culture.
  - Parochial Political Culture: Parochial political culture refers to those cultures where people have little awareness and in some cases are ignorant of their political system. These sections of people are basically found in a backward society. The parochial political culture basically prevails in Central African region.
  - Subject Political Culture: Subject political culture refers to that political culture where people are conscious about the nature and working of their political system, but they cannot take part in the political system of their country. Here the individuals may have no specific knowledge of the ways in which they can influence the political system. This kind of political culture generally exists in absolute monarchical form of government.
  - Participant Political Culture: The participant political culture exists in highly developed societies. In this kind of society people take an active part in political life. In society, where participant political culture exists, people actively take part in the political affairs of the state. Under such culture people are engaged in the process of making demands from the political system and are involved in the making of decisions.

- Besides this classification, there are some other kinds of political cultures. Such as-
  - Mixed Political Culture: Mixed political culture refers to that political culture where features of parochial political culture, subject political culture and participant political culture are found. These three aspects of political culture may combine in one single political culture.
  - Civic Political Culture: This kind of political culture basically exists in those societies where decision making powers are in the hands of the representative of the people. Here the common people do not participate in the political process of the country directly. In a democratic form of society this kind of political culture exists. Here people express their sentiments and wills only through their representatives.
  - Secular Political Culture: Secular Political Culture exists in a society where people are secular, rational and analytical in character. Secular Political Culture basically put emphasis upon dynamic orientation of the system.
  - Ideological Political Culture: In societies where people have to accept only one ideology, there exists the ideological political culture. In such society people cannot follow any other ideology of their own. In the countries like Soviet Union, China etc we can see the existence of such political culture.
  - Homogeneous Political Culture: Homogeneous political culture refers to that political culture where people hold similar views about political objectives and the means for their attainment. Homogeneous Political Culture exists in developed countries like United States and England.
  - Fragmented Political Culture: Fragmented Political Culture exists in a country where the people do not hold similar views about political objects. The societies where

there are many political parties, this kind of political culture exists. For example- countries like France, Italy, and India have fragmented political culture.

13.3.3 Importance of the Study of Political Culture

The significance of the study of political culture is recognised by all sections of scholars. Scholars have pointed out a number of usefulness of the study of political culture. The study of political culture helps us to understand the process of political socialisation. It also informs us about how political ideas and values are transmitted from one generation to another. Again study of political culture enables us to understand the political development of a society. It also helps us to understand the connection between social and economic factors of a region. Political culture is also helpful in developing political behaviour of individual. Another advantage of the study of political culture is that it helps us to study individual psychology. To study individual psychology, political culture is considered to be very effective. The study of political culture also helps in explaining the process of constitutionalism. Study of political culture enables us to understand about different kinds of constitutional laws and rules and regulations of an established society. People observe and evaluate constitutional laws differently in the context of different political cultures and political ideologies. To understand the attitude of citizens towards the political system, study of political culture is very much effective. After going through the study of political culture, we are able to understand about the exact nature of human being as a political animal.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1: Who used the term 'political culture' for the first time?

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Q. 2: State the definition of political culture provided by Eric Rowe.

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Q. 3: Mention the classification of political culture as provided by Almond and Powell.

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Q. 4: What do you mean by participant political culture?

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Q. 5: Mention the names of two countries where ideological political culture prevail.

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Q. 6: Write any two points showing the significance of the study of political culture.

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13.4 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Another important concept associated with the discipline of political science is political participation. The success of political system of any country depends on the political participation of the people of that particular country. So a detailed knowledge of the concept of political participation is very important. In this section we shall discuss the meaning and determinants of political participation.

13.4.1 Meaning of Political Participation

In democratic form of government, political participation is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn and rulers are made accountable to the ruled. Political participation refers to direct or indirect involvement of people in the political process of their country. The political participation indicates not only direct participation in politics but also participation in demonstration, association, organisation, protest participation etc. Political participation may also involve criticism of the government and thus it keeps the government accountable to the people. From country to country the extent of political participation differs. This is due to the fact that political participation does not depend upon the democratic political system alone but is also influenced by so many other factors.

There are different viewpoints regarding the meaning of political participation. But before we understand the meaning of political participation, first it will be important to refer to some of the significant definitions of political participation as given by political philosophers. Some of the important definitions of political participation are as follows:

According to American social scientists Sidney Verba and Norman Nie "Political participation will refer to those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers, and directly and indirectly in the formation and influencing of public policy". (Chakraborty, S (ed) (2005). Political Sociology. Delhi: Macmillan Publications, page 363).

According to American political scientist Samuel P. Hungtington and American scholar Joan M. Nelson "Political participation is the activity by which private citizens designed to influence governmental decision-making" (Chakraborty, S (ed) (2005). Political Sociology. Delhi: Macmillan Publications, page 363).

American political scientists D.R. Matthews and J.W. Protho

defined political participation as "all behaviour through which people directly express their political opinions". (Ashraf, A & Sharma, L.N. (2007). Political Sociology. Hyderabad: Universities Press (India) Private Limited. Page No-142)

By summing up these definitions we can come to the conclusion that political participation indicates the involvement of individuals and groups of individuals at various levels in the political system. It generally refers to voluntary activity through which individuals or group of individuals try to affect the decision-making process of their country.

13.4.2 Determinants of Political Participation

Political participation is considered to be a complex activity involving several factors. These factors change according to time and place. The important determinants of political participation are as follows:

- ***Psychological factors:*** One important factor which determines the extent of political participation is psychological factor of the individual. The most important psychological factors those determine political participation are as follows:
  - **Loneliness:** Through political participation people get the chance to interact with each other that create a bond of friendship and thus they can avoid their loneliness. So many times people want to participate in the affair of the state to get rid of loneliness.
  - **Unconscious conflicts and tensions:** Besides loneliness, political participation is determined by unconscious conflicts and tensions. Politics is an important means of releasing unconscious tensions and conflicts.
  - **Urge for power:** An important determinant of political participation is the urge for power. Human being always seeks power because he or she finds happiness in being powerful.

- ***Social factors:*** Besides the psychological factors, social factors are also important determinants of political participation. Social factors are part of the social environment of a person. The most important of such factors are - education, occupation, income, age, residence, mobility, sex, religion, race, class etc. The important social factors are-
  - **Education:** Education is the most important social factor influencing political participation of individual. This influence is due to the fact that education widens person's field of interests. The educated person is more conscious towards the duties and responsibilities of the citizen. He or she has more self confidence and ability. Education, thus, increases meaningful political participation of individuals.
  - **Occupation or Profession:** Occupation or profession of the individual is also considered as one of the important determinants of political participation. In some occupations most of the persons have to face identical problems which bring them close to one another. These people take more part in the affairs of the state.
  - **Income:** Besides, education and occupation, income has an important influence upon political participation of individuals. Economic stability provides more leisure, diminishes anxieties and gives more occasions for political participation.
  - **Social factors:** Social factors also influence political participation. For instance in a patriarchal society, women are prevented from taking part in political processes and hence, political participation of women is lower as compared to men.
  - **Religion:** Religion is also an important determinant of political participation. For example, attitude towards family planning is very much influenced by Church in the West.

In India also, whenever effort is made to legislate for members of a particular religion, there is more political participation of the followers of that religion towards such efforts.

- ***Political factors:*** There are also some political factors which are considered to be important determinants of political participation. Such important political factors are-
  - **Attitudes of the government:** The attitude of the government is an important factor that determines the extent of political participation of the people of that country. The government should keep constant communication with the people through various means. The policies of the government should be transparent.
  - **Political parties:** Political parties also play an important role in political participation. The political parties take the opinion of the people to the government. They are the media of the expression of the demands of the people. They highlight political problems and suggest remedies. They extend political education and encourage people to participate in the affairs of the country.
  - **Elections:** The system and process of elections also influence political participation of the people. Different kinds of activities of election process and people's response to these activities work as a determinant of political participation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 7: Mention the social factors that determine the extent of political participation of individuals.

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Q. 8: Mention the definition of political participation provided by Samuel P. Huntington.

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Q. 9: Write briefly about elections and political parties as determinants of political participation. (within 75 words)

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13.5 LET US SUM UP

- Political culture is considered to be the beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviour of the people towards a political system. It is necessary to know the political culture of a nation in order to understand the political system of that nation.
- The term 'political culture' was used, for the first time, by Gabriel Almond. The concept of political culture was discussed in a detailed manner by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba in the book "The Civic Culture".
- Almond and Powell have provided three-fold classification of political culture: parochial political culture, subject political culture and participant political culture. Besides this classification, there are some other kinds of political cultures. These are- mixed political culture, civic political culture, secular political culture, ideological political culture, homogeneous political culture, fragmented political culture.
- Scholars have pointed out a number of benefits of the study of political culture. The study of political culture helps us to understand the process of political socialisation and the political development of a society. Political culture is also helpful in developing political behaviour of individuals. Another advantage of the study of political culture is that it

helps us to study individual psychology. The study of political culture also helps in explaining the process of constitutionalism.

- Another important concept associated with the discipline of political science is political participation. Political participation refers to direct or indirect involvement of people in the political process of their country. The political participation indicates not only direct participation in politics but also participation in demonstration, association, organisation, protest participation etc.
- The determinants of political participation can be classified, in broader sense, into three categories- psychological factors, social factors, political factors. Psychological factors include- loneliness, unconscious conflicts and tensions, urge for power. Social factors include- education, occupation, income, age, residence, mobility, sex, religion, race, class etc. The important political factors that determine the extent of political participation are- attitudes of the government, political parties, election system.



13.6 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory.* New Delhi: S. Chands & Company Ltd.
2) Ashraf, A & Sharma, L.N. (2007). *Political Sociology*. Hyderabad: Universities Press (India) Private Limited.
3) Chakraborty, S (ed) (2005). *Political Sociology.* Delhi: Macmillan Publications.
4) Gogoi, P. (2007). *Degree Political Theory*. Guwahati: Banalata Publication.
5) Mahajan, V.D. (2008). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chands & Company Ltd.
6) Mukhi, H.R. (2008). *Political Sociology*. Delhi: SBD Publisher's Distributors.
7) Ralhan, S.S. & Lambat, S.R. (2006). *Political Sociology*. Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers.

13.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No1: Gabriel Almond

Ans to Q. No 2: A political culture is a pattern of individual values, beliefs and emotional attitudes.

Ans to Q. No 3: Parochial political culture, subject political culture and participant political culture.

Ans to Q. No 4: Participant political culture refers to that political culture where people take an active part in political life. In society, where participant political culture exists, people actively take part in the political affairs of the state. Under such culture people are engaged in the process of making demands from the political system and are involved in the making of decisions.

Ans to Q. No 5: Soviet Union and China

Ans to Q. No 6: (i) The study of political culture helps us to understand the process of political socialisation.

(ii) The study of political culture enables us to understand the political development of a society.

Ans to Q. No 7: Education, occupation, income, age, residence, mobility, sex, religion, race, class etc.

Ans to Q. No 8: Political participation is the activity through which private citizens try to influence governmental decision-making.

Ans to Q. No 9: Political parties: Political parties play an important role in political participation. The political parties take the opinion of the people to the government. They are the media of the expression of the demands of the people. They highlight political problems and suggest remedies. They extend political education and encourage people to participate in the affairs of the country.

Elections: The system and process of elections also influence political participation of the people. Different kinds of activities of

election process and people's response to these activities work as a determinant of political participation.



13.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: Who wrote the book "The Civic Culture"?

Q.2: State the definition of political culture provided by Almond and Powell.

Q.3: Mention the definition of political participation provided by Sidney Verba and Norman Nie.

B) Short Questions (answer each question in around 150 words)

Q.1: Write briefly about the meaning of political culture.

Q.2: Write about the concept of political participation.

Q.3: Explain the significance of the study of political culture.

C) Long Questions (answer each question in around 300-500 words)

Q.1: Discuss the various kinds of political culture.

Q.2: Examine the factors that act as the determinants of the political participation of individuals.

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UNIT 14 : POLITICAL MODERNISATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Political Modernisation

14.3.1 Agents of Political Modernisation

14.4 Political Development

14.5 Let Us Sum Up

14.6 Further Reading

14.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.8 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of political modernisation
- discuss the agents of political modernisation
- explain the meaning of political development
- discuss Almond and Powell's view and Lucian Pye's view of of political development.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we shall learn about two very important concepts which human societies pass through, namely, the concepts of political modernisation and political development. Political modernisation involves changes in a range of spheres covering social, cultural, economic and psychological dimensions. Political Development involves elements of state building and wider political participation.

14.3 POLITICAL MODERNISATION

Before we discuss political modernisation, it is essential to learn about the concept of modernisation. Modernisation implies change in all fields ranging from social, cultural and economic to political and psychological fields. Accordingly, modernisation implies the progress on the part of the majority of people of a country, from their traditional way of life to the modern way of life.Such social mobility leads to new types of social transformation, increasing literacy, adoption of new technology, urbanisation and industrialisation.

The concept of political modernisation needs to be understood against this overall backdrop of modernization. With the movement from the traditional to the modern, the old feudal and religious authorities gave way to a more secular and democratic political authority based on a set of legal rules embodied in the form of a constitution. Under political development, there occurs structural-functional specialization, characterised by the existence of a definite political institution to perform a definite role. For instance, the executive branch of the government would perform executive functions, the legislative branch would be entrusted with the power of legislation, while the judicial branch of the government would have the power to adjudicate disputes.

At the same time, democratic values based on the concepts of liberty and equality began to strike roots, paving the way for people's participation in the political process and institutions. The main criterion for participation in the political system is individual merit and dignity of the human personality. ***Parochial*** loyalties based on caste, creed, ethnicity, race and gender are substituted by universal democratic principles based on merit, equality, freedom and secularism in the public sphere. People then began to identify themselves with national interests. Various organisations including political parties, interest groups and other groups are formed to raise people's demands and mobilise public opinion. Thus, political modernisation contributes to the growth of national identity bound by a spirit of national belongingness. Also a shift from a parochial political culture to a universal



Parochial: Having a narrow outlook or perspective.

political culture takes place based on secularism and democracy in all spheres of public life.

Political modernisation is also characterised by the spread and development of modern techniques of mass media including newspapers, television and radio broadcasts and usage of internet and social media. As a result, people become enlightened and politically conscious and start taking active part in politics. Generally speaking, the process of political modernisation in terms of democracy, industrialisation, secularisation and rationalism started in Western Europe in the 16th century and subsequently had spread to other parts of the world.

14.3.1 Agents of Political Modernisation

Political Modernisation is shaped by several agents. These are as discussed below:

- **Colonialism:** One of the important agents of modernisation is colonialism. Most of the European countries set up colonies in Asia and Africa. The colonialists built roads, bridges, railways, telegraph and telephone services, banks, processing plants, oil and natural gas, refineries and other necessary infrastructure in order to gain better control over the colonies and exploit their natural resources. However, when these countries gained independence, the infrastructural developments laid down by the earlier colonial powers were utilised by the national leaders of the newly independent countries to further modernise their countries.
- **Elite:** The colonialists set up educational institutions including schools and colleges to impart modern western education so as to create a class of people who would be western and liberal in outlook and tastes. After independence, this new elite class of people would serve as agents of social change in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres.
- **Military leaders:** In some newly independent countries, military leaders manage to seize power. After consolidating their control

over the country, these leaders embark upon the task of modernisation. ***Secessionist*** and disintegrating tendencies are curbed by the military rulers who try to strengthen unity among the people. For instance, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk captured power in Turkey and undertook the task of modernisation and national unity.



***Secessionism*:** The act of formally withdrawing from a political union or federation of states.

- **Political Parties:** Political parties also serve as agents of political modernisation as they raise various issues of national and local importance and enable the citizens to take part in the public sphere.They also try to create a spirit of patriotism and nationalism.Thus, political parties help generate political consciousness among the masses and mobilise the people around various issues relating to governance and development.
- **Bureaucracy:** Generally, the national governments of the newly independent countries undertake various programmes to modernise their countries. In such a context, the national governments are bound to rely on the bureaucracy in order to implement such programmes. The bureaucracy on its part is expected to remain committed to the principles enshrined in the Constitution based on the principles of equality and social justice.

It may be mentioned here, that ideally political modernisation is related to democracy and as such, the single most important factor leading to political modernisation is the spread of democracy. Democratic values need to be imbibed starting at the level of the "family" to the level of individual groups and communities leading to the level of the society at large. Democratic values spontaneously lead to political modernisation as citizens start giving precedence to more universal principles of liberalism, secularism, merit, equality and fraternity rather than loyalties of caste and creed, ethnicity and gender.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Mention any two agents of Political Modernisation.

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Q 2: Political modernisation contributes to the growth of national identity bound by a spirit of national belongingness. (True/False)

.....

Q 3: In Political Modernisation, parochial loyalties are substituted by …….. democratic principles in the public sphere.(Fill in the blank)

Q 4: Political modernisation is not characterised by the spread and development of modern techniques of mass media. (True/False)

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Q 5: Discuss the military and political parties as agents of political modernisation. (within 75 words)

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14.4 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The origin of the concept of political development is associated with the developing countries of Asia and Africa. Most of these countries secured independence after the Second World War. These countries subsequently attracted the attention of many political scientists, especially from America. The names of Lucian Pye, Myron Weiner, David Apter, F.W.Riggs may be mentioned in this context.

The following broad definitions of political development were given by two eminent scholars:

According to the American scholars Rostow and Pye political development aims at "national unity and broadening of the base of political participation." (Political Theory-R C Agarwal, p.452)

American political scientist Alfred Diamant holds that "……. political development is not a process which aims at achieving a particular political condition, but one which creates an institutional framework for solving an ever widening range of social problems." (Political Theory-R C Agarwal, p.452)

However, Almond and Powell have examined the concept of political development in greater detail. Let us discuss their views:

- **Almond and Powell's Views on Political Development**

  According to American political scientists, Gabriel Almond and G.B. Powell, political development implies four problems:

  - **State-building:** According to Almond and Powell, the state must have modern institutional structures, administrative apparatuses and agencies. These structures have specialised roles to play in order to deal with different socio- cultural, economic and political problems which may crop up from time to time in any nation. The institutional structures would include the executive (both the political executive meaning the "government in power" and the "non-political executive" including the civil bureaucracy and police), the legislature and the judiciary. Most importantly, it is the centralised bureaucracy which plays a significant role in implementing policies for socio-economic development and contribute towards developing attitudes of obedience and compliance among the general population.
  - **Nation-building:** Nation building implies giving up narrow and parochial loyalties such as loyalty to the tribal chief, family, caste, religion, ethnic group, region, etc. The citizen instead must owe allegiance to the State. The citizen identifies himself or herself with national interests. This leads to national integration and development of national consciousness. State building and nation building may go hand in hand. However, in most developing

countries while state-building has been achieved, the issue of nation-building is yet to be fully resolved.

- **Political Participation:** As the society develops politically, there is an increasing demand from the public to take part in the decision making process.
- **Equitable Distribution of Welfare:** Increased political participation leads to the demand for equitable distribution of benefits and national income among all sections of the society irrespective of caste, creed, race, sex, etc. Recruitment to high posts should be made only through merit and equal opportunities should be created for all.
- **Lucian Pye's view of Political Development**

  Lucian W. Pye was an American political scientist and a comparative politics expert. .According to Lucian Pye, political development has three characteristics, namely, equality, differentiation and capacity. The degree of development in any country can be assessed with the help of these characteristics:
- **Equality:** The first characteristic is the attitude towards equality. The political system sees mass participation of citizens in political activities. Such participation may be either democratic or totalitarian. Equality also means laws are applicable to all and must be applied impersonally. Thus there should be codified legal system. Recruitment to public office must be on the basis of merit and qualification.
- Differentiation: There occurs differentiation in the political system in terms of progressive separation and specialisation of roles. For instance, legal norms will be separated from religion, administration from politics and so on. Again there will be specialised structures for specialised roles based on an ultimate sense of integration.
- Capacity: The capacity of the political system to fulfill the needs and aspirations of the people by way of efficient management of public affairs, control of disputes and coping with the new

demands of the people, needs to be taken into account. Thus, capacity means "effectiveness" and "efficiency" in the execution of public policy on the part of the political system.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 5: Mention any two problems put forward by Almond and Powell, with regard to political development.

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Q 6: Who talked about the characteristics of equality, differentiation and capacity.

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Q 7: Explain the problem of state building with regard to political development.(within 75 words)

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Q 8: Explain the characteristic of capacity of the political system with regard to the concept of capacity. (within 75 words)

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14.5 LET US SUM UP

- Modernisation implies the progress on the part of the majority of people of a country from their traditional way of life to the modern way of life. Such social mobility leads to new types of social transformation, increasing literacy, adoption of new technology, urbanisation and industrialisation.
- With the movement from the traditional to the modern, the old feudal

and religious authorities give way to a more secular and democratic political authority based on a set of legal rules embodied in the form of a constitution.

- Under political development, there occurs structural- functional specialisation characterised by the existence of a definite political institution to perform a definite role. For instance, the executive branch of the government would perform executive functions, the legislative branch would be entrusted with the power of legislation while the judicial branch of the government would have the power to adjudicate disputes.
- At the same time, democratic values based on the concepts of liberty and equality begin to strike roots, paving the way for the participation of more and more citizens in the political process and institutions.
- Parochial loyalties based on caste, creed, ethnicity, race and gender are substituted by universal democratic principles based on merit, equality, freedom and secularism in the public sphere. People start identifying themselves with national interests. Various organisations including political parties, interest groups and other groups are formed to raise people's demands and mobilise public opinion.
- Political modernisation thereby contributes to the growth of national identity bound by a spirit of national belongingness. There also takes place a shift from a parochial political culture to a universal political culture based on "secularism" and "democracy" in all spheres of public life.
- Political modernisation is also characterized by the spread and development of modern techniques of mass media including newspapers, television and radio broadcasts and usage of internet and social media. As a result, people become enlightened and politically conscious and start taking active part in politics.
- Generally speaking, the process of political modernisation in terms of democracy, industrialization, secularization and rationalism started in Western Europe in the 16th century and subsequently spread to other parts of the world.
- Political Modernisation is shaped by several agents. These include

Colonialism, Elite, Military leaders, Political Parties and Bureaucracy.

- The origin of the concept of political development is associated with the developing countries of Asia and Africa. Most of these countries secured independence after the Second World War. These countries subsequently attracted the attention of many political scientists, especially from America. The names of Lucian Pye, Myron Weiner, David Apter, F.W.Riggs may be mentioned in this context.
- According to Almond and Powell, political development implies four problems, namely, state-building, nation-building, political participation and equitable distribution of welfare. State-building implies the state must have modern institutional structures, administrative apparatuses and agencies. These structures have specialised roles to play in order to deal with various socio-cultural, economic and political problems which may crop up from time to time in any nation.
- State-building implies the state must have modern institutional structures, administrative apparatuses and agencies. These structures have specialised roles to play in order to deal with different socio-cultural, economic and political problems which may crop up from time to time in any nation.
- Nation-building implies giving up narrow and parochial loyalties such as loyalty to the tribal chief, family, caste, religion, ethnic group, region, etc. The citizen instead must owe allegiance to the State. The citizen identifies himself or herself with national interests. This leads to national integration and development of national consciousness.
- Political Participation implies that as the society develops politically, there is an increasing demand from the public to take part in the decision making process.
- Increased political participation leads to the demand for equitable distribution of benefits and national income among all sections of the society irrespective of caste, creed, race, sex, etc. Recruitment to high posts should be made only through merit and equal opportunities should be created for all.
- According to Lucian W. Pye, the degree of development in any country

can be assessed with the help of the characteristics of equality, differentiation and capacity.

- Equality implies mass participation of citizens in political activities. Such participation may be either democratic or totalitarian. Equality also means laws are applicable to all and must be applied impersonally. Thus there should be codified legal system. Recruitment to public office must be on the basis of merit and qualification.
- Differentiation occurs in the political system in terms of progressive separation and specialisation of roles. For instance, legal norms will be separated from religion, administration from politics and so on. Again there will be specialised structures for specialised roles, based on an ultimate sense of integration.
- The capacity of the political system to fulfill the needs and aspirations of the people by way of efficient management of public affairs, control of disputes and coping with the new demands of the people needs to be taken into account. Thus, capacity means effectiveness and efficiency in the execution of public policy on the part of the political system.



14.6 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). Political Theory-Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). Principles of Political Science. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). Political Theory. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



14.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Colonialism and Elite.

Ans to Q No 2: True.

Ans to Q No 3: universal.

Ans to Q No 4: False.

Ans to Q No 5: (a) Military leaders: In some newly independent countries, military leaders mange to seize power. After consolidating their control over the country, these leaders embark upon the task of modernisation. Secessionist and disintegrating tendencies are curbed by the military rulers who try to strengthen unit among the people. For instance, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk captured power in Turkey and undertook the task of modernisation and national unity.

(b) Political Parties: Political parties also serve as agents of political modernisation as they raise various issues of national and local importance and enable the citizens to take part in the public sphere.They also try to create a spirit of patriotism and nationalism.Thus, political parties help generate political consciousness among the masses and mobilise the people around various issues relating to governance and development.

Ans to Q No 6: State building and Nation building.

Ans to Q No 7: Lucian Pye.

Ans to Q No 8: According to Almond and Powell, the state must have modern institutional structures, administrative apparatuses and agencies. These structures have specialised roles to play in oder to deal with different social, cultural, economic and political problems which may crop up from time in any nation. The institutional structures would include the executive (both the political executive meaning the government in power and the non-political executive including the civil bureaucracy and police), the legislature and the judiciary. Most

importantly, it is the centralised bureaucracy which plays a significant role in implementing policies for socio-economic development and contribute towards developing attitudes of obedience and compliance in the general population.

Ans to Q No 9: The capacity of the political system to fulfill the needs and aspirations of the people by way of efficient management of public affairs, control of disputes and coping with the new demands of the people needs to be taken into account. Thus capacity means effectiveness and efficiency in the execution of public policy on the part of the political system.



14.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Mention any four agents of Political Modernisation.

Q. 2: Where did political modernisation start in the 16th century.

Q. 3: Who put forward the problems of State-building, Nation-building, Political Participation and Equitable Distribution of Welfare with regard to political development?

Q. 4: What are the three characteristics of political development put forward by Lucian W. Pye ?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Explain the four problems of political development as put forward by Almond and Powell.

Q. 2: Explain the characteristics of equality, differentiation and capacity as put forward by Lucian W. Pye.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the concept of political development.

Q. 2: Discuss the concept of political modernisation.

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1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

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4) Gauba, O.P. (2007). *An Introduction to Political Theory (Fourth Edition)*. New Delhi: Macmillan India Ltd.

5) Heywood, Andrew (2002): *Politics.* New York: Palgrave Foundations.

6) Heywood, Andrew (2004): *Political Theory- An Introduction (Third Edition)*.New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

7) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (Vol.6)* (2008). New York: Macmillan Reference USA

8) Kapur,A.C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

9) Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.

10) *The New Encyclopedia Britannica (Vol.9)* (2005).Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica Inc.

11) Varma, S.P. (2005): *Modern Political Theory*. New Delhi: Vikash Publishing House.