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Modern Political Analysis

SEMESTER III

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK : 1

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

This is the first course of the MA Third Semester Programme of KKHSOU in Political Science. The course is titled “Modern Political Analysis”. Traditionally, the field of political analysis has been dominated by a discourse on the trying to find out answers to certain normative concerns or value-based questions in terms of how the state “ought to be”. The search for an “ideal” paved the way for the development of a number of approaches to study political phenomena and to analyse the institutional structures of the state. However, as opposed to these traditional approaches, in the contemporary period, the realm of political analysis is dominated by the use of modern and scientific approaches with an emphasis on making factual analysis of political phenomena covering not only the formal structures but also the informal factors influencing political behaviour of individuals and groups. Thus, instead modern political analysis talks about the “political system” instead of the “state” as the former helps political scientists to scientifically analyse the interactions between politics and the environment in which it operates. Thus, political analysis is becoming increasingly, fact-based and hence, scientifically reliable. At the same time political analysis in the contemporary period has become cross-cultural in nature. It may be noted here, in the contemporary period, the scientific and fact based character of political analysis is also supplemented by a concern for values the same time so that the ultimate goal of political analysis is served, which is to provide relevant answers to socio-political issues through scientific investigation. In this course, we shall discuss the fundamental framework of political analysis starting from the meaning and nature of Political Analysis, meaning and types of traditional and modern approaches to studying some of the important modern approaches and then moving on to study some important processes relating to the political system such as political development and political modernization. As mentioned earlier, political analysis , in the contemporary period investigates both the formal and informal processes. As such, the present course looks into the concepts of power, authority and legitimacy. The course also discusses political parties, pressure groups and state intuitions like military, police and bureaucracy as the scope of political analysis has become very broad-based and comprehensive in nature in the contemporary period.

The course “Modern Political Analysis” is divided into two blocks, (Block 1) and (Block 2). While Block 1 consists of eight units (units 1-8), Block 2 consists of seven units (units 9-15).

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK- 1

This is the first block of the first course titled “Modern Political Analysis” of the MA Third Semester Programme of KKHSOU in Political Science. The block contains eight units (units 1-8).

The first unit discusses the meaning and nature of Political Analysis. The second unit discusses Traditional and Modern Approaches. The third unit discusses Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralism.The fourth unit discusses Systems Analysis of David Easton. The fifth unit discusses Structural-Functional Analysis of Gabriel Almond. The sixth unit discusses Communication theory.The seventh unit discusses the Decision-Making theory . The eighth unit discusses the Game Theory.

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 “POSSIBLE questions” to give you a hint of the pattern of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: MEANING AND NATURE OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning of Political Analysis

1.4 Scope and Nature of Political Analysis

1.5 Fact, Value and Theory Analysis

1.6 Empirical Theory vs. Normative Theory

1.7 Let Us Sum Up

1.8 Further Reading

1.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.10 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of the term 'Political Analysis'
- explain the scope and nature of political analysis
- discuss fact, value and theory analysis
- describe empirical theory vs. normative theory

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Political Science is that domain of social science which focuses on studying the state and government. It also initiates efforts to the analysis of activities, thought and behaviour which are political in nature. The theory and practice of politics which is responsible for determining the distribution of power and resources is extensively dealt with by the discipline of Political Science. It has been observed that the political scientists have engaged themselves in interpreting the relationships underlying political events and conditions, and from these interpretations, general principles regarding the functioning of politics have been constructed. Therefore, in such an

environment, the analysis of the political phenomena and events comes under critical consideration, which paved way for the emergence of a new area of study which can be referred to as political analysis. The study of political science has been evolving since history, and so also the processes and methods of political analysis. It is a process of disaggregating the primary players in a political community or political atmosphere, and identifying how they are connected to the progress towards the objectives and also articulating strategies to interact with them in order to press forward the goals. In a nutshell, political analysis is responsible for development of strategic approaches to the study of political science.

1.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS

According to the dictionary, the term 'analysis' means 'breaking up of a clause or compound into its elements in order to have a better understanding of the phenomenon. Political analysis, therefore, means examining or investigating political behaviour to assess its nature. Political behaviour is one aspect, though an important one, of human behaviour, its other aspects being religious behaviour, economic behaviour, social behavior, etc. Political science is concerned with only that segment of human behaviour which is political, that is, concerned with the authoritative allocation of values, or power-play. The word 'analysis' is suggestive of natural sciences and indeed political analysis is concerned with and aims at the application of the methods and techniques of science to the study of politics and political behaviour. This is the broader definition of political analysis, for it makes political analysis as extensive as political science itself.

Political analysis is not a recent development. In fact, it is as old as political science. Aristotle, the father of political science, was the first political analyst, concerned as he was with the classification of governments. Coming nearer to our days. Machiavelli made a scientific study of the costs and gains of different techniques of leadership. David Hume who lived in the eighteenth century wrote an essay called 'That Politics may be Reduced to a Science'. David Hume made a distinction between value, fact and logic

and thus helped the process of making politics scientific. It is thus obvious that political analysis has had a long history. However, it was since the Second World War that political analysis has taken on new colors, opened up new dimensions, and acquired new vigour.

The principal differences between the earlier methods of investigation in political science and modern political analysis can be summarized as follows:

Features of Earlier Investigations	***Features of Modern Political Analysis***
➢ Its focus is on the study of State	➢ Its focus is on Political System. Modern Political Analysis has a very wide coverage, including as it does all the formal and informal, legal and extra-legal, constitutional and extra-constitutional activities.
➢ Too little attention paid to the general social framework of the State. That is, the context within which institutions and constitutions operated was generally ignored.	➢ Takes into account the social context.
➢ Was restricted to the analysis of mostly European countries.	➢ Covers the non-western world.
➢ Was content with the analysis of constitutions and institutions of particular countries. It was inclined towards 'idiographic' approach studying only particular countries and hence could not draw generalizations.	➢ It has a general concern for finding out similarities and uniformities among different political systems. It is generic and seeks to identify patterns and draw generalizations. .
➢ It was culture-bound in its approach and orientation.	➢ Seeks to be trans-cultural.

The search for a new political science, with its emphasis on the structure and functions of political behaviour, really came into prominence after the Second World War. As we have already hinted, the impetus for it involved both theoritical and practical considerations. The following are the factors that seemed particularly important for the development of modern political analysis :

- It became necessary to attempt to explain in some objective manner the failure of democracy and the rise of authoritarian political institutions in Germany and also Italy during the inter-war period.
- With the creation of new states after the Second World War, first in Asia and then in Africa, political scientists found new opportunities to study, for theoritical and practical purposes, what was sometimes called the social conditions of democracy. The failure of the 'colonial' constitutions in some of these countries gave an additional impetus to this.
- In pursuit of the scientific study of politics, it was felt necessary to develop a theoretical analysis of politics, which explained the genesis of different kinds of political institutions and thereby further the unity of the theory and practice of politics.
- By adopting scientific methodologies , it was felt that a truly comparative study of politics would become possible. With the great increase in the number of independent states, particularly in Asia , Africa and South America, with social structures different from those of Western countries, a theory of comparative political processes was deemed, more than ever, necessary.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Political science is that domain of social science which focuses in studying the state and government. (True/False)

…….....

Q.2: Political analysis means examining or investigating ..... behaviour to assess its nature. (Fill in the blank)

Q.3: What is the broader definition of political analysis?

.....

.....

Q.4: Cite some features of traditional and modern political analysis.

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.....

1.4 SCOPE AND NATURE OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS

Contemporary political science can be and usually is scientific. In the last half of the twentieth century, the reliability and accuracy of knowledge about politics grew tremendously. We know more about political life today than at any time in the past and we know with greater certainty and with greater precision. This makes the scope of political analysis much wider. These include the following dimensions:

- Benefits for Individuals (Micro Level)
- Benefits for the Political System (Macro Level)
- Strategies for Making Decisions.

Now, let us go through the above-mentioned dimensions in detail.

- **Benefits for Individuals (Micro Level)**

  (i) One of the major functions of political analysis is to satisfy human curiosity about politics and how it works. A distinguishing feature of human beings is their innate capacity to be curious about phenomena in ways and to an extent that other species seem not to be. Political analysis helps satisfy the curiosity of the people who are interested in politics simply because they enjoy learning about its many twists and turns.

  (ii) Careful and systematic political analysis can help to seek answers to the questions that confront us regarding politics. Conceptual analysis can help to clarify choices and principles involved. Empirical analysis can help us to evaluate the feasibility and likely consequences of proposed courses of action. Normative analysis can help us to determine what values to pursue. Thus, the findings of modern political analysis can assist us making choices about what to do politically.

- **Benefits for Political System (Macro Level)**

  (i) Political scientists and other scholars have devoted a good deal of careful research and analysis to the kinds of institutional arrangements most likely to facilitate stability, deocratic

participation and the peaceful negotiation of sub cultural cleavages in national political systems. One important finding is that electoral systems can vary enormously within different democratic countries like Australia, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Though all these countries have democratic political systems, yet the electoral systems of these countries display remarkable variation. In the United States. For example, the members of the House of Representatives and Senate (and of state legislature as well) are chosen in 'winner take all' elections in which the candidate with the most votes wins each seats, two political parties predominate, and third parties rarely gain a seat. By contrast, in other stable and prosperous polyarchies like the Netherlands and Sweden the seats in parliament are awarded to members of four or five different partiers in proportion to the percentage of votes cast for the party's candidates. The consequence of these different electoral arrangements has been the subject of intense and fruitful study by political scientists and others. The result of their studies would be highly useful indeed essential to citizens and leaders in any country where the possibility of changing the electoral system is under consideration.



Polyarchies: Robert Dahl used the term to explain a form of government in which power is invested in multiple people.

The idea that polyarchies or democratic political systems are unlikely to wage war with one another has been traced to the eighteenth-century philosopher Immanuel Kant. Reviewing research on the connection between democracy and war, a political scientist observed in 1988 that 'the absence of war between democracies comes as close as anything to an empirical law in international relations'. Government leaders such as U.S. President Bill Clinton and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher both embraced the idea that spreading democracy to national political systems would prevent war. Clinton's national security aide and President George H.W. Bush's Secretary of State also voiced support for the preposition. In this case, the

benefit, or at least the impact, of the 'democratic peace' findings by modern political analysis does not seem to be hypothetical.

(ii) The process of 'globalization' has recently become a subject of sustained attention in political analysis. Here too, designing appropriate institutions presents a great challenge. As the world moved to a new millennium, political scientist like Robert O. Keohane outlined various considerations that political scientists and those designing international institutions in the new era of globalization should take into account. He noted that normative and empirical political analysis both have a role to play in meeting the challenges to existing political institutions that globalization poses. Normative analysis should help in the formulation of principles based on which new international structures and institutions of governance could be constituted and existing structures recalibrated. Empirical analysis needs to analyze the conditions under which different forms and levels of governance are feasible. More generally, political scientists need to offer advice about how institutions for global governance should be constituted. For this purpose here, the key point is that political analysis can and should contribute to the development of appropriate and effective international governing structures in the decades to come.

Globalization: The process by which business or other organizations develop international influence.

- **Strategies for Making Decisions**

(i) Since government choices are usually clouded by uncertainty, some students of decision-making have tried to develop strategies realistically adapted to situations of limited knowledge. Their approach is best seen as a reaction to holistic approaches. In practice, a government decision maker or anyone can cope with uncertainty in a number of useful ways. The decision maker can search for satisfactory rather than perfect solutions to problems. She can make a tentative decision and see what happens. She can take advantage of feedback, or information created by the initial decision itself. The decision

makers can take advantage of feedback, they can change goals, even highly important goals. They can usually assume, too, that the decision they will make is an endless series of steps, so that errors can be corrected as they proceed. Thus, they can frequently adopt an incrementalist strategy.

(ii) Some political analysts have begun to emphasize the possibility of reducing ignorance and uncertainty in policy making by deliberate experimentation, or small scale tryouts, prior to the adoption of policies.

1.4.3 Nature of Political analysis

Depending on which questions are the focus of attention at any given moment in political analysis, the nature of political analysis assumes different forms. These are:

- Empirical Analysis- It is most evident in the natural sciences, but it is also present in all the social and behavioural sciences. Scientists seek systematically to describe, explain and predict events. They try to discover and describe statistical, probabilistic, functional, and casual relationships among events, things and persons.
- Normative Analysis- It is characteristic of religion and philosophy and is particularly evident in subjects such as ethics and political philosophy. Like the empirical analysis, the normative analysis is an inseparable part of our actions and beliefs. Even in the most important aspects of life, we act on the belief that some things are better than others.
- Policy Orientation- Policy analysis searches for policies or actions. It closes the gap between an existing state of affairs and a possible future that would be better. Each of us engages in this kind of search whether choosing clothes, courses, colleges, or candidates. Policy analysis is comparatively new. The essence of the policy analysis is a consideration of alternatives and their consequences.
- Semantic Analysis- It tries to clarify meaning, particularly the meaning of key concepts. It tries to clarify the meaning of the key terms or concepts such as politics, power, authority, influence,

legitimacy etc. Democracy, freedom, revolution, coercion and equality are the semantic terms.

Thus, the above mentioned four analyses are often mingled together in political analysis. They are inter-related, inter-connected and inter-woven. We cannot study them in isolation. They are not independent, but interdependent.

ACTIVITY 1.1

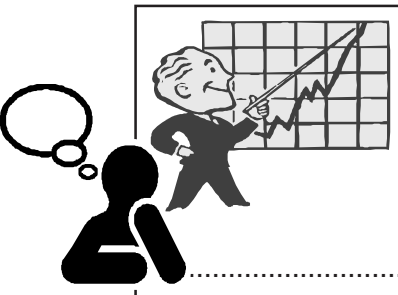
Try to list out the similarities and dissimilarities of political analysis with other fields of analysis.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: In the first half of the twentieth century, the reliability and accuracy of knowledge about politics grew tremendously. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: One of the major functions of political analysis is to satisfy human curiosity about _____ (Fill in the blank)

Q.7: Highlight the scope of political analysis?

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1.5 FACT, VALUE AND THEORY ANALYSIS

1.5.1 Facts

- **Facts-** The basic material of science is valid and reliable facts. Even in daily life, one remains interested in gathering facts, and

associate, most of one's opinions, judgments and acts, with them. In the absence of facts, one loses ground and often encounters disappointments and failures. In natural sciences, most of the facts are tangible, specific, uniform, empirical, objective and measureable. In social sciences, facts are both tangible as well as intangible. The proportion of intangible or abstract facts is greater, such as, nation, state, caste, class, aggression, etc. In fact, behavioral movement is a massive effort to provide an empirical base to intangibles of social sciences. A fact is 'an empirical verifiable observation' or a statement about it.

- **Social Facts-** Social facts are physical, mental or emotional occurrences or phenomena, which can be affirmed with certainty and are accepted as true in a given world of discourse. A social fact is a phase of behaviour, thinking, feeling or acting which can be objectively observed. In this way, a fact by itself is an abstraction which later on is given a name, label, symbol or acknowledgement. Only a specific form of relationships is called friendship, and specific activities as war or election.
- **Political Facts-** Facts are neither uniform nor universal. Persons concerned with the various aspects of a fact have varying perceptions and evaluate it in a manner different from others. In politics, the problem is much more difficult, for a fact can have multiplying effects. In the political arena, everyone is running after actual facts. Political leaders like to know the actual quantum of their popularity. Every super-power is spending millions of dollars to know everything about its rivals. Thus, all facts are so intermeshed with values and other factors that it is difficult to arrive at their exact nature. Even when one reaches certain conclusions, he may soon find that others do not agree with him. In the field of politics, it is so happens most often. On account of such varying perceptions,

there are so much controversies, quarrels, rivalry and war-mongering in politics. The only way out is to resort to scientific or empirical study of facts.

1.5.2 Values

- **Value-** The word 'value' is used in two but interrelated senses. In the first sense, it is used by political actors for desirable or undesirable things such as, democracy, justice, freedom, power, etc. David Easton mostly uses it in this sense. In the second sense, it is a criterion or basis of evaluation which an individual, group or society uses to accept or reject some goals and as means to achieve them. In the latter sense, values influence political behavior. As such, origin, relevance and interrelation among the various values must be studied and analyzed. Various values when put together make up the 'value system'. An individual carries them within himself either as a whole or in part. The value system can be consistent, cohesive, specific, latent or manifest.
- **Value Neutralism-** Scholars belonging to this school of thought are also known as positivists, behaviouralists or factualists. They want to eliminate all values that are of personal preference from the study of political science. The value-neutral political scientists want to study political events, activities, groups in the way scientists study natural facts. They want to give to their social phenomenon a specific, continuous and discrete shape. While doing so, they keep their personal value-consideration away from the investigation. If human or social facts are treated in an objective manner, they hope, in due course of time, to develop a value-free human science.
- **Scientific Value Relativism-** Value analysis involves the theory of 'scientific value relativism' propounded by Brecht. It permits to study values and facts in relation to other values. While

adopting it, the political scientist separates his own personal values from his investigation, and analyses the event or act from the viewpoint of its underlying values. The same act or event can also be studied from various angles involving different values. In scientific value-relativism, the political scientist keeps his personal values separate from his study and does not permit them to influence it. He studies the problem, event or phenomenon, or values as relative, and studies the problem in a relative manner, or with reference to those values. While conducting a research or making investigation, one has to give up his own ultimate values.

1.5.3 Theory

- **The Theory-** On the basis of validation or validity, theoritical statements can be put at four levels. First, the factual statements which are based fully on empirical evidence. Secondly, probabilistic statements includes the empirical evidences but are applied on similar objects or events. They are hypothetically applied to all of them, and are accepted as true till proved false. Third, the hypothetical statements which are based on the inter-relations of various variables which become a basis to prove them empirically. For instance, they help us in knowing the relationship between the change in variable and the change in another variable. An example of a hypothetical statement would be - the spread of education leads to an increase in political consciousness. Lastly, theoretical statements which stand at the highest level in terms of validity. At this level, all factual, probable and hypothetical statements are woven into a more general and universal framework and which act as a guideline for further research and empirical investigation.
- **The Highest Level of Knowledge-** At the highest level of knowledge or theory, one is able to produce many new

hypotheses, and predict unobserved but probable and important facts of political life. Without a higher and more abstract set of concepts and generalizations, we cannot know much about political facts and processes. A theory emerges in the form of inter-related concepts and generalizations under a certain scheme. A theorist refers to relationship between facts by ordering them in some meaningful way. Each theory helps us interpret phenomena.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: A fact is 'an empirical verifiable observation' or a statement. (True/False)

.....

Q.9: At the highest level of knowledge or theory, one is able to produce many new _____. (Fill in the blank)

Q.10: Write briefly about fact, value and theory.

.....

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.....

1.6 EMPIRICAL THEORY VS. NORMATIVE THEORY

- Empirical theory and normative theory are the crux of what every theory is built upon. When attempting to develop a concrete theoretical approach to politics, one can ask two different kinds of questions- Empirical questions (What happened and why?) and normative questions (What should have happened).
- Political science seeks to provide explanations of human behaviour in the realm of politics. The purpose is to provide useful information that will lead to the betterment of humanity. It also seeks, therefore, to suggest how politics might act in ways that contribute to the promotion of the welfare all humanity as well as the earth itself.

Political science has always used a variety of methods to achieve this goal combining the normative and the empirical dimensions.

- The normative approach seeks to determine and prescribe values. It tends to express preference for a particular type of order by commitment to moral principles. Its validity is dependent upon how they are accepted by the respective individuals as they can be either right or wrong. It is based on speculation and logic, and is concerned with laws and conditions largely created or adopted by human society, which are alterable. Normativity is the phenomenon in human societies of designating some actions or outcomes as good or desirable or permissible and others as bad or undesirable or impermissible. A norm in this normative sense means a standard for evaluating or making judgments about behaviour or outcomes.

  However, in the contemporary period, political science seeks to be normative only in terms of seeking to uphold some universal norms and values such as justice, liberty, equity, democracy, peacefulness, non-violence, etc.

- Political Science, in the contemporary period, is based on empiricism. The purpose of empirical theory is to explain, not to justify any action. Philosophically, empiricism denotes a theory which supports the idea that knowledge comes only or primarily from sensory experience. It is based on rationalism and skepticism. Empiricism emphasizes the role of empirical evidence in the formation of ideas, rather than innate ideas or traditions.

- Empirical approach is scientific in nature and it seeks to discover and describe facts. It is concerned with a situation which can be observed by our sense-experience, which can be verified by repeated observation and whose accuracy can be tested. As its findings are based on objective and systematic observation and verified through inspection of methods and results, the empirical approach lends scientific validity and vigour to investigations carried out by political scientists in the present day.



Rationalism: The principle of basing opinions and actions on reason and knowledge rather than on religious belief or emotional response.

LET US KNOW

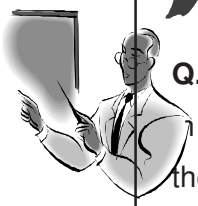
Normative theories are also based on empirical assumptions to interpret how or what the world (or country) should be. Along with empirical assumptions, normative theories also encompass the social value system or moral judgments of a society to base their normative questions. For instance, many normative theorists question the phenomenon of war. Not only are empirical assumptions used to explain why war occurs or how to ascertain peace, but they also resort to normative judgments on whether or not the means of war are ever really justified (i.e. Pacifists vs. Realists).



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.11: Empirical questions deal with what happened and why? (True/False)

……



Q.12: Empiricism emphasizes the role of _____evidence in the formation of ideas, rather than innate ideas or traditions. (Fill in the blank)

Q.13: The normative approach seeks to determine and prescribe values. (True/False)

……

Q.14: Write briefly about the empirical approach.

……

……

……

……



1.7 LET US SUM UP

- Political analysis is not a recent development. In fact, it is as old as political science. Aristotle, the father of political science, was the first

political analyst, concerned as he was with the classification of governments.

- There are principal differences between the earlier methods of investigation and modern political analysis. The former focuses on the study of the State and latter focuses on the Political System.
- The scope of political analysis is much wider. This includes- Benefits for Individuals (Micro Level), Benefits for Political System (Macro Level) and Strategies for Making Decisions.
- Fact, value and theory analysis also occupies an important position in the field of political analysis.
- When attempting to develop a concrete theoretical approach to politics, one can ask two different kinds of questions- Empirical questions (What happened and why?) and normative questions (What should have happened).



1.8 FURTHER READING

1. Maheswari, S.R. (2001). Comparative Government and Politics. Agra: Laxmi Narain Agarwal.
2. Rathod, P.B. (2006). Political Analysis. Delhi: ABD Publishers.
3. Dahl, R.A. (2004). Modern Political Analysis. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd.

1.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Political

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The broader definition of political analysis is concerned with and aims at the application of the methods and techniques of science to the study of politics and political behavior.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Traditional Analysis: a) Too little attention paid to general social framework of the State. b) Its focus is on the study of State.

c) Restricted to the analysis of mostly European countries.

Modern Analysis: a) Its focus is on Political System. b) Takes into account the context of society. c) Covers the non-western world.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: False

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Politics

Ans. to Q. No. 7: The scope of political analysis much wider. These include, a) Benefits for Individuals (Micro Level). b) Benefits for Political System (Macro Level). c) Strategies for Making Decisions.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: True

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Hypothesis

Ans. to Q. No. 10: The Fact- The basic material of the science is valid and reliable facts. In social sciences, facts are both tangible as well as intangible. A fact is 'an empirical verifiable observation' or a statement about it.

The Value- The word 'value' is used in two but interrelated senses. Various values when put together make up the 'value system'. The value system can be consistent, cohesive, specific, latent or manifest.

The Theory- Theory simply means the putting up to the relevant facts under the umbrella of some relation, property or obstruction. At the highest level of knowledge or theory, one is able to produce many new hypotheses, and predict unobserved but probable and important facts of political life.

Ans. to Q. No. 11: True

Ans. to Q. No. 12: Empirical

Ans. to Q. No. 13: True

Ans. to Q. No. 14: Empirical approach is scientific in nature and it seeks to discover and describe facts. It is concerned with a situation which can be observed by our sense-experience, which can be verified by repeated observation and whose accuracy can be tested. As its findings are based on objective, systematic observation and verified through inspection of methods and results. It seeks to discover laws that are unalterable.



1.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Empiricism denotes a theory which supports the idea that knowledge comes only or primarily from _____ experience (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2: The political analysis is responsible for development of strategic approaches to the study of political science. (True/False)

Q. 3: What is political analysis?

Q. 4: Describe in brief about the normative theory.

Q. 5: Explain the conditions that led to the development of modern political analysis.

Q. 6: Describe in your own words the significance of fact, value and theory in political analysis.

Q. 7: Explain theory as the highest level of knowledge.

Q. 8: Explain the factors responsible for the development of modern political analysis.

Q. 9: Discuss the scope and nature of political analysis.

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UNIT 2: TRADITIONAL vs MODERN APPROACHES

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Meaning and Nature of Traditional Approaches

- 2.3.1 Meaning of Traditional Approaches
- 2.3.2 Nature of Traditional Approaches
- 2.3.3 Different Traditional Approaches

2.4 Meaning and Nature of Modern Approaches

- 2.4.1 Meaning of Modern Approaches
- 2.4.2 Nature of Modern Approaches
- 2.4.3 Different Moden Approaches

2.5 Differences between Traditional and Modern Approaches

2.6 Let Sum Up

2.7 Further Reading

2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.9 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of traditional approaches to political analysis
- identity the different salient features of traditional approaches
- explain the meaning of modern approaches to political analysis
- identity the different salient features of modern approaches
- examine the vital differences between traditional and modern approaches

1.2 INTRODUCTION

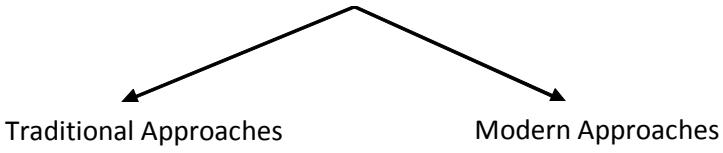
There are different approaches to study modern political analysis. But before proceeding ahead in the direction of different approaches, first

we have to understand what is meant by an 'Approach'. In simple words, an approach means a way of dealing with a situation or problem. An approach provides a framework for explanation and prediction of a political phenomenon. Approaches are regarded as tools, techniques and methods by which we arrive at greater political understanding. However, there are some basic differences between the term method and approach, as we cannot use both the terms in the same sense. "Approach" is a wider term which embraces methods within its ambit. Approach deals with both 'what to enquire' and 'how to enquire'. But method deals with only how to enquire the political phenomena. In this context, V. Van Dyke has remarked , " In brief, approaches consist of criteria for selecting problems and relevant data, whereas methods are procedures for getting and utilizing data" (as cited in Gauba -, 1999 Pg. - 15)

2.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

2.3.1 Meaning of Traditional Approaches

On the basis of time factor and fact-value dichotomy, approaches to modern political analysis are classified into two categories :



From the point of the time factor, those approaches which prevailed prior to the Second World War are known as traditional approaches. In fact, the Second World War is the demarcation line between the traditional and modern approaches to political analysis. From the point of fact-value dichotomy, traditional approaches are those which are value laden. So, normativism is the main symbol of traditional approaches.

2.3.2 Nature of Traditional Approaches

The nature of Traditional approaches can be assessed by discussing their unique features or characteristics, which are as follows:

(a) Descriptive: The Traditional approaches to the study of political science are descriptive in character. It is descriptive in nature because they have described the evolution, organization and functions of the political institutions like the executive, legislature and judiciary of one or more countries, but they have not tried to make an analytical assessment of these institutions. Scholars belonging to traditional approaches have applied approaches like historical and legal approaches to study the growth, structures and powers of the political institutions of a country or more, which are essentially descriptive in nature. For example, while studying the British parliamentary system, they have studied it from the very beginning of Magna Carta to the successive historical stages. Likewise they have studied the growth and development of the French parliamentary system. But the main point is that they never insisted on why and how the similarities and differences occurred between the political institutions of the two countries relating to their evolution, powers, structures and so on. Contrary to this, they have only made a descriptive study about the powers and functions and development of the political institutions.

(b) Non-Comparative: Traditional approaches to study modern political analysis are non-comparative in character. It is because the scholars belonging to traditional approaches have described the governmental systems of various countries but have not tried to compare and analyse the Political institutions of two or more countries. And if it is to be compared it is done only if there are resemblances among their political institutions. If there is no resemblance then the question of comparison is not considered.

(b) Formal: One of the main characteristics as well as drawbacks of traditional approaches is formalism. That means the traditional thinkers have studied those political institutions which have been provided by the formal institutional framework of a country i.e the constitution or the law of the land. They have given more importance to the study of formal political institutions e.g. state and government, the branches of government like the executive, legislature and judiciary, etc. But they did not study the extra-constitutional institutions or institutions developed on the basis of conventions and practices. For example, the traditional thinkers did not study the role played by political parties , pressure groups , ethnic groups, etc. which have an extra-constitutional growth and are a recent development in politics.

(d) Parochial: Traditional approaches to study politics is parochial in nature. It is because they studied political institutions and governmental systems which were mainly confined within the area of western European countries like England, America, France, Germany, Italy etc. As pointed out by Roy C. Macradis, it was mainly because of two reasons-

- Firstly, there was no language problem among these countries, and
- Secondly, there were available sources of study materials to study politics in these countries.

In addition to this, the western scholars had strictly believed that it was the democratic system which was the best one that could maintain stability. As a result of this, the non-western and non-democratic, economically and culturally underdeveloped systems remained unexplored.

(e) Static: The traditional approaches are very static in nature as they have totally ignored the dynamic forces that have a great impact on political processes. Some static political concepts like sovereignty and its location in the state has occupied the

minds of the scholars . But they did not study the factors that affect the very entity of sovereignty. Likewise, they explained the powers of the parliament, but ignored the impact of political parties, pressure groups, elections, mass media, caste and class factors, voting behaviour etc., which have influenced legislations, decision making, etc.

(f) Monographic: Traditional approaches to study politics is not only parochial and static but also monographic in nature. According to Roy C.Macradis, traditional approach has a monographic character which stands for concentration on a single country or a single institution of one political system like democracy in France, British cabinet, American presidency etc. The scope of their study was very limited and did not touch the political systems of two or more countries. For example Lord Bryce studied and explained the parliamentary systems of England in detail. Dicey studied the rule of law and sovereignty of British parliament, but did not make a comparison with other countries.

Philosophical Approach | Historical Approach | Legal Approach | Institutional Approach

(g) Normativism: Normativism is the hallmark of traditional approaches and they lack empirical verifications. It has placed more importance on values and that is why it is value-laden in character. There is no room for facts under traditional approaches and therefore it is difficult to study different political events empirically.

The above are some important features of traditional approaches to study politics.

2.3.3 Different Traditional Approaches

There are mainly four traditional approaches to study politics. These are:-

- **Philosophical Approach:**

The Philosophical approach is the oldest approach to study politics, it is also known as ethical approach. Different political thinkers like Plato, Harrington, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Leo Strauss and so on have adopted this approach to study political phenomenon.

They tried to seek answers to political questions on a philosophical basis. They started from some abstract ideas about human nature and drew conclusions therefrom about the nature of the state , its aims and objectives and assigned to it those functions which could realize those abstract ideas; 'what ought to be' was the basis of their study and they formed their idea about the nature and functions of the state accordingly. Thus their ideas about just or unjust, right or wrong were based upon their own philosophy and not on an empirical investigation of facts. On the basis of the philosophical method, many concepts on justice, right, liberty, equality, duty, etc., have come into existence which hold good and widely accepted even today.

Thus the study of politics with the use of such an approach converts it into 'Political Philosophy'. Leo Strauss, one of the contemporary scholars of philosophical approach has said- political science and political philosophy both intermingle with each other and attempt to obtain true knowledge of political things.

However, the philosophical approach suffers from some serious shortcomings. This approach is said to be defective as it is abstract and speculative in nature. Contrary to facts, it placed more emphasis upon norms and values in society.

Despite such drawbacks, we cannot downplay the importance of the philosophical approach to study political phenomenon. It is a fact that every philosopher tries to seek answers to the questions that arise before him. For example,

the prevailing situations of ancient Greece inspired Plato to find out philosophical solutions to their social and political problems. Thus the solutions offered by philosophers can be applied to a similar situation where and when it arises.

- **Historical Approach:**

The Historical approach is another traditional approach to study politics. Aristotle was the first to employ the historical approach in the study of politics. Later on Machiavelli, Bodin, Montesquieu, Hegel, Karl Mark, Freemen etc have made use of this approach. Karl Popper has described this approach as 'historicism'. It is said that the roots of the present lie deep in the past. All the customs, institutions, values and ideals which envelope us like the air we breathe, have arisen and grown in the invisible past. According to Gilchrist, "History not only explains institutions but also helps us to make deduction for future guidance". Under this method past events are observed, then the events between the past and present explained to make generalizations and these generalizations in turn help in taking decisions in politics.

It is said that history repeats itself and many present events can be explained in the light of past events. Marx explained his theory of class struggle on the basis of historical facts. In fact it is history which provided fuel to the political theory. For example if we study about terrorism in North East then we have to study the problem in its historical perspective.

But this approach has its limitations as well :

- Historical records are not always available and moreover some recorded historical facts are clothed with personal bias of the historians.
- Decision making and the solution of political problems become very chaotic due to the false information found in history.
- Moreover, historical approach is narrative in nature.

However, the real significance of the historical approach cannot be denied. It has its importance in studying the relevance of the origin and growth of political institutions.

- **Legal Approach**

  The Legal approach is one of the premier approaches to study politics. In this approach, the law of the land was the central point of the study in politics. Thinkers like Cicero, Dicey, Bodin, Hobbes, Bentham, John Austin and so on are associated with this approach. They regarded state as a juridical person and in this way viewed politics as a science of legal norms. Thus this approach, "treats the state as primarily an organization for the creation and enforcement of law." (as cited in Johari, 1996 pg-27)

  In this context, we can cite the example of Hobbes who propounded the theory of state sovereignty. To Hobbes, the state is the highest law maker, his command is law and it must be obeyed by the subjects.

The legal approach suffers from serious shortcomings.

- Firstly, this approach is criticized on the ground that it is narrow in perspective. We cannot study the entire political behavior of a person through law.
- There are different sources of law, therefore, it is wrong to say that the command of the sovereign is the only source of law.
- Moreover, the legal approach put more emphasis on formal political institutions. The role of non-formal political institutions like - political parties, pressure groups, etc. are totally ignored.

Despite these shortcomings, we cannot ignore the importance of this theory. This approach continues to be relevant today. For example, Indian democracy becomes successful, due to the independence of judiciary. This statement can be explained by using the legal approach.

➢ **Institutional Approach:**

This approach is based on the study of formal institutions of the state to study politics. Including Aristotle, different thinkers like Polybius, Walter Bagehot, Ogg, Zink, Munro, C.F. Strong, Harold Laski, Herman Finer and so on are associated with this approach. In order to study politics they have put more emphasis on the formal structures of the state and government. These are - the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, the bureaucracy, etc. which formed the superstructure of the govt. The modern thinkers have included the infrastructure like political parties and interest groups within the purview of the institutional approach along with the superstructure of a political system. Since the emphasis is on the study of superstructure and infrastructure of a political system, this approach is also known as the 'structural approach'.



However, this approach has faced some serious limitations. Most particularly, this theory ignores the role of individuals in a political system. Say for example, the legislature is an important organ of a political system. But how people can influence the legislature in the decision making process is not emphasized.

Nevertheless, the institutional approach played an important place in the study of politics prior to the end of Second World War and even today. Most particularly, it helps us to know about the institutional arrangements of different political systems of the world.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is the difference between method and approach ?

.....

.....

Q.2: Mention four important traditional approaches and point out one common characteristic of them.

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Q.3: What is political philosophy ?

.....

.....

Q.4: Aristotle was the first to employ the historical approach in the study of politics. (True/False)

.....

2.4 MEANING AND NATURE OF MODERN APPROACHES

2.4.1 Meaning of Modern Approaches

Modern approaches are those approaches to study political phenomenon which have emerged after the end of the Second World War, empirical in nature and based on facts. Modern approaches want to study political phenomena which are constitutional as well as extra - constitutional, governmental as well as non-governmental, legal as well as extra-legal, formal as well as informal.

2.4.2 Nature of Modern Approaches

The nature of Modern approaches can be assessed by discussing their unique features or characteristics, which are as follows:

- Modern approaches are a post Second World War phenomenon to study politics.
- Contrary to traditional approaches, the modern approaches are value-neutral and based on facts.
- The scope of modern approaches is vast. Because it includes both the study of formal and informal structures of a political system.

- Modern approaches are not parochial; it includes both the western and newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin American states.
- Modern approaches are dynamic as they have put emphasis on how non- political, informal forces have influenced political phenomena.
- It is comparative in the sense that greater efforts have been made on cross national and cross - cultural studies.
- Apart from these, greater emphasis has given on the study of human behaviour.

The above are some basic features of the modern approaches to study politics.

2.4.3 Different Modern Approaches

The advocates of the fact-laden study of politics have come forward with a number of theories, approaches and models. Some of the important major approaches are as follows-

- **Sociological Approach:**

  The Sociological approach is one of the most popular modern approaches to study politics. Renowned thinkers like David Eason, Gabriel Almond, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Max Weber, Talcott Parsons and others are associated with this approach. According to them the state is more of a social than a political institution. Sociology provides the inputs to study political behaviour of the people. After the Second World War, political scientists came under the influence of sociologists and started to apply different techniques, tools and concepts of sociology to study the political behaviour of the individuals . Accordingly, a new discipline has come into existence, known as 'Political Sociology' . This approach has contributed to the emergence of some new terms like "political culture" , "political socialization", "political development", etc., in the study of political science.

- **Psychological Approach**

  After the end of the Second World War, Political Science has come into close contact with psychology. Scholars like Graham Wallace, Charles Merriam, H.D. Lasswell, Robert A. Dahl and others have used the Psychological approach to study politics. With the help of psychological elements of the individuals like lust for power, emotions, habits, sentiments, instincts, ego, etc., they want to study the political behaviour of the people, which influence the course of politics. By psycho-analytical study it becomes easy for us to know about the inner motive of the political leaders, administrators, agitators and so on who play a meaningful role in the development of any political phenomenon.

- **Economic Approach**

  It wants to study political phenomena from the economic perspective. This approach is also known as political economy approach. Scholars like Adam Smith, Machiavelli, J.S Mill, Karl Mark and a galaxy of writers have used this approach to study political events. In fact, the political conditions of a county are largely affected by its economic conditions. Most of the political ideologies like -liberalism, capitalism, socialism, communism and so on are influenced to a large extent by economic conditions. Economic exploitations and injustice are the main reasons of political movements. Likewise different economic policies are prepared and implemented by the government run by politicians.

- **Quantitative Approach**

  Quantitative approach is one of the most modern approaches to study political phenomena. According to the supporters of the quantitative approach, by merely describing events we cannot get the clear picture of politics. Therefore, to get the clear picture of political phenomena one has to use some

mathematical and statistical tools like charts, tables, graphs, etc. Issues like elections and voting behaviour, economic conditions of people, population survey, five year planning etc can be easily explained by using this approach. Since the approach uses statistics to explore political phenomena, it is also known as the Statistical approach. Scholars like Charles Merriam, Graham Wallace, Lowell, Anderson and others have used this approach to understand political realities.

- **Group Approach**

  The advocates of group theory like A.F. Bentley, Charles Merriam, David Truman, Laski, Robert Dahl and so on are of the view, that the study of groups are the best way to understand political phenomena. To them family, caste and race, labour unions, political parties and organizations - all can be termed as groups. Politics is nothing but the struggle among groups for controlling the activities of the government or influencing its decisions. Thus group approach wants to study politics from the point of conflict and cooperation among various groups in the society.

- **Power Approach:**

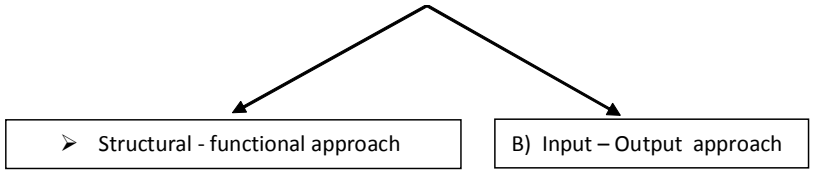
  A galaxy of scholars from the ancient to the modern period are associated with this approach. In the ancient period, thinkers like Machiavelli and Hobbes used this approach to study politics. After the Second World War scholars like Max weber, Harold Lasswell, Charles Merriam, Morgenthau and so on have used this approach to study political phenomena. The power approach conceives- Power is the pivot around which the whole of politics clusters. It wants to study politics from the points of 'who holds power' and 'how is it used'. If politics is the control over the wills of many by a few, it wants to study who are these privileged few? In the light of all these Harold Lasswell defined political science as 'the study of

influence and influential' and that it is nothing but 'the study of shaping and sharing of power'.

- **Systems Approach :**

After the end of the Second World War, the Systems approach emerged as a reaction to the traditional approach to study politics. The very idea of a 'system' originated in the discipline of biological sciences. And from biology, sociologists like David Easton and Talcott Parsons have developed the idea of a system in social as well as in political science. According to this approach, every discipline is like the sub-system of a general system. If so, different subjects like politics, economics, ethics, etc. are all the sub- systems of a social system. Accordingly, we use the terms political system, economic system etc.

According to the systems approach, a mere study of formal political institutions like state, government and its organs like - executive, legislature, judiciary, bureaucracy, constitution, etc. cannot help us get the real picture about the actual functioning of political events and phenomena in the state. It is only possible by the use of a term like 'political system', which is much greater in scope than concepts like state and government. It studies all the environmental factors and aspects emanating from the social environment that influence politics - both governmental and non-governmental institutions. This approach is further sub-divided into two categories.



- **Structural - Functional Approach:**

After the end of the Second World War, in order to study the problems of newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin

America, scholars like G. Almond, Coleman and others have developed the Structural-functional approach. The core ideas of the Structural -Functional approach are:-

i) Every society is a well integrated system consisting of relatively persistent and stable structures.

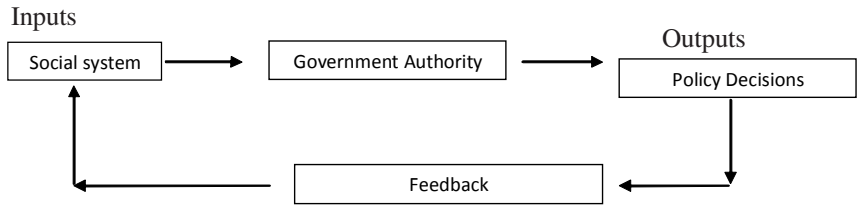
ii) The structures perform certain requisite functions.

iii) Functions contribute to the balanced health or equilibrium of the system.

In other words, within the political system, there are some structures which perform some functions that lead to equilibrium in the political system.

- **Input - Output approach:**

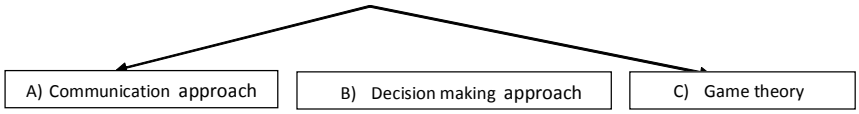
Scholars like David Easton, Mitchell, G. Almond, Blondel, David Apter and others have applied the input-output model to analyze political phenomena in a given society. To them political phenomena can be studied by observing the forces that come from the environmental and how these forces have influenced the decision making process. These forces of the environment are known as 'inputs'. In response to the inputs when the authority takes different policy decisions, then inputs are converted into 'outputs'. Then people may react to the decisions of the authority and such reactions again give rise to inputs carried into the system through the process of the 'feedback loop'. Thereby, the system operates continuously. This approach can be shown as follows-



- **Simulation Approach :**

The Simulation Approach is generally used to study phenomena of natural sciences, cybernetics and mathematics. Later on

scholars in political science have made an attempt to use this model to study political phenomena. This approach is sub divided into three categories , namely :



A) Communication Approach :

The Communication approach derives from cybernetics - the science of control and communication system. The names of Robert Weiner, W. Ross Ashby, Karl Deutsch and others have been associated with this approach. Communication approach holds the view that the political system is a network of Communication channels. Communication is the medium through which all other functions are performed. Almond equates it to circulation of blood in human body. Through political communication political values, ideas, information, etc., can be transmitted among masses, link between the ruler and the ruled can be established. Thus all functions of a political system are performed by means of communication.

B) Decision-Making approach :

After the Second World War, the decision making theory emerged as a modern approach to study political phenomena . According to this approach, politics is nothing but the study of interactions among different decisions. This approach is associated with the names of Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck and Burton Sapin and they are popularly known as SBS. On the basis of decision-making analysis they tried to find out as to why and how do the actors behave in the arena of politics. Here how different elements like environment, personality, public opinion, interest groups, mass media etc help in the decision making process is studied.

C) Game Theory :

Game Theory is one of the most important theories so far as the study of politics is concerned . In order to understand political phenomena, a number of political scientists have made the use of game theory. The exponents of this theory are basically mathematicians like Martin Shubik, Karl Deutsch and Oskar Morgenstern and others. The game theory conceives the political system as a whole set in which the actors are assumed to be two rival players , who attempt to defeat the opponents. According to this approach, politics is nothing but the game that is played among different actors.

- **Behavioural Approach:**

Behaviouralism has been regarded as a turning point in the study of politics, thought and analysis . It can be regarded as 'revolution' as for the first time a real attempt was made to make political studies into a 'science of politics' As the name suggests, the behavioural approach stresses on the study of political behaviour rather than studying the role of institutions alone. The behaviouralists are of the view that the mere study of political institutions cannot help us get the real picture of a political system. In order to get the real picture of a political system we must put emphasis on the study of human behavior and human attitude towards political phenomenon. As an approach to study political science behavioural approach has the following features -

- The subject matter of behavioural approach is the 'behaviour' of persons, groups, and other activities.
- It is inter disciplinary in nature which means that human behavior can be studied from different disciplinary perspectives.

- It puts more emphasis on the value free study of a political phenomenon. That means behaviouralists keep their own personal views away from their studies.
- The ultimate goal of behavioralists is to build an empirical and predictive theory.

Scholars like Charles Merriam, David Easton, Graham Wallace, Talcott Parsons, Robert Dahl and others are associated with this approach.

During the 1960s some sort of changes occurred in behaviourial thought resulting in the emergence of post behaviouralism. It puts emphasis on the study of values together with facts.

➢ **Marxian Approach :**

The Marxian Approach, which is also known as the class approach has assumed an important role in the study of political phenomena. In different respects, it differs from both traditional and other modern approaches. Though this approach originated in the thinking of Karl Marx and F. Engles, other thinkers like Lenin, Stalin, Mao-tse-Tung and a galaxy of contemporary Marxian philosophers like Antonio Gramsci, Rosa Luxemburg, Louis Althusser, Nicos Poulantzas, Ralph Miliband and others are also associated with this approach .

Marxism holds that politics is the study of class relations and class struggles in society. Marx asserted that in every form of society there are two contending classes- the haves and the have-nots and to him politics is nothing but the struggles between the haves and the have-nots. According to the Marxian approach, economic conditions and economically oriented actions constituted the 'bases' of social structures and it has influenced all other aspects of human activity. So if one has to study political phenomena, then he must observe the prevailing economic differences in the society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write the meaning of Modern Approaches.

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Q.6: Mention any four features of Modern Approaches ?

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Q.7: Why is Modern Approaches called inter-disciplinary in nature ?

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Q.8: What is the Systems Approach to modern political analysis ?

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2.5 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN APPROACHES

There are some basic differences between traditional and modern approaches to study political science. These are as follows:-

i) There is a periodic difference between the two. Approaches prevailing prior to the Second World War are known as traditional approaches whereas those approaches which have been developed after the Second World War are known as modern approaches to study political science.

ii) From the point of 'fact-value dichotomy' we can differentiate between the two. Traditional approaches are normative in character and hence these are value-laden whereas modern approaches are empirical and that is why it is value-neutral or we can say that they are fact-laden.

iii) From the point of scope, we could notice differences between the two. The scope of traditional approaches is too narrow because it

deals with some narrow and formal political institutions like state and government, the three organs of government like executive, legislature, etc. On the contrary, the scope of modern approaches is very broad as it covers both formal and informal aspects of political phenomena.

iv) One can differentiate between traditional and modern approaches from the point of parochial vs universal character. Traditional approaches are parochial in nature in the sense that prior to the Second World War the study of politics was confined to western countries only. As opposed to this, modern approaches are universal in the sense that its studies have covered both the happenings of western and non-western, non democratic and economically backward systems of the world.

v) Static vs dynamic nature is another point of differentiation. Traditional approaches included some static elements like sovereignty of the state, bureaucracy, judiciary, etc., in the study of politics whereas modern approaches are an improvement over the traditional approaches in the sense that in addition to static elements , modern approaches have put more and more emphasis on the dynamic elements like political parties, pressure groups, political behavior, etc., to understand political phenomena.

vi) Traditional approaches lack interdisciplinary character. Modern approaches are mainly interdisciplinary in nature.

vii) Monograghic vs cross-national character is also a focal point of differentiation. Traditional approaches are monographic i.e., the study of a single country or single political institution is its basic feature. Modern approaches, on the other hand, are comparative and have put more emphasis on cross-cultural and cross-national studies.

viii) Traditional approaches are descriptive in the sense that they want to study political phenomena by narrating past events historically. Modern approaches, on the other hand, are analytical. They put

more emphasis on why, how, when, what and where political phenomena take place.

x) Traditional approaches did not give importance to the study of political behaviour. Contrary to them, the modern approaches can be regarded as an improvement upon the traditional approaches as they give priority to the study of human behaviour to study political phenomena.

Inspite of such differences between the traditional approaches and modern approaches, we cannot say that both are antithetical to each other. They have some aspects in common and some sort of overlapping between the two cannot be ignored. For example, behavioural and post behavioural approaches are modern approaches. Though the behavioural approach differs from the traditional approach on the ground of fact-value dichotomy, yet we find commonalities between post-behaviouralism and traditional approaches. Post-behaviouralism again turns back to tradionalism by emphasing the place of values. So rather than treating traditional approaches and modern approaches as mutually exclusive, the two are, at one level, inter-related in many respects. Thus, the modern approaches cannot be interpreted as total rejection of the traditional mode of studying political phenomena, rather they may be regarded as a means of enhancing the some of the basic ideas of traditional approaches which provide a foundation for the modern approaches, giving them valuable insights.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: Mention any four differences between Traditional and Modern Approaches.

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2.6 LET US SUM UP

- Approaches to study political science means use of tools, techniques and methods by which we arrive at greater political understanding.
- On the basic of fact-value dichotomy approaches are classified into two categories-traditional and modern.
- Traditional approaches are mainly descriptive, non -comparative, formal, parochial, static and monographic in nature.
- After the end of second world war modern approaches emerged as a reaction of traditional approaches. Modern approaches are empirical, based upon facts.
- Among different a modern approaches behavioural approach has taken a prominent place It wants to convert political science to natural science.
- Marxian approaches have their own place in the study of political phenomenon. It wants to study politics from class perspective.



2.7 FURTHER READING

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2. Dutta, Akhil Ranjan. 2011, Political Theory: Issues, Concepts and Debates. Panbazar, Guwahati: Arun Prakashan.
3. Gauba O.P. 1998. An Introduction to Political theory . New Delhi: Macmillan India limited.
4. Johari J.C. 1996, Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited.

2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Dichotomy exist between the term method and approach. Approach is a wider term that include method within its jurisdiction.

Approach deals with both 'what to enquire' and 'how to enquire'. But method deals with only how to enquire the political phenomena.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: There are mainly four approaches that comes under the category of Traditional approaches. These are mainly philosophical, historical, legal and institutional. One of the common characters of these approaches is-they put more emphasis on normative studies, hence they are value-laden.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: The term political philosophy is the product of intermingle between politics and philosophy.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: True

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Modern approaches are those approaches to study political phenomenon which have emerged after the end of the Second World War, empirical in nature and based on facts. Modern approaches want to study political phenomena which are constitutional as well as extra - constitutional, governmental as well as non-governmental, legal as well as extra-legal, formal as well as informal.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: (a) Modern approaches are not parochial; it includes both the western and newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin American states.

(b) Modern approaches are dynamic as they have put emphasis on how non- political, informal forces have influenced political phenomena.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Modern approaches are inter-disciplinary in nature, Therefore, some new approaches have emerged in the study of political science. For example - Sociological approach, psychological approach, economic approach, quantitative approach etc emerged because of the linkage of pol. science with other discipline.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Systems approach is one of the important modern approaches. It has widened the scope of political science by introducing some new terms. Earlier we talk about state, govt. constitution etc, but today we used the term 'Political system' which includes all these things and this term is the product of system theory.



2.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Why Traditional approaches are called parochial?

Q. 2: Mention two defects of historical approach?

Q. 3: Point out two main features of Modern approach.

Q. 4: Write the name of four contemporary Marxist.

Q. 5: What do you mean by power approach to study politics?

Q. 6: Mention the name of two thinkers associated with group theory to study politics.

Q. 7: Explain about the major traditional approaches to study modern political Analysis. What are its defects ?.

Q. 8: Explain about the main features of traditional approaches to study modern political analysis .

Q. 9: Make a comparative study between traditional and modern approaches to study modern political Analysis.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 3: BEHAVIOURALISM AND POST-BEHAVIOURALISM

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Meaning of Behaviouralism

3.3.1 David Easton's Intellectual Foundation Stones of Behaviouralism

3.3.2 Criticisms

3.4 Post- Behaviouralism: Meaning and Nature

3.4.1 Credo of Relevance

3.5 Let Us Sum Up

3.6 Further Reading

3.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.8 Possible Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of Behaviouralism.
- discuss David Easton views on Behaviouralism, its scope and significance.
- describe the criticisms levelled against behaviouralism
- explain the concept of Post-Behaviouralism
- discuss the nature, scope and relevance of Post- Behaviouralism

3.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to Behaviouralism as a paradigm that became predominant in American social sciences from the 1950s until well into the 1970s. Grounded in a belief in the unity of sciences and the unity of human behaviour, Behavioralist scholars developed scientific, quantitative methodologies for the study of political processes and opened up the discipline to a wide range of theories and methods imported from the social

and mathematical sciences. Because they believed that political phenomena could be subjected to the methods of science, Behavioralists turned their back on the normative legacy of the discipline and replaced political philosophy with the philosophy of science, thereby setting new standards for the formulation of concepts, hypotheses, theories, and protocols for empirical testing and explanation building. Although Behavioralism's paradigmatic reign did not last beyond the 1980s, it has transformed the discipline so profoundly that it remains essential even today.

Post-behaviouralism also known as neo-behaviouralism was a reaction against the dominance of behaviouralist methods in the study of politics. One of the key figures in post-behaviouralist thinking was David Easton who was originally one of the leading advocates of the "behavioural revolution". Post-behaviouralists claimed that despite the alleged value-neutrality of behaviouralist research, it was biased towards the status quo and social preservation rather than social change.

3.3 MEANING OF BEHAVIOURALISM

Behaviouralism (or behavioralism) is an approach in political science that emerged in the 1930s in the United States. It is associated with the rise of the behavioural sciences, modelled after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism claims it can explain political behaviour from an unbiased, neutral point of view. Behaviouralism seeks to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals - rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries - and groups in different social settings and explain this behavior as it relates to the political system.David Easton was the first to differentiate behaviouralism from behaviourism in the 1950s (behaviourism is the term mostly associated with psychology). So some would define behavioralism as an attempt to apply the methods of natural sciences to human behaviour.

There is no fixed definition associated with the term Behaviouralism. Different scholars have defined it differently. Traditionally, this approach emerged in USA. It broke the traditional emphasis of approaches only on objectivity, quantitatively. It claims to explain political behaviour from an

unbiased standpoint. Behavioralism is a paradigm that became predominant in American social sciences from the 1950s until well into the 1970s. Grounded in a belief in the unity of science and the unity of human behavior, Behavioralist scholars developed scientific, quantitative methodologies for the study of political processes and opened up the discipline to a wide range of theories and methods imported from the social and mathematical sciences. Although Behavioralism's paradigmatic reign did not last beyond the 1980s, it has transformed the discipline so profoundly that it remains to be essential even today.

According to some scholars, "Behaviouralism is a movement in political science which insists on analyzing only observable behaviour of political actors". For some others, "Behaviouralism is a belief which insists that social theory can be and should be constructed only on the basis of observable behaviours because only such behaviour provides measurable or quantifiable data for research". It emphasizes on the political behaviour of individuals for an acceptable scientific theory. It is the political behaviour of actors that constitutes the central aspects of politics. However, Behaviouralism does not focuses on the units and organisations which deals with political questions and principles.

It is to be noted that, David Truman, in his famous essay published in 1951, stated "political behaviour comprehends those actions and interactions of men and groups which are involved in the process of governing". David Truman is a known exponent of behaviouralism.

In other words, Behaviouralism can be called as all the occurrences of government in terms of observed and observable human behaviour.

3.3.1 David Easton's Intellectual Foundation Stones of Behaviouralism

Easton in his famous work "A Framework for Political Analysis" (1965) regarded the behavioural approach as a political movement. This approach emphasized value-free research that brought about a revolution in the thought process with respect to the study of political science. Easton has said that the assumptions and objectives of

behaviouralism lay the intellectual foundation-stones for political analysis. These intellectual foundation-stones are called credo. The credo or the intellectual foundation stones can also be described as the assumptions of behaviouralism.

According to Easton, the intellectual foundation stones of Behaviouralism consist of eight major tenets:

- Regularities: It implies discoverable uniformities in political behaviour which can be expressed in theory-like statements. The behavioural 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: It means the validity of such theory-like statements can be verified. The behaviouralists do not want to accept anything as granted. Therefore, they emphasize testing and verifying everything. According to them, what cannot be verified is not scientific.
- Techniques: Techniques implies the Means for acquiring and interpreting data. 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: Quantification implies precision in the recording of data. After collecting data, the researcher should measure and quantify those data.
- Values: What it means is that objective scientific inquiry has to be value free or value neutral. 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: It means that there needs to be a close interrelationship between theory and research. 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". The "pure science" aspect is directed towards forging a link between theoretical understanding of politics and application of theory to practical problem-solving. Behaviouralism believes that the study of Political Science should be verified by evidence.
- Integration: Behaviouralism believes in Integration of political science with other social sciences. 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, Behaviouralism came to accord primacy to a higher degree of reliability vis-à-vis a higher degree of generality. In short, Behaviouralism focused on micro level situations rather than attempting macro level generalizations.

3.3.2 Nature of Traditional Approaches

1. The critics of behaviouralism contend that politics can never be value-free as held by the behaviouralists.
2. According to critics, behaviouralism is concerned more with techniques than with results.
3. Critics state that behaviouralists have been concentrating their study mainly on the static subjects rather on the current problems.

4. Behavioural experiments provide only a limited knowledge regarding the political behaviour of man. It does not provide real knowledge to solve the urgent problems facing the world at large.
5. The behaviouralists lay too much emphasis upon research regarding the political behaviour of individuals but do not apply that research to the current problems. As such, it does not prove to be much useful.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: David Truman, in his famous essay published in 1951, stated "political behaviour comprehends those actions and interactions of men and groups which are involved in the process of governing". (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Write a short note on the meaning of Behaviouralism. (Within 50 words).

.....

.....

Q.3: David Easton gave seven assumptions on Behaviouralism. (True/False)

.....

Q.4: What is Credo?

.....

Q.5: Mention the name of David Easton's famous book published in 1965.

.....

Q.6: Mention any two assumptions of Behaviouralism.

.....

.....

Q.7: Mention any two criticisms levelled against behaviouralism.

.....

.....

3.4 POST- BEHAVIOURALISM: MEANING AND NATURE

3.4.1 The Nature of Post-Behaviouralism

The nature of post-behaviouralism could be analysed by discussing the characteristics of post-behaviouralism which are as follows:

1) **Opposition to value-free social science:** The post-behaviouralists are deadly opposed to the attempts of the behaviouralists in making Political Science as value-free science. David Easton observes: "Research about and constructive development of values were inextinguishable part of the study of politics. Science cannot be and never has been evaluating neutral despite protestations to the contrary. Hence, to understanding the limits of our knowledge we need to be aware of the value premises on which it stands and alternatives for which this knowledge could be used".

(2) **A Movement of Protest:** The critics asserted that the behaviouralists who boasted of their relevance to the actual political problems have themselves cut off from the realities of life and are following academic detachment. David Easton asserted that role of the intellectuals has been and must be to protect human values of civilization.

(3) **Intellectual Movements:** It must be remembered that the post-behaviouralism is not confined to a particular section of society. It is a sort of intellectual movement and its followers can be found amongst all sections of the society," in all generations from young graduates to old members of the profession". Post-behaviouralism is thus both a movement and intellectual tendency.

(4) **Post-behaviouralists look to the future well-being of the society:** Though the post-behaviouralists prefer the behavioural

approach than the traditional approach because it is empirical yet they want to link their methods of research in making such theories which may be able to solve the present and future problems of the society. In other words they want to make the methods and technology of the behaviouralists related to the future well-being in society.

3.4.2 Credo of Relevance

David Easton's eight characteristics of behaviouralism have been earlier explained. However, later on he has shifted his attention from behaviouralism to post-behaviouralism where he analysed a new concept that carried much more sufficient amount of relevance and called it as "credo of relevance". The term 'Credo of Relevance' implies 'a statement of a person's beliefs'.

According to Easton, the first credo states that, substance should be given priority over technique for the purpose of political science. That is why Easton said, "Substance must precede technique". Earlier behaviouralism was criticized on the ground that it aimed at maintaining the status quo of the existing societal structure. But the purpose of post-behaviouralism is to speed up the social change and also to have improved scientific methods. Easton admitted that behaviouralism committed a blunder by not giving any recognition to the societal realities. The conclusion of behaviouralism was characterized by unreality.

Therefore, Post-behaviouralism is the remedy this blunder and to help political science to reach out to the real needs of mankind in a time of crisis.

Behaviouralism paid excessive emphasis on scientific methods and value-free analysis and this resulted in a biased view of political science. Post- behaviouralism is the outcome to avoid and not to repeat the mistakes of Behavioral approach.

Easton always wanted intellectuals to formulate principles and build up fabric of an academic disciple and to protect the human

values and the civilization. They should also find out the ways which will meet the basic needs of the people. Thus the responsibility of an intellectual is enormous. Intellectual must enjoy adequate freedom of inquiry and that shall actively work for social change and development.

Again, Easton wants the intellectuals to know and study the problems. Then to find out the ways for the solution of the problems. Easton says, it can be done if they are involved in the action with the changing society. Easton observes, "To know is to bear the responsibility for acting and to act is to engage in reshaping society." For Easton, Intellectuals are scientists and their task is to recommend the scientific ways of social change. Therefore the intellectuals must study the social issues and problems in the proper perspective with a scientific outlook.

Finally, Easton explains, the duty of the intellectuals to implement their gathered knowledge in the society so that the institutions with which they are associated are also parts of the implementation of policy for social upliftment as they are actors of the social change.

Hence, the doctrine of post- behavioral revolution appears to embrace the above-noted crucial features of post- behaviouralism which appears to be taking shape today's society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: Post-behaviouralism strives to convert political science into a rigorous scientific discipline. (True/ False)

.....

Q.9: Explain any two characteristics of Post-Behaviouralism.

.....

.....



3.5 LET US SUM UP

- Behaviouralism (or behavioralism) is an approach in political science that emerged in the 1930s in the United States.
- It is associated with the rise of the behavioural sciences, modelled after the natural sciences.
- Behaviouralism claims it can explain political behaviour from an unbiased, neutral point of view.
- Behaviouralism seeks to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals - rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries - and groups in different social settings and explain this behavior as it relates to the political system.
- David Easton was the first to differentiate behaviouralism from behaviourism in the 1950s (behaviourism is the term mostly associated with psychology). So some would define behavioralism as an attempt to apply the methods of natural sciences to human behaviour.
- Post-behavioralism also known as neo-behavioralism was a reaction against the dominance of behavioralist methods in the study of politics. One of the key figures in post-behaviouralist thinking was David Easton who was originally one of the leading advocates of the "behavioral revolution".
- Post-behavioralists claimed that despite the alleged value-neutrality of behavioralist research, it was biased towards the status quo and social preservation rather than social change.



3.6 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. (2017). Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd.
2. Kumar, M. (2004). Comparative Politics and Political Analysis. New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
3. Maheswari, S.R. (2001). Comparative Government and Politics. Agra: Laxmi Narain Agarwal.

4. Ray, S.N. (2006). Modern Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

3.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Behaviouralism (or behavioralism) is an approach in political science that emerged in the 1930s in the United States. It is associated with the rise of the behavioural sciences, modelled after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism claims it can explain political behaviour from an unbiased, neutral point of view. Behaviouralism seeks to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals - rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries - and groups in different social settings and explain this behavior as it relates to the political system.David Easton was the first to differentiate behaviouralism from behaviourism in the 1950s (behaviourism is the term mostly associated with psychology). So some would define behavioralism as an attempt to apply the methods of natural sciences to human behaviour.



Ans. to Q. No. 3: False

Ans. to Q. No. 4: The intellectual foundation-stones of behavioralism are called credo. The credo can also be described as assumptions of behaviouralism.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: "A Framework for Political Analysis" .

Ans. to Q. No. 6: a. Techniques: The behaviouralists collect and interpret data not in a haphazard way or indiscriminately but in a methodological and scientific way that is by adopting improved techniques borrowing from other sciences. In other words, the behaviouralists do not take any data or fact as granted. They adopt cautious steps so that any mistake or misconceptions cannot crop up.

b. Quantification: Data and facts are processed in a scientific way. But in the entire process everything is measured and quantified.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: (i) Behaviouralism concerns more with techniques than results.

(ii) Behaviouralists have been concentrating their study mainly on the static subjects rather on the current problems.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: True

Ans. to Q. No. 9: 1) Opposition to value-free social science: The post-behaviouralists are deadly opposed to the attempts of the behaviouralists in making Political Science as value-free science. David Easton observes: "Research about and constructive development of values were inextinguishable part of the study of politics. Science cannot be and never has been evaluating neutral despite protestations to the contrary. Hence, to understanding the limits of our knowledge we need to be aware of the value premises on which it stands and alternatives for which this knowledge could be used".

(2) A Movement of Protest: The critics asserted that the behaviouralists who boasted of their relevance to the actual political problems have themselves cut off from the realities of life and are following academic detachment. David Easton asserted that role of the intellectuals has been and must be to protect human values of civilization.



3.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Explain the meaning of behaviourailsm.

Q. 2: Write briefly about post-behaviouraism.

Q. 3: Evaluate the criticisms levelled against Behaviouralism.

Q. 4: Analyse the intellectual foundation stones of behaviouralism given by David Easton.

Q. 5: Explain the characteristics of Post- Behaviouralism.

Q. 6: Discuss the Credo of Relevance propunded by David Esaton in the context of post- behaviouralism.

Q. 7: Discuss the relevance of Post- Behaviouralism in the present day.

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UNIT 4: SYSTEMS ANALYSIS OF DAVID EASTON

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Meaning of System

4.4 David Easton's General Systems Theory

4.5 Criticism and Importance

4.6 Let Us Sum Up

4.7 Further Reading

4.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.9 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the systems approach to political science.
- discuss David Easton's General Systems Theory
- explain the advantages of the systems theory of Easton
- explain the disadvantages of the systems theory of Easton

4.2 INTRODUCTION

The study of politics involves mainly two types of approaches. One is the traditional approach and other is the modern approach. The traditional approach which lays emphasis on value-laden study of politics whereas the modern approach lays emphasis on a fact-laden study of politics. Within the domain of the modern approaches, one of the popular approaches is known as the systems approach. This approach has become very popular in recent times. As the very name of this approach suggests, here the focus is on systems that are defined as bounded regions in space-time, involving energy inter-change among their parts, which are connected in functional relationships with their environments. Borrowing from the discipline of biological sciences, sociologists like Talcott Parsons thought

in terms of a social system. From them the idea came to political scientists like David Easton and Gabriel Almond who developed the idea of a political system.

4.3 MEANING OF SYSTEM

Systems analysis is a relatively modern concept in Political Science. Indeed, it has emerged as a tool of analysis after the Second World War. Like many other concepts, it is primarily the contribution of American scholarship, especially David Easton, Gabriel Almond, and Robert Michels.

The purpose of General Systems theory, as it is known, is to reduce multiplication of efforts by integrating all knowledge and treating all systems as inter-related. Not only this, even parts of a system (called sub-systems) should be treated not as separate and isolated units but organic parts of the same system. Thus, the intention is that the theory should be relevant to many or all kinds of systems, from the smallest subsystems of an atom to the systems composed of galaxies.

In this way, the emphasis is on cross-cultural studies with an inter-disciplinary focus. Every discipline is like the sub-system of a general system. There is a natural system and all natural sciences like physics and chemistry are its sub-systems, though each is a system in its own right. For this reason, we should use new terms like a political system, an economic system, a psychological system, an ethical system and the like. Not only that, since every system has its own structures and sub-structures which function with the help of inputs, outputs and feedbacks, so two more approaches have emerged as derivatives of the systems approach. These are the structural-functional approach and the input-output approach.

It is to be noted here that there is a subtle but sure distinction between Systems Theory and Systems Analysis. The Systems Theory has, as its building blocks, the various concepts, such as, political system, inputs, outputs, feedback, environment, etc. **When the Systems Theory is applied to a specific situation, it becomes Systems Analysis.** In Systems approach, the key term is 'system'.

According to the Concise **Oxford Dictionary**, a system means "a complex whole, set of connected things or parts organized body of material or immaterial things". A system is thus an organized body with connected parts. This is the central feature of a system. **Ludwig Bertallanfy** refers to it when he writes, "every organism represents a system by which term we mean a complex of elements in mutual interaction. A system is a whole therefore consisting of parts or elements which have some characteristics relationships with one another and which interact with one another. Implicit in the foregoing are three properties of a system. First, a system, as already explained, is a set of interactions taking place within itself. What this means is that a change in one activity generates changes elsewhere, and the whole system gets subjected to the impact. Secondly, these inter-related activities or elements have a boundary set upon them. The very concept of a system implies that it has a boundary; it ends at some point from where other systems such as economic, cultural, social, etc. begins. But, these other systems are included and absorbed in the environment and it is within an environment that a system operates. This is the third property of a system.

Systems analysis identifies the fields of politics as an independent system which is independent of the remainder of the society. The remainder of the society is viewed as consisting the environment for the political system. A 'system' consists of all those elements or variables which remain interdependent on each other. Changes or manipulations made at some point bring about changes in other parts. A system has a boundary, and the interdependence of elements is a characteristic of the system. The boundary sets the political system off from its environment. A system remains in a state of equilibrium, which means that it has a tendency to maintain itself through various processes whenever it meets with some disturbance.

Systems approach is therefore, an approach, which considers politics as a set of interactions distinct from the latter (i.e. environment). It is a particular method of describing and analyzing political behaviour, and while doing so it has evolved a number of concepts like system, sub-

system, boundary, environment, input, output, conversion, process, feedback, etc. The Systems approach takes into consideration the various influences emanating from the social environment which have an effect on the functioning of the political system and studies how the political system interacts with the larger social environment.



LET US KNOW

Robert Michels, highlights the following features of a system:

(a) It is a permanent entity, existing amidst a broader environment and includes many other units. (b) It consists of an identifiable and measurable set of interdependent elements or variables. (c) It has boundaries which keep it separate from general environment. (d) It is constituted around certain problems, objectives or goals, and builds up certain structures. (e) Along with the increase of specific problems and evolution of goals, it develops specific structures and processes, leading to more and more differentiation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Every discipline is like the sub-system of a general system. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Systems theory is primarily the contribution of American Scholarship, especially ..... (Fill in the blank)

Q.3: State Ludwig Bertallanfy's definition of a system?

.....

.....

.....

Q.4: Explain the systems approach to political science?

.....

.....

.....

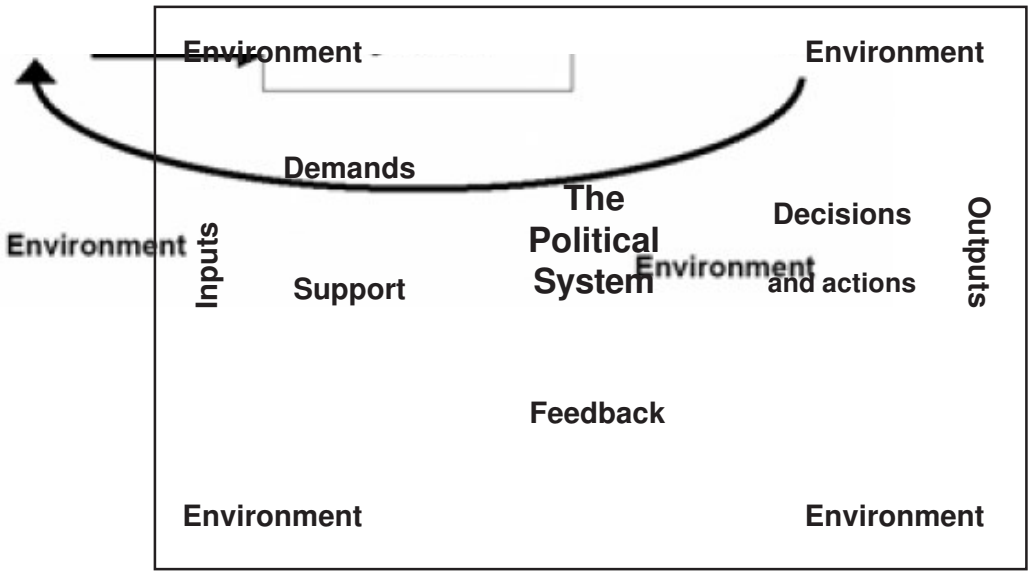
4.4 DAVID EASTON'S GENERAL SYSTEMS THEORY



Authoritative allocation of value: reveals that values which are upheld within a political system are tansformed as the distict values for a society.

David Easton (birth 1914- death 2014), was a Canadian political scientist, born in Toronto, Ontario. In 1943, he came to the United States. He was at the forefront of both the behaviourlist and post-behaviouralist revolutions in the discipline of political science during the 1950s and 1970s. Easton's contribution towards the discipline was the popular definition of politics as the **"authoritative allocation of values"** and is renowned for his application of the systems theory to the study of political science.

Easton put forward his ideas in his books, "A Framework for Political Analysis" and "A Systems Analysis of Political Life", which were both published in the same year 1965. Below, a reference has been made regarding his General Systems Theory using a simple diagram shown below:



'Interaction' is the fundamental unit of Easton's systems analysis. Interaction emerges from the behaviour of the members of the system when each starts playing their specific role. When these innumerable interactions, according to Easton, becomes a 'set of interrelations', they are considered as a 'system'. However, Easton's prime subject matter of analysis is only the set of political interactions.

The four major premises of the flow-model or input-output analysis of David Easton are mentioned below :

- System;
- Environment;
- Response and
- Feedback.

It is to be noted here that while analyzing politics, one has to make use of these concepts. Let us discuss each of these premises:

- **System**

  As mentioned earlier, 'political system', is the essential unit of analysis of Easton's model. According to David Easton, it is a "system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented". Easton is of the view that political life is a system of behaviour which operates within and responds to its social environment while manufacturing binding allocations of values. The objective of the political system is to "make authoritative allocation of values for the society". Thus, one might say that the political system makes policies and laws representing certain values and these policies and laws are binding upon all and hence the phrase "authoritative allocation" . This trait distinguishes the political system and other systems which may exist both within and outside the society which in turn forms the environment of that political system.

  He examines the nature, conditions, and life processes of political life operating in the form of an analytic system. He claimed that a political system is a subsystem of the societal system but it has the power to enforce its decisions. There are many subsystems, even within a political system.

  Easton's political system is both open as well as adaptive. Between a political system and its environment (made of many systems and their subsystems, including even para-political systems), interactions occur. This encompasses various events and

effects which make up the conditions under which members of a political system act and react. Generally, a political system consists of a trait to adapt itself to the changing environment. Political systems engineer mechanisms to regulate their own moves, transform internal structures, and even reformulate goals.

Therefore the system as promulgated by Easton, is a set of particular interactions, which is related to allocation of values that are binding for the society. Another quality separating political system from other systems is the binding nature of the set of interactions. This intangible analytic system interacts with the environment and transforming its inputs into outputs through the conversion processes and feedback.

- **Environment**

Easton described the political system as a complex set of certain processes or interactions which converts particular inputs into outputs of authoritative policies, decisions, and implementation. For this conversion to take place some environment must exist which lead to the survival or existence of the system.

Environment can be of two types:

(i) Extra-societal, and (ii) Intra-societal.

The extra-societal environment consists of the international political systems and alliances like UNO, international social systems, international ecological systems, and cultural, socio-structural, economic, demographic, and other systems.

Intra-societal systems include biological, ecological, social, cultural and systems based on demography, operating inside the political system. Conflicts, strains, and changes that emerges out of the environment can ascertain the functionality or dysfunctionality of that political system.

- **Response**

Responding to its environment is another important aspect of a political system in coping with crises, stresses, and other difficulties. Some other functions that the political system has also to go through

are maintenance of order in the society and to uphold its own form and identity amid an ever-changing environment. These together can be brought under one concept and be named as the 'response'.

The political system also performs **three main categories of functions**. They are;

- **Allocating the values for society,**
- **Motivating the members to accept the allocations as binding, and**
- **Coping with stresses and challenges coming to the system.**

The first two i.e. the allocation of values for society and motivating its members to accept the allocations as binding, are the essential parts of political life. The political system without them does not exist nor can the society endure.

It is also important to understand that the political system would collapse if it is unable to cope with coming stresses and crises Therefore, it is always essential to constantly assess the nature of stresses and the capacity of the system to cope up with the same, and the means and methods needed to be adopted..

Moreover, **the political system is driven by two important elements**. They are **demands** and **supports**. The challenges of demands are overcome with the help of supports, but it can also influence and adjust both. Demands are received in the form of **'inputs'** from its environment, the society at large. These inputs are later converted into **'outputs'**, but the system also observes the effects and consequences of its outputs through **'feedback'**, which secures it regularly to modify its inputs as well as outputs.

- **Feedback**

  Another important concept in Easton's systems theory is the "Feedback". The capacity of a political system to sustain over time actually depends on feedback. It is basically a lively process through which information about the outputs and the environment is transferred or communicated to the system which may later lead to

succeeding changes or modifications in the system itself.

When receiving of information related to converted inputs or outputs there occurs a kind of another repeat communication of information, or again acting on the inputs already converted into outputs. This however, provides the political system an opportunity to modify or transform its behaviour favourable to that feedback. It helps the system to be more effective or persist in a better way. Because, if in the absence of feedback, it is likely to operate in the usual unresponsive manner, and which could later lead to loss of support.

The last and not the least is the **'Feedback Loop'**. It is something which connotes a process wherein information is obtained; actions, reactions or responses are made on it; then to see the result, and re-collect the same; and, to be benefited by it to achieve the goal. Therefore, the feedback process deals with input sequence, demands and support emerging out of the environment, conversion processes, outputs, and feedback mechanisms.



LET US KNOW

Demand is basically the opinions that an authoritative allocation with regard to a particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so. Demand also takes the form of stress, effects, demands, agitations, crises, etc., all coming from the environment. The demands are responsible to influence, move, modify, or change the political system.

Supports are positive responses towards specific objects or level of a political system. Support can be (a) towards the political community which means the acceptance of political division of labor; (b) the administration which embodies basic values, political structures, and norms underlying the political system; and (c) the political authorities or persons holding power in the given context. Support can be ascertained at various or particular levels. The support can be provided

in forms like -paying of taxes, obedience to law, participation in voting, discussion, comments, and constructive suggestions, or respect for public authorities..

Outputs are the authorities' decisions and actions. It leads to the emergence of the effects and consequences which have a direct relation with the members' attitude and behaviour towards the system. Outputs are the outcome of production prepared by the political authorities. The flow of those responses which go from the system to the environment results in the outputs. Outputs can be noticed in forms such as - realization of taxes, regulation of public behavior and conduct, distribution of honors, goods, and services, allocation of values, display of symbolic outputs, etc.



ACTIVITY 4.1

Try to list out and relate the important demands and support of the contemporary political system of India. Also find out whether all the demands were supported?



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: There are four major premises or broader concepts of Easton's flow-model or input-output analysis. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: The political system is driven by ..... and ..... (Fill in the blanks)

Q.7: Write the importance of feedback in a system?

.....

.....

4.5 CRITICISM AND IMPORTANCE

David Easton is the first political scientist to have developed a systematic framework for the study of politics on the basis of the general

systems analysis approach. At one end, many people feel that this approach of Easton satisfies the purpose but on the other hand many believe that it suffers from several shortcomings, both theoritical and empirical. Here we present to you both the advantages and disadvantages of the concept in order to have an in-depth understanding of both its strengths and weaknesses.

Advantages :

- Easton's systems analysis is free from many of the shortcomings of, say, the structural-functional approach. It, for instance, goes beyond the equilibrium analysis, and takes note of change in the political system. One should also note that he talks of system persistence, not of system maintenance, and, makes a clear distinction between the two.
- The second advantage of the Eastonian model lies in the field of comparative political analysis. Easton's conceptual framework consists of a standardized set of concepts and categories, which make it easier to have broad overviews of political systems.
- Easton's systems analysis can be used for studying all kinds of political systems, democratic and others. As, Oran Young rightly says, "Easton's systems analysis is undoubtedly the most inclusive systematic approach so far constructed specifically for political analysis by a political scientist."
- Lastly, the advocates of this theory also asserts that this approach is against far too rigid compartmentalization of discipline which had led to a reduction of cross -flow between various fields of research, and was obstructing progress in each specific field.

Disadvantages :

- The systems theory of Easton has been labelled as abstract and too far removed from empirical reality.

- It is conservative and status-quoist in nature. The countries of the Third World passionately seek changes in all spheres of life, economic, social, cultural and Easton's system analysis cannot comprehend the pace, scale and nature of changes in them. Systems analysis has, as its central goal, system maintenance, and it is silent on the issue of social change. The Third World nations are in fact questioning the very justice of the inherited system and even want a fundamental remodeling of it. Easton's theory is too mild in its range and capacity and plainly unsuited to a developing country like India.
- Thirdly, Easton dwells little on the 'conversion functions' in his model. The reader, for instance, does not come to know about what happens to demands when these enter the political system as inputs and when they come in forms of rules, laws, and decisions. The conversion functions that is, the government institutions were the dominant concern of the traditional comparative politics.
- Lastly, it is too broad a framework for political analysis to take note of the complex psychological aspects of the interaction functions. It may not be able to answer questions like what were the scope, depth and weight of power as it was being used. Nor does it help us to understand what strategies and tactics were adopted by those who enjoy power and influence in the political system while interacting with the environment.

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: The systems theory focuses on the broad implications of political acts and institutions. (True/ False)

.....

Q.9: The critics of the systems theory believe that it suffers from two main shortcomings, theoritical and _____. (Fill in the blanks)

Q.10: State one positive and one negative argument with regard to Easton's Systems Theory?

.....

.....



4.6 LET US SUM UP

- System analysis may not be said to be a very old concept in Political Science. Indeed, it has emerged as a tool of analysis after the Second World War. Like many other concepts, it is primarily the contribution of American Scholarship, especially David Easton, Almond, and Mitchell.
- Systems analysis is a relatively modern concept in Political Science. Indeed, it has emerged as a tool of analysis after the Second World War. Like many other concepts, it is primarily the contribution of American scholarship, especially David Easton, Gabriel Almond, and Robert Michels.
- The purpose of General Systems theory, as it is known, is to reduce multiplication of efforts by integrating all knowledge and treating all systems as inter-related. Not only this, even parts of a system (called sub-systems) should be treated not as separate and isolated units but organic parts of the same system. Thus, the intention is that the theory should be relevant to many or all kinds of systems, from the smallest subsystems of an atom to the systems composed of galaxies.
- In this way, the emphasis is on cross-cultural studies with an inter-disciplinary focus. Every discipline is like the sub-system of a general

system. Since every system has its own structures and sub-structures which function with the help of inputs, outputs and feedbacks, so two more approaches have emerged as derivatives of the systems approach. These are the structural-functional approach and the input-output approach.

- It is to be noted here that there is a subtle but sure distinction between Systems Theory and Systems Analysis. The Systems Theory has, as its building blocks, the various concepts, such as, political system, inputs, outputs, feedback, environment, etc. When the Systems Theory is applied to a specific situation, it becomes Systems Analysis.
- Systems analysis identifies the fields of politics as an independent system which is independent of the remainder of the society. The remainder of the society is viewed as consisting the environment for the political system.
- A 'system' consists of all those elements or variables which remain interdependent on each other. Changes or manipulations made at some point bring about changes in other parts. A system has a boundary, and the interdependence of elements is a characteristic of the system. The boundary sets the political system off from its environment. A system remains in a state of equilibrium, which means that it has a tendency to maintain itself through various processes whenever it meets with some disturbance.
- Systems approach is therefore, an approach, which considers politics as a set of interactions distinct from the latter (i.e. environment). It is a particular method of describing and analyzing political behaviour, and while doing so it has evolved a number of concepts like system, sub-system, boundary, environment, input, output, conversion, process, feedback, etc.
- The fundamental unit of Easton's systems analysis is 'interaction'. Interaction is generated from the behaviour of the members of the system when they play their role as such. These innumerable interactions, in the perception of the scholar, become a 'set of interrelations', they are considered as a 'system'. The subject matter

of analysis is only the set of political interactions in the Eastonian concept of system. His flow-model or input-output analysis are System, Environment, Response and Feedback.

- Easton's systems analysis is free from many of the shortcomings of, say, the structural functional approach. It for instance goes beyond the equilibrium analysis, and takes note of change in the political system. But, it has also been criticized on grounds like as being abstract and too far removed from empirical reality.



4.7 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. (2017). Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd.
2. Kumar, M. (2004). Comparative Politics and Political Analysis. New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
3. Maheswari, S.R. (2001). Comparative Government and Politics. Agra: Laxmi Narain Agarwal.
4. Ray, S.N. (2006). Modern Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

4.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: 1. True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: David Easton

Ans. to Q. No. 3: "A system is a whole therefore consisting of parts or elements which have some characteristics relationships with one another and which interact with one another."

Ans. to Q. No. 4: System approach is a particular method of describing and analyzing political behavior, and while doing so it has evolved a number of concepts like system, sub-system, boundary, environment, input, output, conversion, process, feedback, etc.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Demands and Supports

Ans. to Q. No. 7: It is a important as well as dynamic process through which information about the outputs and the environment is communicated to the system which may result in subsequent change or modification of the system.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: True

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Empirical

Ans. to Q. No. 10: One advantage of the Eastonian model lies in his conceptual framework consists of standardized set of concepts and categories, which make it easier to have broad overviews of political systems. On the other hand, the theory has been labeled as abstract and too far removed from empirical reality.



4.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: System analysis identifies the fields of politics as an _____ system which is _____ of the remainder of the society. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2: "A Systems Analysis of Political Life" is a very popular book of David Easton (True/False)

Q. 3: Describe in brief the four premises of the flow-model or input-output analysis of David Easton.

Q. 4: Explain the advantages of the Systems Theory..

Q. 5: Describe in your own words whether the Systems Theory of David Easton suffices the analyses of different political systems.

Q. 6: Define a system in your own words.

Q. 7: Explain the three main categories of functions performed by the political system.

Q. 8: Critically analyze the Systems Theory of David Easton.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 5: STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF GABRIEL ALMOND

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Background of Structural-Functionalism

5.4 Gabriel Almond's Structural Functionalism

5.5 Robert Merton's Structural Functionalism

5.6 Mortan Kaplan's Contribution

5.7 Criticisms and Importance

5.8 Let Us Sum Up

5.9 Further Reading

5.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.11 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning and background of the structural functional approach
- discuss Gabriel Almond's Structural Functionalism and its criticisms
- discuss Robert Merton's contribution to the approach of Structural Functionalism
- discuss Mortan Kaplan's contribution to the approach of Structural Functionalism
- explain the criticisms and importance of the approach.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The political scientists who were studying government in the non-western societies were finding the traditional approaches unhelpful and unrewarding in unravelling the political realities. It was at this moment of awkwardness that they came in touch with the structural functional

approach which was being extensively used in the disciplines of Anthropology and Sociology. As a result, this approach made its advent in Political Science in an organized way and soon became very popular. It seeks to study Political System as a set of functions performed by several structures which together constitute the system of politics. It attempt to make out and analyze the structures which constitute the political system and perform several functions both internally and in other societies as well.

5.3 BACKGROUND OF STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONALISM

The structural-functional approach to the study of politics is, in a way, not an entirely new one in political science. Its **origin** may, in a sense, be traced to **Plato** and **Aristotle**, for these political thinkers talked about the particular functions which they wanted a political system to carry out so that it could survive. Coming nearer to our times, the structural-functional analysis originated in the **biological** and **mechanical sciences**. In the social sciences, it was in **Anthropology** where it was used for the first time. The structural-functional analysis, was subsequently, used by sociologists. **Talcott Parsons** and **Marion Levy**, developed and refined it as a form of **sociological analysis**. Later, the structural-functional approach came to be developed by political scientists, particularly by **Gabriel A. Almond** and his associates.

In the **"The Politics of Developing Areas"**, in 1960, Almond and Coleman used this approach for the study of non-Western political systems. **Almond and Bingham Powell** published their work **"Comparative Politics: A Development Approach'**, six years later. This led to emergence of the structural-functional approach that was designed to study and classify political systems in terms of the levels of their political development. The structural-functional approach has several strong exponents and supporters, but among them, a place of primacy belong to Almond and his co-authors.

The structural-functional approach therefore **aims** to discover the functions which an organism or a system must perform in order to exist or remain in operation. It then sets out to find the structures but strictly in the light of the functions. To put it in a simpler form, a student of the structural-functional approach frames a question about the particular function to be performed and would then seek the answer about the structure performing that function. Davies and Lewis have defined the Structural-Functional analysis as "a form of systemic analysis which looks at political systems as coherent wholes which influence and are, in turn influenced by their environments."



LET US KNOW

In the words of **Samuel H. Beer** and **Adam B. Ulam**, "The survival and maintenance of a social system require that society must be having a well-functioning economic system, a legal system, a system of values and so on. In this scheme, the political system would appear as that sub-system performing the distinctive function of making legitimate policy decisions, or to use a shorter expression, the function of goal attainment for the society of which it is a part."



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Plato and Aristotle can be regarded as the original developers of the structural-functional approach to the study of politics (True/False)

.....

Q.2: In social sciences, the structural-functional approach was first used in _____. (Fill in the blanks)

Q.3: What are the three properties of a political system according to the structural-functional approach?

.....

.....

Q.4: What does the structural-functional approach actually seek to discover?

.....

.....

.....

5.4 GABRIEL ALMOND'S STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

Gabriel Abraham Almond (birth 1911- death 2002), an American political scientist was best known for his ground-breaking work on comparative politics, political development, and political culture. **In political science, the structural-functional theory (or paradigm) was first applied in 1960 by Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman to the study of non-western politics.** The title of the work containing such a formulation is, **"The Politics of Developing Areas"**. Six years later, appeared **"Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach"**, jointly written by Almond and Bingham Powell. The primary interest of Almond lay in studying how political systems change from the traditional to the modern. He regards the western political system, especially that of the United States and Britain, as the norm and all traditional societies are seen by him as moving towards that model.

In short, the traditional and the modern political systems are treated by Almond as polar opposites. Political development is a non-reversible movement towards the modern states. Almond and others first studied the political systems of western countries, notably of the USA and Great Britain, and then identified their chief properties. They then attributed just opposite properties to the traditional political systems. It may also be said that they recognized a midpoint in the process of development, which is called transitional. Thus, political development is regarded as a change from traditional system through a transitional stage to the modern system. The western political system is regarded as the model, and all traditional societies are hurtling towards it.

Almond defines a political system as "that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the function of integration and adaptation (internally and vis-à-vis other societies) by means of the employment, of threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion." Because of the use of the words 'more or less', the definition also covers dictatorship and other forms of government having questionable legitimacy in its ambit.

Political systems inevitably differ from each other, but they all share some **common properties**. These are principally **four**, which may be enumerated as below :

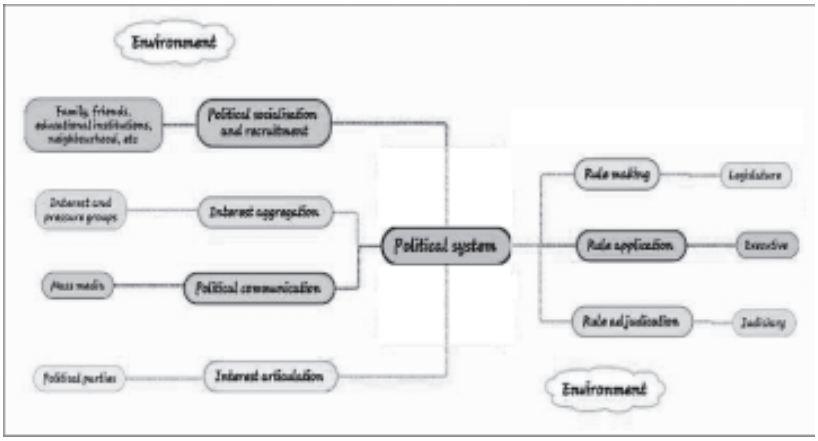
- A political system has in it a structure and one cannot think of a political system without a structure.
- There are some common functions which are being performed in all systems. This does not mean that they are being performed in a like manner or to a like degree.
- All structures within a political system perform more than one function. That means that the structures are multi-functional.
- All political systems, regardless of whether they are modern or traditional, are 'mixed' ones, in the sense that they combine both modern and traditional elements. The exact mix of the two will of course vary from system to system.

All the political systems whatever nature they possess performs some functions to stay relevant. These are the functional necessities of the system. The particular approach seeks the use of 'functions' and 'functional requisites' instead of 'inputs' and 'outputs' as modifications to Easton's model. There are **seven functions** which a political system has to perform in order to sustain themselves and stay relevant. They concede that these functions might be performed by different political structures based on the stage of political evolution.

- **Political socialization and recruitment:** It is the process by which members are provided information about the political system.

Socialization spreads the values, beliefs, norms of the community towards the system. Socializing at home, locality and educational institutions indoctrinate the members with attitudes, opinions, and orientations towards political phenomena. Political education and socialization enable the adaptation and ultimate recruitment of new members.

- **Interest articulation:** There is a continuous rivalry for attention, as there are limited resources. Consistent demands are placed by various structures such as peer groups, pressure groups, interest groups, associations, etc to preserve and further their interests.
- **Interest aggregation:** When the demands are translated into policies and decisions which could be acted upon, it is known as interest aggregation.
- **Political communication:** The process where individuals, groups, and institutions transmit and receive information regarding the functions of the political system is political communication. Mass media and social media newly are most suited to carry out this action.



Input variables are transformed into three output variables -

- **Rule making** is done primary by the legislature (may be performed by different structures depending upon the polity)
- **Rule application** is done by the executive. Implementation of the laws and rules is the main executive function.

- **Rule adjudication** is performed by the judiciary.

According to many of the critics, the system is mainly worried about its own survival. The analysis which deals with Western democratic political model does not allow for the development of institutions in developing societies based on their own genius and specific requirements. They were of the belief that western model is superior to others. But, more or less, no one can deny that the structural-functional approach of Gabriel Almond has served as an important tool in comparative political analysis. It provides a brilliant understanding of the political system and its structures.



ACTIVITY 5.1

Try to list out and figure whether the Indian Political System performs the seven functions mentioned above.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Gabriel Abraham Almond was an American political scientist (True/False)

.....

Q.6: One cannot think of a political system without a _____. (Fill in the blank)

Q.7: What is Political Socialization?

.....

.....

Q.8: Name the seven functions which a political system has to perform in order to sustain itself and stay relevant?

.....

.....

.....

.....

5.5 ROBERT MERTON'S STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

Robert Merton (birth 1910 - death 2003), an American sociologist. Functionalism has been in the centre of major sociological attention, since the 1940s. In the 1950s and 1960s, it appeared to be the most dominant sociological theory. In the United States, Talcott Parsons led the way to develop a view of society which rested on the principle of a shared normative order. Later, it was Robert .K. Merton's contributions which extended the life of functionalism, with the introduction of some valid new concepts.

Being a functionalist, Merton basically agreed with Parsons' theory. However, he too regarded it to be suffering from many defects as being too generalized. The **three main limitations** as put forwarded by him were with regard to the three main postulates of functional analysis , namely, **functional unity** (meaning all parts of society are considered to work together for the maintenance and integration of society as a whole), **universal functionalism** (meaning every continuing social custom must have positive functions contributing to the maintenance of the system) and **indispensability** (meaning certain institutions are indispensable to society). The distinction between manifest and latent functions was also made by him through the concept of deviance.

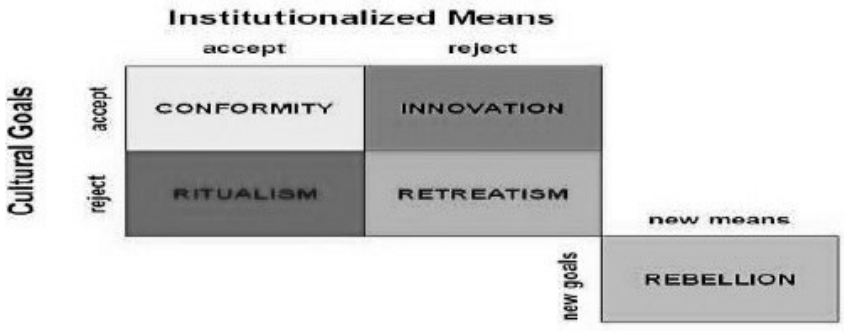
Merton questioned the assumption of functional unity on the ground that not all parts of a modern, complex society work for the functional unity of society. Regarding universal functionalism, Merton believed that some institutions and structures may have other functions, and some may even be generally dysfunctional, or be functional for some while being dysfunctional for others. This is because not all structures are functional for society as a whole. Some practices are only functional for a dominant individual or a group. Merton questioned the assumption of indispensability on the ground that the same functional prerequisites may be met by a range of alternative institutions.

Merton initiated the idea of power and coercion into functionalism and identified the tension areas which may lead to struggle or conflict. Merton claimed that by recognizing and examining the dysfunctional aspects of society we can explain the development and persistence of alternatives. Power and conflict were the central issues for research within a functionalist paradigm.

Merton identifies two types of functions- "manifest functions" and "latent functions". "Manifest functions" leads to a recognized and intended consequence. For instance, the manifest functions of education include preparing for a career by getting good grades, graduation and finding a good job. "Latent functions" lead to an unrecognized or unintended consequence. For instance, the latent functions of education include meeting new people, extra-curricular activities, school trips, etc.

Merton believed that there might be functional alternatives to the institutions and structures currently fulfilling the functions of society. This explains the view that the institutions that at present exist are not crucial to society. Merton states that "just as the same item may have multiple functions, so may the same function be diversely fulfilled by alternative items".

Merton believes that there are **five situations facing an actor**.



- **Conformity** occurs when an individual has the means and desire to achieve the cultural goals socialized into him.
- **Innovation** occurs when an individual strives to attain the accepted

cultural goals but chooses to do so in novel or unaccepted method.

- **Ritualism** occurs when an individual continues to do things as prescribed by society but forfeits the achievement of the goals.
- **Retreatism** is the rejection of both the means and the goals of society.
- **Rebellion** is a combination of the rejection of societal goals and means and a substitution of other goals and means.

Thus, from the above, it could be concluded that innovation or rebellion can lead to internal changes of the structure. It is true that society will attempt to control these individuals and negate the changes, but as the innovation or rebellion builds momentum, society will eventually adapt or face dissolution.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q.9: Robert K. Merton was a functionalist and he did not fundamentally agree with Parsons' theory. (True/False)

.....

Q.10: Merton criticized functional unity, saying that not all parts of a _____ society work for the functional unity of society. (Fill in the blank)

Q.11: What are the five situations facing an actor as identified by Merton?

.....

.....

.....

5.6 MORTAN KAPLAN'S CONTRIBUTION

Structural-functional approach became very popular in the field of political analysis and comparative studies after its elucidation by Almond and Coleman. The approach paved the way for an empirical political theory.

Morton A. Kaplan (1921-2017) applied it in the field of international relations. Kaplan was a distinguished Service Professor of Political Science, Emeritus, at the University of Chicago. Among his many works, his book titled "System and Process in International Politics", is considered to be a seminal work in the scientific study of international relations.

Morton Kaplan used the idea of systems analysis incorporating mainly the functional aspect in his study of the political phenomenon. Generally, a set of components working together is known as a system. Kaplan elucidated that a system is a set of variables which are related to each other in relation to the environment. Actually, in a political structure, the system is basically constituted of States and variables (political attitudes, political interests, political activities, political phenomena) which contribute in the changes of the system. That means, when there is a change in variables, there is also a change in the behaviour of the system. The changes in behavior of the system are manifested in the form of 'outputs'. And, the changes which takes place in relation to the functions of the systems are the "inputs'.

Morton Kaplan's definition of system points out the following characteristics of a system:

- A system consists of parts or elements.
- These parts or elements interact with each other.
- Through their interactions, they influence each other.
- The system exists within a boundary.
- It is open to influences from the environment.
- It translates inputs into outputs.

According to Kaplan, in international relations, it is nothing else but only national interests which govern the behaviour of the nation-states. **Kaplan divided the international system into six models on the basis of functions and stability**. In his writings on 'System and Process in International Politics' (1957), he presented six models of international system. These are :

- The Balance of Power System
- The Loose Bipolar System
- The Tight Bipolar System
- The Universal System
- The Hierarchical System
- The Unit Veto System.

Therefore, we get three main views from Mortan Kaplan's approach to the study of international relations from the perspective of systems analysis and structural-functionalism. These are;

- The system is described as an arrangement of international actors in which interactions are identifiable.
- The system relates to a particular arrangement at the international level. The nature of the arrangement itself is considered as the most important variable in explaining the behaviour of states.
- The actual and probable existence of different systems indicates the application of special types of approaches to the study of international politics.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.12: Morton A. Kaplan applied structural functionalism approach in the field of international relations (True/False)

.....

Q.13: Morton A. Kaplan presented how many models of international system ?

.....

Q.14: Morton A. Kaplan elucidated that a system is a set of variables which are related to each other. (True/False)

.....

Q.15: Mention the names of the book written by Morton A. Kaplan which is considered to be a seminal work in the scientific study of international relations.

.....

5.7 CRITICISMS AND IMPORTANCE

- **Criticisms :**

Despite the fact that structural-functional approach has occupied a very important place in the realm of comparative politics, it cannot be denied that it has some serious **shortcomings** that may be enumerated as under:

- The structural-functional approach came under severe criticism for its emphasis on the static relationships and was less concerned regarding the dynamics. The problems of systemic survival, operations of various functions and structures towards system maintenance, requirement of stable adaptation are the areas which are the primary focus of the particular approach.
- The structural- functional approach has also been regarded as an approach which does not support the idea of change. In fact, it has been accused of being anti-change. It is concerned with studying the structures as well as their functions but does not try to bring about a change in outlook but maintains and uphold the prevailing ones. It supports status quo.
- Due to its emphasis on continuation of the status quo, the critics of the structural- functional approach alleged that it acts in such a manner that it tries to contain the spread of socialism. In short, the approach was critical towards ideas of socialism and more aligned towards capitalism.
- The structural-functional approach is also criticized on the ground that it is less concerned about the future and involves itself mainly with the present. In other words, the approach regards the present political system as a sub-system within the social system.
- Another criticism which has been levelled against the structural-functional approach is that the approach has actually

failed to specify which functions are important and which are not. In other words, it has failed to differentiate between the two. In such a situation, we can only come to a conclusion that all functions are fundamental with regard to all political systems.

- The approach has failed in their attempt to study the political systems of the developing countries. It is because the political realities of the developing world are different from the developed countries. As this approach has been in the forefront of analyzing and dealing with the problems of the developed nations, the application of the empirical investigations of this approach to the study of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will not lead to an effective outcome. The studies carried out with the help of this approach have not incorporated the revolutions and crises experienced by the developing countries and as such the approach by merely focusing on the functional aspects of the structures failed to identify and portray the political realities of those countries.
- The structural functional approach also failed to provide a convincing explanation regarding the origin and existence of the political structures and to identify important functions necessary for the survival of the system. Just mere observation of the functional aspects of the structures does not provide us with a holistic understanding of the structures. Moreover, the approach has also ignored the factor of functional disintegration of the structures.
- Goals and values are the important aspects which shape the political behaviour of the political system. The structural-functional approach in political science has also been criticized for its lack of concern for the goals and values of the political system.

- Lastly, structural-functionalism is totally ignorant regarding the individuals and groups which actually occupy an important position in any political system. Just by focusing on the functions of a structure and ignoring the role of individuals and groups, the structural-functional approach failed to provide a comprehensive picture.

- **Importance :**

The criticisms levelled against the structural-functional approach does not necessarily mean that the structural-functional approach is without any importance. The importance of the structural-functional approach is summarized as below :

- The structural-functional approach has empirically studied the functional part of the structures in order to understand political phenomena. This has contributed in providing a theory of the political system which is more scientific in nature.
- Although the approach has been focusing mainly on the western democratic political systems, yet the entire approach presents such a standardized mechanism that the study could be applied in understanding any political system in the world.
- According to the structural-functional approach, the political system or the structures have certain requisite functions. The success and failure of the system can be understood by analyzing the requisite functions of the structures. That means the approach provided a new idea to study political phenomena by studying whether the structures have been able to perform their requisite functions or not.

The structural-functionalism has been criticized on various grounds but still no one could deny that the approach has been greatly credited at the same time for providing entirely a new insight to the study of political science and uncovering the political realities.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.16: Mention any two criticisms of the structural-functional approach.

.....

.....

Q.17: Explian any two points indicating the importance of the structural-functional approach?

.....

.....



5.8 LET US SUM UP

- The structural-functional approach to the study of politics is, in a way, not an entirely new one in political science. Its origin may, in a sense, be traced to Plato and Aristotle, for these political thinkers talked about the particular functions which they wanted a political system to carry out so that it could survive.
- The structural-functional analysis originated in the biological and mechanical sciences. In the social sciences, it was in Anthropology where it was used for the first time. The structural-functional analysis, was subsequently, used by sociologists.
- Talcott Parsons and Marion Levy, developed and refined it as a form of sociological analysis. Later, the structural-functional approach came to be developed by political scientists, particularly by Gabriel A. Almond and his associates.
- In the "The Politics of Developing Areas", in 1960, Almond and Coleman used this approach for the study of non-Western political systems. Almond and Bingham Powell published their work "Comparative Politics: A Development Approach', six years later. This led to emergence of the structural-functional approach that was

designed to study and classify political systems in terms of the levels of their political development.

- There are also seven functions of a political system. They are Political socialization and recruitment, Interest articulation, Interest aggregation, Political communication, Rule making, Rule application, and Rule adjudication.
- Robert Merton initiated the idea of power and coercion into functionalism and identified the tension areas which may lead to struggle or conflict. He believes that there are 5 situations facing an actor. These are Conformity, Innovation, Ritualism, Retreatism and Rebellion.
- Structural-functional approach became very popular in the field of political analysis and comparative studies after its elucidation by Almond and Coleman. The approach paved the way for an empirical political theory. Morton A. Kaplan (1921-2017) applied it in the field of international relations. Among his many works, his book titled "System and Process in International Politics", is considered to be a seminal work in the scientific study of international relations.
- According to Kaplan, in international relations, it is nothing else but only national interests which govern the behaviour of the nation-states. Kaplan divided the international system into six models on the basis of functions and stability. In his writings on 'System and Process in International Politics' (1957), he presented six models of international system. These are : the Balance of Power System, the Loose Bipolar System, the Tight Bipolar System, the Universal System, the Hierarchical System and the Unit Veto System.
- The structural-functional analysis has experienced both appreciation as well as criticism. Notwithstanding its obvious weakness and limitation, the structural-functional approach has introduced new conceptual tools in political science, and enriched the discipline.



5.9 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. (2017). Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd.
2. Kumar, M. (2004). Comparative Politics and Political Analysis. New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
3. Maheswari, S.R. (2001). Comparative Government and Politics. Agra: Laxmi Narain Agarwal.
4. Ray, S.N. (2006). Modern Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

5.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Anthropology

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Accordingly, this analysis regards comprehensiveness, interdependence and boundaries as the three properties of the political system."

Ans. to Q. No. 4: The structural-functional approach seeks to discover the functions which an organism or a system must perform in order to exist or remain in operation. It then sets out to find the structure but strictly in the light of the function.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Structure.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: It is the process by which members are provided information about the political system.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Political socialization and recruitment, Interest articulation, Interest aggregation, Political communication, Rule making , Rule application and Rule adjudication

Ans. to Q. No. 9: False

Ans. to Q. No. 10: Modern, complex

Ans. to Q. No. 11: Conformity, Innovation, Ritualism, Retreatism and Rebellion

Ans. to Q. No. 12: True

Ans. to Q. No. 13: Six

Ans. to Q. No. 14: True

Ans. to Q. No. 15: "System and Process in International Politics".

Ans. to Q. No. 16: (a) The structural-functional approach came under severe criticism for its emphasis on the static relationships and was less concerned regarding the dynamics. The problems of systemic survival, operations of various functions and structures towards system maintenance, requirement of stable adaptation are the areas which are the primary focus of the particular approach.

(b) The structural- functional approach has also been regarded as an approach which does not support the idea of change. In fact, it has been accused of being anti-change. It is concerned with studying the structures as well as their functions but does not try to bring about a change in outlook but maintains and uphold the prevailing ones. It supports status quo.

Ans. to Q. No. 17: (a)The structural-functional approach has empirically studied the functional part of the structures in order to understand political phenomena. This has contributed in providing a theory of the political system which is more scientific in nature.

(b) Although the approach has been focusing mainly on the western democratic political systems, yet the entire approach presents such a standardized mechanism that the study could be applied in understanding any political system in the world.



5.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: The book, "The Politics of Developing Areas" was written by _____ (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2: Talcott Parsons and Marion Levy are significant contributors in the structural-functional approach. (True/False)

Q. 3: What is the difference between Rule Making and Rule Application?

Q. 4: Describe in brief any four functions of the political system.

Q. 5: Explain Gabriel Almond's structural-functional approach.

Q. 6: Explain Robert Merton's structural-functional approach.

Q. 7: Critically discuss the structural functional approach in political science.

Q. 8: Explain the criticisms leveled against and the importance of the structural-functional approach.

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UNIT 6: COMMUNICATON THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Karl Deutsch's Communication Theory

6.3.1 Meaning of Communication

6.3.2 Features of Karl Deutsch's Communications Theory

6.4 Criticisms Against and Importance of the Communications Theory

6.5 Let Us Sum Up

6.6 Further Reading

6.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.8 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of communication
- explain the process of communication
- discuss the features of Karl Deutsch's Communications Theory
- discuss the importance of effective communication in political system
- explain the criticisms against of the Communications Theory
- explain the importance of the Communications Theory

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Karl Deutsch was a social and political scientist of the 20th century whose work centred on war, peace, nationalism, co operation, and communication .Deutsch was also known for showing keen interest in quantitative methods and for applying formal system analysis and model thinking in the field of social sciences. However, it is his communication theory for which Karl Deutsch is more famous. Karl Deutsch considers communication as a process of collecting ,transmitting as well as receiving

information so as to facilitate the decision making process effectively. The manner in which the information is processed to a large extent determines the efficiency of the political system as it is only trough proper transmission of information that the system is in a position to attain its desired social goal. Therefore, Deutsch believes that a proper network of communication channels is very important for the very survival, growth as well as development of a political system.

6.3 KARL DEUTSCH'S COMMUNICATION THEORY

6.3.1 Meaning of Communication

Before we first proceed with the communication theory as propounded by Deutsch, let us first begin with the meaning of communication. In very simple words the term communication means sending or receiving information through flowing of ideas, thoughts, feelings, etc. from one person to another or from one agency to another. The purpose is to establish commonness in the sense that the ultimate objective of sharing information is to achieve a desired outcome or an acceptable decision. The process of establishing commonness is a two way process in the sense that it involves the the presence of two elements

a) Transmitter

b) Receiver

It is only after one receives the information then only the information is processed and decisions are taken. The process is not an easy one as it involves the role of various agencies so as to reach its goal. In this process what is seen is that at each and every layer through which the messages are sent and received, there must be interconnectedness and interdependence amongst all these layers. So, we can say that an effective and healthy communication depends upon the interplay of two factors:

1) Interconnectedness

2) Interdependence

In the field of social sciences, the objective of communication is to incorporate two vital elements in the political system, that is, human relations and human touch.

6.3.2 Features of Karl Deutsch's Communications Theory

The following are some of the important features of Karl Deutsch's Communication Theory:

- **Based on a science called cybernetics:** The Communication theory has been borrowed from engineering and has been applied to the political system by Karl Deutsch. This theory is based on a science called cybernetics which is the science of communication and autonomous control systems applicable to both living beings as well as machines. The chief exponent of cybernetic theory is Norbert Weiner. Weiner was very well aware of the importance of cybernetics in social science and it was Karl deutsch who borrowed the concept of cybernetics from Weiner and applied it in the understanding of political system.

  Herein, it deserves to be mentioned that Deutsch in his work "The Nerves of Government- Models of Political Communication and Control" referred to the concept of cybernetics as follows-

  "The science of communication and control, which has been derived from technology and which Norbert Weiner has called cybernetics is therefore a new science about an old subject ...It is perhaps safe to say that social sciences is already being influenced by the interest implicit in cybernetics"

  Karl Deutsch applied the concept of cybernetics to the political system and tried to establish the fact that different aspects of

political system like growth, change, functioning of system, people's behaviour, etc., are to a great extent governed by a network of communication which passes through different channels. Deutsch's perception of communication theory is very much identical with the views of David Easton's systems theory which highlights the interaction between various systems and the environment.

- **Highlights the functioning and capability of the political system:**

  In the Communication Theory of Karl Deutsch, we see that Deutsch wants to find out the following:

  a) The functioning of the political system in terms of the way in which information passes from one agency to another

  b) The capability of the political system to act on the information received. There are many vehicles which transmit information. Some of them are political parties, interest groups, pressure groups, various organisations.

- **According to Deutsch, communication involves the following processes:**

  a) Inflow of information

  b) Outflow of information

  c) Its impact upon the system

  d) Decisions of the authority in response to the claims.

It is only when these aspects are clearly analysed, one can develop a proper understanding of the capabilities of the political system better. Deutsch further states that the capability of a political system depends upon the ability to respond to the information and the environment. If the system is weak, there will be chaos and trouble as it will not be able to respond to the elements of the environment and vice-versa. However, Deutsch admitted the fact that in every political system there is always a self-regulatory mechanism.

- **Political system as an open system :**

Deutsch in his theory also stated that the political system is an open system where there is a continuous interplay of actions and reactions which are determined by the environment .Therefore, an effective communication network is of utmost importance in enabling the political system to function effectively. Again, Deutsch further states that every political system is a dynamic one. Though, at one point of time it attains equilibrium, this is not long lasting. In the next moment, the position is disturbed and a new equilibrium appears. Deutsch says that this is the manner in which every political system operates.

- **Basic concepts of the Communication Theory :**

  - **Feedback mechanism**

    Deutsch is of the view that all organisations of a political system comes under the operation of feedback, which is a process that produces action in response to input. According to him, if there is no feedback mechanism, information cannot travel from one agency to another.

  - **Concept of load and lag**

    Related to the concept of feedback are the terms "load" and "lag". Load means the total amount of information gathered by the political system at a point of time. Lag means the gap or the delay which occurs in between the information received and the decision taken. It may be noted here that if the mechanism of feedback is completed within the normal time the question of lag does not arise.

  - **Concept of lead**

    According to deutsch lead means the ability of the political system to act promptly in response to predictions about the future consequences of any decisions taken by it. The ability to act promptly in a system depends upon the existence of an improved communication network.

- **Emphasis on an open political system**

  The Communication theory of Deutsch emphasises the need for having an open political system wherein all the agencies can operate freely and the information can be disseminated without any hurdles.

- **Society as a machine**

  Deutsch is of the view that in every social and political system there is a mechanism which encourages habit formation and other activities related to the use of information gained. To him the inner source of political power depends on existing facilities for social communication both from the past to the present.

- **Politics is concerned with the attainment of social goals**

  Deutsch in his theory undermines the existing notion of politics viewed in terms of power. Rather, he states that politics is concerned with the attainment of social goals and that the core area of politics is the area of enforceable decisions and where also the very essence of politics lies in establishing co ordination of human efforts for attaining the goals of society.

- **New perspective of government**

  Deutsch states that the function of the government is not merely exercising power over the individuals but to steer information and to control the direction of information.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The process of establishing commonness is a two way process in the sense that it involves the presence of which two elements ?

.....

Q.2: Explain any four basic concepts of Communication theory.

.....

.....

6.4 CRITICISMS AGAINST AND IMPORTANCE OF THE THEORY

- **Criticisms:**

  Deutsch's Communication theory has severe shortcomings. These are:

  - In this theory, Deutsch states that the decision making process depends upon the inflow and outflow of information. In fact, he emphasised this mechanism a lot. According to the critics, the inflow and outflow of information is no doubt important but what really matters is the nature of information which constitutes a major determinant in the decision making process.
  - The Communication theory of Deutsch is based on the concept of cybernetics. According to the critics, cybernetics which is a subject of engineering cannot be effectively applied to the political system.
  - According to Deutsch, in every political system, the structure and agency always perform their allotted duties and that the structures do not violate the rationality principle. This idea of Deutsch is subjected to criticism as the critics say that in reality, the performance of structures does not always depend upon rationality.
  - The critics also opine that in this model the decision-making process may at times be influenced by subjective forces as there is a possibility of misuse of agencies by someone or other institutions.
  - The Marxists also criticise this theory on the ground that this model fails to recognise the central idea of Marxism that emphasises social change through class struggle. To the Marxists, this theory is anti-Marxist and as such it cannot claim to be impartial.

- **Importance of the theory:**

  Karl Deutsch's approach to the study of the political system looks promising. His work has contributed directly or indirectly to different aspects of political science and revolutionised scholarly thought and research, large-scale political community formation at national and international levels and development of qualitative data to test and reformulate political theories. Deutsch spelt out the political implications of cybernetics in a series of impressive articles that formed the basis of his book "The Nerves of Government- Models of Political Communication and Control". His theory helped in developing an understanding of the technical aspects of communication. At the same time, it also helps in developing insights into the complex nature of analysing different types of communication. Thus, this theory is important as it tries to make a sincere effort in understanding the dynamics required for effective communication as well as for building channels to deliver the same so that the political system is able to take decisions effectively and efficiently.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Write any four criticisms against the Communication theory ?

.....

Q.4: Explain the importance of the Communication theory.

.....

.....



6.5 LET US SUM UP

- The Communication theory has been borrowed from engineering and has been applied to the political system by Karl Deutsch. This theory is based on a science called cybernetics which is the science of

communication and autonomous control systems applicable to both living beings as well as machines. The chief exponent of cybernetic theory is Norbert Weiner.

- In the Communication Theory of Karl Deutsch, we see that Deutsch wants to find out the functioning of the political system in terms of the way in which information passes from one agency to another and the capability of the political system to act on the information received. There are many vehicles which transmit information. Some of them are political parties, interest groups, pressure groups, various organisations.
- According to Deutsch, communication involves the following processes: a) Inflow of information, b) Outflow of information, c) Its impact upon the system,d) Decisions of the authority in response to the claims.
- Deutsch in his theory also stated that the political system is an open system where there is a continuous interplay of actions and reactions which are determined by the environment .Therefore, an effective communication network is of utmost importance in enabling the political system to function effectively.
- Deutsch is of the view that all organisations of a political system comes under the operation of feedback, which is a process that produces action in response to input. According to him, if there is no feedback mechanism, information cannot travel from one agency to another.
- Related to the concept of feedback are the terms "load" and "lag". Load means the total amount of information gathered by the political system at a point of time. Lag means the gap or the delay which occurs in between the information received and the decision taken. It may be noted here that if the mechanism of feedback is completed within the normal time the question of lag does not arise.
- According to deutsch lead means the ability of the political system to act promptly in response to predictions about the future consequences

of any decisions taken by it. The ability to act promptly in a system depends upon the existence of an improved communication network.

- The Communication theory of Deutsch emphasises the need for having an open political system wherein all the agencies can operate freely and the information can be disseminated without any hurdles.
- Deutsch is of the view that in every social and political system there is a mechanism which encourages habit formation and other activities related to the use of information gained. To him the inner source of political power depends on existing facilities for social communication both from the past to the present.
- Deutsch in his theory undermines the existing notion of politics viewed in terms of power. Rather, he states that politics is concerned with the attainment of social goals and that the core area of politics is the area of enforceable decisions and where also the very essence of politics lies in establishing co ordination of human efforts for attaining the goals of society.
- Deutsch states that the function of the government is not merely exercising power over the individuals but to steer information and to control the direction of information.
- According to the critics, the inflow and outflow of information is no doubt important but what really matters is the nature of information which constitutes a major determinant in the decision making process.
- The Communication theory of Deutsch is based on the concept of cybernetics. According to the critics, cybernetics which is a subject of engineering cannot be effectively applied to the political system.
- Nevertheless, Karl Deutsch's approach to the study of the political system looks promising. His work has contributed directly or indirectly to different aspects of political science and revolutionised scholarly thought and research, large-scale political community formation at national and international levels and development of qualitative data to test and reformulate political theories.

- Deutsch spelt out the political implications of cybernetics in a series of impressive articles that formed the basis of his book "The Nerves of Government- Models of Political Communication and Control".
- Deutsch's theory helped in developing an understanding of the technical aspects of communication. At the same time, it also helps in developing insights into the complex nature of analysing different types of communication.
- Thus, Deutsch's theory is important as it tries to make a sincere effort in understanding the dynamics required for effective communication as well as for building channels to deliver the same so that the political system is able to take decisions effectively and efficiently.



6.6 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. (2017). Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd.
2. Kumar, M. (2004). Comparative Politics and Political Analysis. New Delhi: Anmol Publications.
3. Maheswari, S.R. (2001). Comparative Government and Politics. Agra: Laxmi Narain Agarwal.
4. Ray, S.N. (2006). Modern Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

6.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Transmitter and Receiver

Ans. to Q. No. 2: (a) Feedback mechanism

Deutsch is of the view that all organisations of a political system comes under the operation of feedback, which is a process that produces action in response to input. According to him, if there is no feedback mechanism, information cannot travel from one agency to another.

(b) Concept of load and lag

Related to the concept of feedback are the terms "load" and "lag". Load means the total amount of information gathered by the political system at a point of time. Lag means the gap or the delay which occurs in between the information received and the decision taken. It may be noted here that if the mechanism of feedback is completed within the normal time the question of lag does not arise.

(c) Concept of lead

According to deutsch lead means the ability of the political system to act promptly in response to predictions about the future consequences of any decisions taken by it. The ability to act promptly in a system depends upon the existence of an improved communication network.

(d) Emphasis on an open political system

The Communication theory of Deutsch emphasises the need for having an open political system wherein all the agencies can operate freely and the information can be disseminated without any hurdles.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: (1) In this theory, Deutsch states that the decision making process depends upon the inflow and outflow of information. In fact, he emphasised this mechanism a lot. According to the critics, the inflow and outflow of information is no doubt important but what really matters is the nature of information which constitutes a major determinant in the decision making process.

(2) The Communication theory of Deutsch is based on the concept of cybernetics. According to the critics, cybernetics which is a subject of engineering cannot be effectively applied to the political system.

(3) According to Deutsch, in every political system, the structure and agency always perform their allotted duties and that the structures do not violate the rationality principle. This idea of Deutsch is subjected to criticism as the critics say that in reality, the performance of structures does not always depend upon rationality.

(4) The critics also opine that in this model the decision-making

process may at times be influenced by subjective forces as there is a possibility of misuse of agencies by someone or other institutions.

Ans. to Q. No. 4:

Karl Deutsch's approach to the study of the political system looks promising. His work has contributed directly or indirectly to different aspects of political science and revolutionised scholarly thought and research and development of qualitative data to test and reformulate political theories. Deutsch spelt out the political implications of cybernetics in a series of impressive articles that formed the basis of his book "The Nerves of Government- Models of Political Communication and Control". His theory helped in developing an understanding of the technical aspects of communication. Thus, this theory is important as it tries to make a sincere effort in understanding the dynamics required for effective communication as well as for building channels to deliver the same so that the political system is able to take decisions effectively and efficiently.



6.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Who is the author of the book "the nerves of government"?

Q. 2: Discuss the basic feature of the Communication Theory.

Q. 3: Explain the basic concepts of the Communication Theory?

Q. 4: Critically discuss the Communication Theory of Karl Deutsch.

Q. 5: Write a note on the importance of the Communication Theory.

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UNIT 7: DECISION-MAKING THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Decision- Making Approach: Features of the Decision-Making Theory

7.4 Richard Synder's Decision-Making Theory

7.5 Criticisms Against and Importance of the Decision-Making Theory

7.6 Let Us Sum Up

7.7 Further Reading

7.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.9 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the concept of decision-making
- explain the features of the Decision-Making Theory
- discuss Richard Snyder's Decision-Making Theory
- explain the shortcomings and importance of the Decision-Making Theory.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Decision-making is a vital component of any public organization including that of the government. As a matter of fact, it is only rational decision making that can lead to informed policy formulation, both at the domestic and foreign policy fronts. In this unit, we shall discuss the Decision-Making Theory and try to discuss the various dimensions related to decision-making.

7.3 DECISION- MAKING APPROACH: FEATURES OF THE DECISION- MAKING THEORY

Decision-making is a common phenomenon. Webster's dictionary defines decision making "as the act of determining in one's own mind upon an opinion or course of action". In the words of George R. Terry, "Decision-making is the selection based on some criteria from two or more possible alternatives". Thus, decision making means choosing one alternative from among various alternatives. It is essentially problem solving in nature. The Decision-Making Theory has enormous applicability in the field of public administration and international relations. In the field of public administration, decision-making is most prominently associated with Herbert Simon while in the field of international politics, the most prominent thinkers include Richard Snyder and his colleagues.

Let us look at some of the important dimensions of the Decision-Making Theory :

- **Underlies the role of individuals as decision-makers :**

  Decision-making theory basically centres around the role played by individuals as decision-makers and the nature of the decision . It suggests that individuals as decision-makers matter in policy formulation both at the domestic level and international levels in terms of decisions taken. Decision-making as a process of administration has wide a range of application mainly in public administration and it came to the limelight in the beginning of the nineteen fifties after the publication of Herbert Simon's book "Administrative Behavior : A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organizations" (1948) following which the Decision-Making theory become very popular.

- **Two components of decision-making :**

  Noted political scientist Herbert Simon divided the concept of decision-making into two main parts- one is the decision being aimed at and the other is the process of action or implementation. Mere

making a decision is not enough and therefore its implementation is important. So, both these sections are interconnected and also important. Herbert Simon said that a theory of administration should be concerned with the process of decision as well as the process of action. Simon pointed out that for the proper management of an organization, a policy that is comprehensive in nature is required to be adopted. In fact, decision-making is a very important part of an organisation. Herbert Simmon, in fact, is the pioneer in the field of the decision-making approach because he felt that if decisions were not taken properly and timely , it may spoil the objectives of the business organisation and keeping this mind it is essential that an organisation observes utmost caution while making of decisions and at the same time should focus on the effective implementation of the decisions taken. So, both taking and implementation of decisions are important steps.

- **Selecting the best course of action and making compromises:**

Decision-making is defined as a process or sequence of activities involving stages of problem recognition, search for information, definition of alternatives and the selection of an actor from two or more alternatives consistent with the ranked preferences. Decision-making theory is a theory of how rational individuals behave. Decision-making denotes the formulation of a general policy for the management of an organization which may be a business organization or an administrative organization. The nature and implementation of decision-making may be different in both places, that is, business organization and administrative organization, but in each case, the importance of decision-making remains intact. Decision-making implies adoption and application of rational course of action for the management of private, business or governmental organization in an efficient manner. Herbert Simon once said in one of his writings that decision or decision-making is a matter of compromise. While pursuing a policy or technique, the decision-

maker is forced to make compromises and the main aim of the decision-maker for making compromises is to fulfill the objective of the organization or management. The policy maker must always be careful to see to it that the policy is not divorced from the real situation and the real situation relates to the declared policy of the management or the governmental organisation.

- **Decision-making is based on rationality and empiricism:**

Robert Dahl in his book "Modern Political Analysis" claimed that decision-making processes constitute the pure science of politics. Dahl says that in earlier times, pure science of politics denoted normative analysis and evaluation of politics because in those days normative approaches to the study of politics were considered to be valid and concepts were evaluated in the background of norms or normative values, and the norms that could win the test were considered scientific. This outlook however, underwent a change in course of time and political scientists began to show lesser importance to normative aspects of political science. The various modern approaches like structural-functionalism of Almond or behaviouralism of Easton put emphasis and heavily relied on empirical analysis and the decision-making theory could not keep itself away from such types of approaches. It was felt that for arriving at a decision what really was essential was facts, data, information, etc. as well as their interpretation and application. Robert Dahl says that the term "science" has increasingly come to mean an empirical science of politics. According to this view, an empirical science of politics would be concerned exclusively with the validity of the factual or empirical elements. This implies that without the help of data, facts and information, the policy maker cannot make any decision. In fact, rationality along with the data is the most important element of the decision-making process. To arrive at an acceptable and viable decision, the mere application of rationality is not enough, but what is also essential is that in order to make a decision, rational empirical

analysis is necessary which demands that that the policy maker must test his decision in an empirical manner. Decision-making is inextricably associated with rationality, empiricism and application of other scientific methods. Nowadays, decision-making is increasingly being considered a very important part of the management of government business. The decision- making appraoch has been playing a very crucial role in the administration of any business organization or governmental department. Decision-making is thus the amalgamation of all the methods or streams of analysis that is rationality, empiricism, application of other scientific methods has become inevitable. It is asserted that a decision, as far as practicable, should be rational and scientific. It has been found that the decision maker has become dependent on empirical data and scientific methods. Scientific methods have become more crucial in the modern age as the management of governmental agencies has become more complex. As such, decision-making has now assumed a scientific character based on empirical data and rational thinking.

From the above description, the following specific features of decision-making can be identified:

1. Decision-making is a goal oriented process. Decisions are made to achieve some goals or objectives. There may just be a decision not to decide.
2. Decision-making involves a set of alternatives. A decision problem arises only when there are two or more alternatives. If there is only one alternative, there is no decision to be made.
3. Decision-making is a dynamic process. It involves a time dimension and a time lag. The techniques used for choice vary with the type of problem involved and the time available for its solution. It is situational.
4. Decision-making is always related to the environment. An executive may take one decision in a particular set of circumstances and another in a different set of circumstances.

5. Decision-making is a continuous or an on-going process. Administrators have to take a series of decisions and the executive's job is perpetually a decision making exercise.
6. Decision-making is an intellectual or rational process. Decisions are the products of deliberations, reasoning and evaluation.

We can thus conclude that decision-making is a process of the selection of one behaviour alternative from two or more possible alternatives. It is a process of selection, which aims at selecting the best alternatives and to achieve a desired goal. It has immense importance in the present day structure of administration in the context of the relation between authority and the public. The state must work for the welfare of the people and this requires policy formulation. For the effective performance of administration, a decision or a policy is essential and there must be a logical and a scientific method of policy-making.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Robert Dahl in his book "Modern Political Analysis" claimed that decision-making processes constitute the pure science of politics. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Mention any four features of the Decision-Making theory.

.....

.....

.....

.....

7.4 RICHARD SNYDER'S DECISION-MAKING THEORY

The Decision-Making Theory constitutes an important approach to the study of international relations. Decision-Making Theory and foreign policy making are entwined. In the 1970s, a combined study of both was widespread. The decision-making approach tries to analyse the process of

decision making at national , international or comparative levels and its relation to policy formulation. This approach became more popular in the United States scholars increasingly turned their attention to decision-making and the governmental process, particularly, in the context of foreign policy analysis. The names which came to be associated with this approach were Richard C. Synder, H.W. Bruck and Burton Sapin, who, in their monumental work, "Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Relations" (1954) tried to provide the idea of decision making in international relations.

Richard Synder published a series of writings from the mid-nineteen fifties to the end of the nineteen fifties wherein the chief objective was to propagate the importance of the decision making approach. Richard Synder said that decision making is a dynamic process. According to him, society is not only complex but also dynamic. When the decision makers make a decision, their decision is based on how they define their situations. As a matter of fact, actions taken by a state are actually actions taken by the decision-makers who act in the name of the state. The decision-makers have to take into account both internal and external factors which influence their decisions. The internal factors include the role of public opinion, socio-economic conditions of the people, geographical and demographic factors, etc. The external factors include the possible reactions and counteractions from the international community because of the decision taken. If the decision-makers fail to do heed the internal and external factors, the decision will not be able to achieve acceptability and credibility.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Mention any two internal factors which influence the decision of the decision maker.

.....

Q.4: "Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Relations" was written by whom?

.....

.....

7.5 CRITICISMS AGAINST AND IMPORTANCE OF THE DECISION MAKING THEORY

- **Importance of the Decision making theory:**

  Herbert Simmon who was the pioneer in the field of the decision-making pointed out that if decisions were not taken properly and timely , it may spoil the objectives of the business organisation and keeping this mind it is essential that an organisation observes utmost caution while making of decisions and at the same time should focus on the effective implementation of the decisions taken. So, by pointing out that both taking and implementation of decisions are important steps, Simon has underscored the holistic nature of decision-making. The importance of the Decision-Making theory also stems from the fact that as per the theory , decisions should always be based on rationality and empiricism.

Richard Snyder has maintained that in every society there is political action and behind every action there is the role of human activity. Again, human actions translate to policy decisions. How the society is to be managed or a governmental department is to be administered, it all relates to decisions taken by human beings. That is why, policy/decision is a dynamic force of action. Therefore, in order to study the society, it is necessary to analyse all the aspects of policy-making.

Analysis of the policy-making process also helps us to acquire a comprehensive knowledge about the dynamics of society. Knowledge about the dynamics of society is required for the formulation of future policy. Society is always changing and naturally today's policy may be irrelevant in the future. So, it is said, that decision making theory is very important for the formulation of policies for future generations.

Decision-making differs from society to society. A particular decision taken for a developed, industrialized and highly educated society may not be suitable equally for an underdeveloped agricultural society or a tribal area Therefore, a decision is made not for the decision itself but actually

for the inhabitants of a particular society. For this, according to Snyder, there are mainly three factors which influence the decision-making process in order to be aware of the situation or material environment. These factors are as follows :

a) The internal setting of the society which includes many elements like political parties, pressure groups, non-governmental organizations, public opinion, agencies which help in the formation of public opinion, nature of the political system, etc. All these elements enter into the decision-making process.

b) The external setting is another important factor which is important for the policy makers who make decisions for the external relations of the state. When a decision- maker of a state makes a decision or policy, it is necessary that he is aware of the fact that his decision must be in conformity with the prescribed policies and objectives of other nations too based on peaceful and harmonious co-existence . The decision should not in any way create conflict among nations. Personal preferences of the decision-maker have no place in the decision-making process especially in this age of globalization where the nation-states have come closer to one another and interdependence among the nation-states has also increased to a great extent.

c) Snyder opined that communication and information network is closely related to the decision-making process. Through a very efficient network of communication, various information and data necessary for a decision can be provided. Moreover, a psychological factor is also involved in the formulation of a policy and this demands that the authority should formulate a decision which reflects the motive of the policy maker.

- **Criticisms against the Decision -Making Theory :**

Although the Decision-Making theory is not free from criticisms. The various criticisms levelled against the theory are as follows:

a) It is criticized on the ground that his approach is too empirical. It puts too much emphasis on rationality. It ignores the norms, values or high principles which exercise profound influence on international politics. According to the critics, extreme manifestation of rationality is too difficult to apply in reality.

b) For some critics, too much dependence on alternatives and numerous other considerations are not a suitable way of framing decisions. In fact, excessive dependence on alternatives is the manifestation of irrationality.

c) Another limitation against the approach is that very often personal likes, dislikes, phobia, etc. play a vital role in the decision-making process. This ultimately leads to an imperfect decision-making process which has an impact on the decision itself.

d) Secondly, the approach is based on the principle of indeterminism in so far as it fails to show how the various factors like situation, environment, personality, etc. influence the decision.

Although decision-making approach is not free from criticisms, yet, a general study of international relations cannot be fruitfully made without the exclusive help of the decision-making approach and is very useful as a tool in the foreign policy analysis and policy formulation for present and future generations. Snyder made a great contribution to the analysis of international politics in general and power politics in particular. In fact, during the Cold War period, Snyder's decision-making approach was considerably used to explain the international events and the gestures of the superpowers. His theory is regarded as a convenient and effective method for analyzing foreign policy and the relations among nations. Moreover, Snyder has done a great job by initiating and popularizing the decision-making approach to politics at the domestic level too.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write briefly about the importance of Richard Snyder's Decision Making Theory.

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.....



7.6 LET US SUM UP

- Decision making means choosing one alternative from among various alternatives. It is essentially problem solving in nature. The Decision-Making Theory has enormous applicability in the field of public administration and international relations.
- In the field of public administration, decision-making is most prominently associated with Herbert Simon while in the field of international politics, the most prominent thinkers include Richard Snyder and his colleagues .
- Decision-making theory basically centres around the role played by individuals as decision-makers and the nature of the decision . It suggests that individuals as decision-makers matter in policy formulation both at the domestic level and international levels in terms of decisions taken.
- Decision-making as a process of administration has wide a range of application mainly in public administration and it came to the limelight in the beginning of the nineteen fifties after the publication of Herbert Simon's book "Administrative Behavior : A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organizations" (1948) following which the Decision-Making theory become very popular.
- Noted political scientist Herbert Simon divided the concept of decision-making into two main parts- one is the decision being aimed at and the other is the process of action or implementation. Mere making a decision is not enough and therefore its implementation is important. So, both these sections are interconnected and also important.

- Decision-making is defined as a process or sequence of activities involving stages of problem recognition, search for information, definition of alternatives and the selection of an actor from two or more alternatives consistent with the ranked preferences.
- Decision-making implies adoption and application of rational course of action for the management of private, business or governmental organization in an efficient manner.
- The policy maker must always be careful to see to it that the policy is not divorced from the real situation and the real situation relates to the declared policy of the management or the governmental organisation.
- Robert Dahl in his book "Modern Political Analysis" claimed that decision-making processes constitute the pure science of politics. Decision-making is inextricably associated with rationality, empiricism and application of other scientific methods. Nowadays, decision-making is increasingly being considered a very important part of the management of government business.
- Decision-making is a goal oriented process. Decisions are made to achieve some goals or objectives. There may just be a decision not to decide.
- Decision-making involves a set of alternatives. A decision problem arises only when there are two or more alternatives. If there is only one alternative, there is no decision to be made.
- Decision-making is a dynamic process. It involves a time dimension and a time lag. The techniques used for choice vary with the type of problem involved and the time available for its solution. It is situational.
- Decision-making is always related to the environment. An executive may take one decision in a particular set of circumstances and another in a different set of circumstances.
- Decision-making is a continuous or an on-going process. Administrators have to take a series of decisions and the executive's job is perpetually a decision making exercise.

- Decision-making is an intellectual or rational process. Decisions are the products of deliberations, reasoning and evaluation.
- The Decision-Making Theory constitutes an important approach to the study of international relations. Decision-Making Theory and foreign policy making are entwined.
- Richard Synder published a series of writings from the mid-nineteen fifties to the end of the nineteen fifties wherein the chief objective was to propagate the importance of the decision making approach. Richard Synder said that decision making is a dynamic process. According to him, society is not only complex but also dynamic. When the decision makers make a decision, their decision is based on how they define their situations.
- As a matter of fact, actions taken by a state are actually actions taken by the decision-makers who act in the name of the state.
- The decision-makers have to take into account both internal and external factors which influence their decisions. The internal factors include the role of public opinion, socio-economic conditions, geographical and demographic factors, etc. The external factors include the possible reactions and counteractions from the international community because of the decision taken. If the decision-makers fail to do heed the internal and external factors, the decision will not be able to achieve acceptability and credibility



7.7 FURTHER READING

1. Ghosh, Peo, International Relations. Delhi: PH Learning Private Limited. 2013
2. Johari, J.C. (2017). Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd.
3. Kumar, M. (2004). Comparative Politics and Political Analysis. New Delhi: Anmol Publications.

4. Maheswari, S.R. (2001). Comparative Government and Politics. Agra: Laxmi Narain Agarwal.
5. Ray, S.N. (2006). Modern Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

7.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: (a) Decision-making is a goal oriented process. Decisions are made to achieve some goals or objectives. There may just be a decision not to decide.

(b) Decision-making involves a set of alternatives. A decision problem arises only when there are two or more alternatives. If there is only one alternative, there is no decision to be made.

(c) Decision-making is a dynamic process. It involves a time dimension and a time lag. The techniques used for choice vary with the type of problem involved and the time available for its solution. It is situational.



(d) Decision-making is always related to the environment. An executive may take one decision in a particular set of circumstances and another in a different set of circumstances.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Role of public opinion and socio-economic conditions of the people.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Richard C. Synder, H.W. Bruck and Burton Sapin

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Richard Snyder has maintained that in every society there is political action and behind every action there is the role of human activity. Again, human actions translate to policy decisions. How the society is to be managed or a governmental department is to be administered, it all relates to decisions taken by human beings. That is why, policy/decision is a dynamic force of action. Therefore, in order to study the society, it is necessary to analyse all the aspects of policy-making.



7.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Define decision-making .

Q. 2: Write any two dimensions of the Decision-Making Theory.

Q. 3: Explain the criticisms leveled against the Decision-Making Theory.

Q. 4: Discuss the importance of the Decision-Making Theory.

Q. 5: Explain the Decision-Making Theory as put forward by Herbert Simon.

Q. 6: Discuss critically Richard Snyder's Decision-Making Theory.

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UNIT 8: GAME THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Types of Games (Zero-Sum Games and Variable- Sum Games)

8.4 Basic Assumptions of Game Theory

8.5 Criticisms Against and Importance of Game Theory

8.6 Check Your Progress

8.7 Let Us Sum Up

8.8 Further Reading

8.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.10 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the origin and basic assumptions of the game theory
- discuss the types of game theory
- explain the importance of game theory
- identify the various shortcomings of game theory

8.2 INTRODUCTION

The Game theory is a theory which is based on certain mathematical models in the form of ceratin games played between two or more players. The game theory is based on the adoption of strategies or a combination of strategies among a range of alternative strategies guided by rational decision-making aimed at maximizing gains and minimizing losses on the part of a particular player or group of players.

8.3 ORIGIN AND CONCEPT OF GAME THEORY

The Game theory was first developed in the 1920s following the works of Emil Borel. In the 1930s and 1940s, there was an urge to apply

the idea of game theory to social science particularly in economics and politics. In 1932 the book written by P. G. Cambray titled, "The Game of Politics: A Study of the Principles of British Political Strategies" was published. This is credited to be the earliest and most methodical work about game theory. However, in subsequent years, it was John Von Neumann who made the game theory very popular. In 1943 the book titled "Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour" written by Neumann and Morgenstern was published.

After Neumann and Morgenstern, a host of scholars, namely, Schelling, Riker, Kaplan, Raiffa and others started using the game theory and since the 1960s it came to be used with increasing frequency.

Game theory is an important theory of international relations in particular, though it has applicability in other disciplines as well such as political science and economics. Game theory is defined as a body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition, wherein each participant or player seeks to maximize his gains and minimize his losses. Game theory stands for the application of mathematical models to the study of a political phenomena. As per the Concise Oxford English Dictionary game theory is "the mathematical study of strategies for dealing with competitive situations where the outcome of a participant's choice of action depends critically on the actions of other participants" .

As a matter of fact, the game theory has its origin in parlour games like chess, chicken, poker or bridge characterized by elements of conflict, cooperation, decision-making competition, wherein two or more players participate and the decision of each player is dependent on the decisions of the other player(s). Accordingly, the key point is the interdependence among the decisions of different players participating in the game. The ultimate goal of the each player is to win the game but the choices he or she makes to reach that goal is invariably linked with the choice or choices of the other players. (J.C.Johari, Comparative Politics , Sterling Publishers Private Limited). Thus, the outcome of the game and the strategies

employed by a player depend upon the strategy of the other player(s). In this way, games proceed from one strategic point to another strategic point.

Adoption of strategies or a combination of strategies among a range of alternative strategies, rational decision-making, maximizing gains and minimizing losses are both crucial components of the Game theory. The Game theory is of great relevance to economics and has substantial importance in political science in general and international relations in particular.

Game theory is also known as interactive decision theory as it studies the behaviour of decision-makers in situations of strategic interdependence. Game theory lays stress on taking rational decisions in conflict situations against the backdrop of the interplay of decisions and strategies of the players involved.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Name the authors of "Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour" published in 1943.

.....

Q.2: Write about the basic concept of the Game theory.

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8.4 TYPES OF GAMES (ZERO-SUM GAMES AND VARIABLE-SUM GAMES)

The exponents of the Game theory have devised different types of games. These can broadly be divided into : (i) Zero-Sum game theories of two persons and (ii) Variable Sum game theory.

(i) Zero-Sum Games

In game theory , a zero-sum game is a mathematical representation of a situation in which each participant's gain or loss is exactly

balanced by the losses or gains of the other participants. Thus, cutting a cake where taking a larger piece reduces the amount of cake available for others, is a zero-sum game if all participants value each unit of cake equally.

The different types of zero-sum games are as follows:

a) *Two-Persons Zero-Sum Game:* This is a type of game theory which is played by two persons and is a very simple type of game. It is a game of pure opposition. Chess, bridge and poker fall in this category. It is strictly competitive and rules out the need for communication, discussion and bargaining. The participants in such a struggle are sheer opponents. In such a situation, there are only two players with the result that the gains of one are always equal to the losses of another. A zero-sum game is a strictly competitive game.

b) *Two-persons Non-Constant-Sum Game:* In this game of two players, both sides arrive at some mutual settlement by making some side concessions or payments so that both sides could gain from a cooperative solution and resolve their differences.

c) *N-Person Non-Constant-Sum Game:* Where there are more than two players, like-minded players can form a coalition by pooling their resources and unite against their adversaries. The players constituting the coalition work out a mechanism to distribute their pay-offs equally. The coalition partners take collective decisions during the play.

(ii) Variable-Sum games

Variable-Sum game is another type of game theory propunded by Karl Deutsch in his "The Analysis of International Relations". This type of game theory is also known as Mixed-Motive games. Deutsch says that though majority of the games fall in the category of zero-sum games, yet in reality , there are numerous various variations. One such variation is Variable-Sum games. According to Deutsch, these are games in which the players not only win something competitively from one another but also collectively stand to gain or

lose something from an additional player. Such games are mixed-motive games for their primary players. Such games are generally characterized by competition and coordination.

In a variable-sum game, there are different payoffs for different players depending on the strategies they utilize. This is the opposite of constant sum game in which all the outcomes involve the same payoffs or rewards for all the players. In variable sum games, players have some interests in common which may lead to all players being better off through cooperation. (source: http://www.gametheory.net/dictionary/VariableSum.html)



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: What are the two broad types of game theories?

.....

Q.4: Write briefly about Two-Persons Zero-Sum Game.

.....

.....

.....

8.5 BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF GAME THEORY

There are different concepts and assumptions of the Game theory. These are-

a) There are players or decision makers; they may be individuals or institutions.

b) Each decision-maker (player) has available to him two or more well-specified choices or courses of action .

c) Each player is rational is guided by rationality. All players act rationally and intelligently.

d) Each player is aware of the alternatives available to him or her and chooses the course of action that will yield him the best result or the maximum pay-offs by maximizing gains and minimizing losses. The

reward of the game is called pay-off. The best pay-off is victory. Draw is second best.

e) The game terminates with a particular outcome accruing to each player. The course of action adopted by a player determines the outcome for that player. Thus, very possible course of action available to the players leads to a well-defined end-state (win, loss, or draw) that terminates the game.

f) Each decision-maker has perfect knowledge of the game.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write any two assumptions of the Game theory.

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8.6 CRITICISMS AND IMPORTANCE OF GAME THEORY

Game theory is not free from criticisms, although it is of substantial importance to the field of International Relations and Economics. It is said that game theory is primarily deductive and cannot be used successfully in empirical investigation. It assumes decision-makers are perfectly rational creatures or they are moral in their calculations and they have perfect information available to them. This is never possible in practice.

It is said that game theory is an approach not a theory. According, to the critics, it is an approach which can help us to analyse International Relations but it does not offer a theory of International Relations. Secondly, no game, no technical design can be used fully for describing and explaining the actual struggle or competition or conflict among nations. Thirdly, its assumption that individuals possess reliable knowledge of various alternatives and that they correctly perceive the value of certain outcomes and of the probabilities of attaining them is again wrong and impractical.

Despite these criticisms, it is said that game theory is very useful and it can be used for studying certain concrete problems of International Relations. Game theory is a classic theory which is applicable in almost all the fields. It basically offers certain mathematical models of differences and cooperation between the decision-makers. It helps not only theoretically but also in the practical decision-making process. It offers a certain kind of rationality to research which can be very useful for theory-building in international politics. It is the study of the choices of strategies by interacting rational agents or decision-makers which is why it is an interactive decision theory. Moreover, it can be very helpful in analyzing the nature of conflict and the process of conflict resolution in International Politics. Thus, it can be concluded that the game theory can be used as an approach to the study of International Politics and bears ample significance. It can lead to better decision-making as through proper evaluation of the available courses of cation, the actual outcome of the chosen decision would be better aligned with the decision-maker's intended outcome. It has evolved as a powerful and indispensable tool to analyse and evaluate real world scenerios.

In the post Second World War period, one could make use of the game theory in order to analyse international politics. During the Cold War, the two superpowers (USA and USSR) adopted strategies to counter each other and be ahead of the other, both militarily and otherwise. They even formed alliances to counter each other. Thus, the strategy of games was in full usage during the Cold War. In the post-Cold War period two, we see a multipolar world emerging with many new players like India, China, Russia, Brazil, etc. over and above the traditional big powers like USA, UK, Japan, Germany, etc. Thus we now see new strategies of games being adopted by different powers in terms of cooperation and containment.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.6: Write about the importance of the Game theory.

.....

.....



8.7 LET US SUM UP

- The Game theory was first developed in the 1920s following the works of Emil Borel. In the 1930s and 1940s, there was an urge to apply the idea of game theory to social science particularly in economics and politics.
- In 1932 the book written by P. G. Cambray titled, "The Game of Politics: A Study of the Principles of British Political Strategies" was published. This is credited to be the earliest and most methodical work about game theory. However, in subsequent years, it was John Von Neumann who made the game theory very popular. In 1943 the book titled "Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour" written by Neumann and Morgenstern was published.
- After Neumann and Morgenstern, a host of scholars, namely, Schelling, Riker, Kaplan, Raiffa and others started using the game theory and since the 1960s it came to be used with increasing frequency.
- Game theory is an important theory of international relations in particular, though it has applicability in other disciplines as well such as political science and economics. Game theory is defined as a body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition, wherein each participant or player seeks to maximize his gains and minimize his losses.
- Game theory is also known as interactive decision theory as it studies the behaviour of decision-makers in situations of strategic interdependence. Game theory lays stress on taking rational decisions in conflict situations against the backdrop of the interplay of decisions and strategies of the players involved.
- The exponents of the Game theory have devised different types of games. These can broadly be divided into : (i) Zero-Sum game theories of two persons and (ii) Variable Sum game theory.

- In game theory , a zero-sum game is a mathematical representation of a situation in which each participant's gain or loss is exactly balanced by the losses or gains of the other participants.
- Variable-Sum game is another type of game theory propunded by Karl Deutsch in his "The Analysis of International Relations". This type of game theory is also known as Mixed-Motive games.
- Deutsch says that though majority of the games fall in the category of zero-sum games, yet in reality, there are numerous various variations. One such variation is Variable-Sum games.
- In a variable-sum game, there are different payoffs for different players depending on the strategies they utilize. This is the opposite of constant sum game in which all the outcomes involve the same payoffs or rewards for all the players. In variable sum games, players have some interests in common which may lead to all players being better off through cooperation.
- There are different concepts and assumptions of the Game theory such as: there are players or decision makers; they may be individuals or institutions; each decision-maker (player) has available to him two or more well-specified choices or courses of action; each player is rational is guided by rationality. All players act rationally and intelligently; each player is aware of the alternatives available to him or her and chooses the course of action that will yield him the best result or the maximum pay-offs by maximizing gains and minimizing losses; The game terminates with a particular outcome accruing to each player. The course of action adopted by a player determines the outcome for that player; each decision-maker has perfect knowledge of the game
- Game theory is not free from criticisms, although it is of substantial importance to the field of International Relations and Economics. It is said that game theory is primarily deductive and cannot be used successfully in empirical investigation. It assumes decision-makers are perfectly rational creatures or they are moral in their calculations

and they have perfect information available to them. This is never possible in practice.

- Despite criticisms, it is said that game theory is very useful and it can be used for studying certain concrete problems of International Relations. It helps not only theoretically but also in the practical decision-making process. It offers a certain kind of rationality to research which can be very useful for theory-building in international politics. It is the study of the choices of strategies by interacting rational agents or decision-makers which is why it is an interactive decision theory. Moreover, it can be very helpful in analyzing the nature of conflict and the process of conflict resolution in International Politics.



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1. Ghosh, Peu, 'International Relations'. PH Learning Private Limited. New Delhi.
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5. Ray, S.N. (2006). Modern Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

8.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Neumann and Morgenstern

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Game theory is an important theory of international relations in particular, though it has applicability in other disciplines as well such as political science and economics. Game theory is

defined as a body of thought dealing with rational decision strategies in situations of conflict and competition, wherein each participant or player seeks to maximize his gains and minimize his losses. Game theory is also known as interactive decision theory as it studies the behaviour of decision-makers in situations of strategic interdependence. Game theory lays stress on taking rational decisions in conflict situations against the backdrop of the interplay of decisions and strategies of the players involved.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: (i) Zero-Sum game theories of two persons and (ii) Variable Sum game theory.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: In game theory , a zero-sum game is a mathematical representation of a situation in which each participant's gain or loss is exactly balanced by the losses or gains of the other participants. Thus, cutting a cake where taking a larger piece reduces the amount of cake available for others, is a zero-sum game if all participants value each unit of cake equally.

Ans. to Q. No. 5: (a) There are players or decision makers; they may be individuals or institutions.

(b) Each decision-maker (player) has available to him two or more well-specified choices or courses of action .

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Game theory is very useful and it can be used for studying certain concrete problems of International Relations. Game theory is a classic theory which is applicable in almost all the fields. It basically offers certain mathematical models of differences and cooperation between the decision-makers. It helps not only theoretically but also in the practical decision-making process. It offers a certain kind of rationality to research which can be very useful for theory-building in international politics. It is the study of the choices of strategies by interacting rational agents or decision-makers which is why it is an interactive decision theory. Moreover, it can be very helpful in analyzing the nature of conflict and the process of conflict resolution in International Politics. Thus, it can be concluded that the game theory can be used as an approach to

the study of International Politics and bears ample significance. In the post Second World War period, one could make use of the game theory in order to analyse international politics. During the Cold War, the two superpowers (USA and USSR) adopted strategies to counter each other and be ahead of the other, both militarily and otherwise. They even formed alliances to counter each other. Thus, the strategy of games was in full usage during the Cold War. In the post-Cold War period two, we see a multipolar world emerging with many new players like India, China, Russia, Brazil, etc. over and above the traditional big powers like USA, UK, Japan, Germany, etc. Thus we now see new strategies of games being adopted by different powers in terms of cooperation and containment.



8.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Discuss the Game theory. Explain the criticisms leveled against the Game theory.

Q. 2: Explain the importance of the Game theory.

Q. 3: Write any five assumptions of the Game theory.

Q. 4: Write a note on Variable Sum game.

Q. 5: Discuss the different types of games devised by the exponents of the Game theory. What is the importance of the Game theory?

*** ***** ***

Name of the Paper: .....
Course Code: .....

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Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

The Director, Centre for Internal Quality Assurance, KKHandiqui State Open University
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1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I)	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II)	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III)	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
IV)	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V)	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
VI)	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
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VIII)	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

.....

.....

2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

.....

.....

Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.