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Modern Political Analysis

SEMESTER III

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK : 2

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POLITICAL SCIENCE
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INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK 2

This is the second block of the first course titled “Modern Political Analysis” of the MA Third Semester Programme of KKHSOU in Political Science. The block contains seven units (units 9-15).

The ninth unit discusses the Elite Theories of Vilfred Pareto,Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michels,Ortega Gasset and a few other elite theories. The tenth unit discusses the concepts of Power, Authority & Legitimacy. The eleventh unit discusses the Theories of Modernization put forward by W.W. Rostow and Samuel P. Huntington. The twelfth unit discusses Political Development and the views of Lucian Pie. The thirteenth unit discusses the Role and Functions of Political Parties.The fouteenth unit discusses Pressure Groups and Interest Groups. The fifteenth unit discusses the State Institutions of Military, Police and Bureaucracy.

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 9: ELITE THEORIES

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Meaning of Elite

9.4 Vilfred Pareto: Circulation of Elites

9.5 Gaetano Mosca: The Ruling Class

9.6 Robert Michels: The Iron Law of Oligarchy

9.7 Ortega Gasset

9.8 Other Elite Theories

9.9 Appraisal of the Elite Theories

9.10 Let Us Sum Up

9.11 Further Reading

9.12 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.13 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- expalin the meaning of elite
- discuss the major elite theories including those of Vilfred Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michels and Ortega Gasset.
- explain a few other elite theories
- present an appraisal of the elite theories.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

In any society, we find that there exists a small grioup of people who by virtue of their intellectual capabilities, wealth postion, social status, professional excellence, etc. enjoy a superior position in the society and exert tremendous influence upon all other sections. This small group is what is known as "elite". In this unit, we shall discuss the concept of elite and different theories relating to elite.

9.3 MEANING OF ELITE

The dictionary meaning of the word 'Elite' is "the chosen element in the population". As such, groups of chosen elements in society are referred to as the 'elites'. Elite constitutes minority of the population but it is a centre of power and enjoys a superior position in the society. "Chosen elements" consist of those persons who sit at the top of the society over others. In the words of G.D.H. Cole "The chosen class may exist in a big family, club, trade union, bureaucracy, armed forces etc. to demonstrate that a group emerged to positions of leadership and influence at every social level." Elites operate in every field in life. There is intellectual elite, the elite of the city, elite of the lawyers, etc. They are the selected successful persons in different walks of life. In the context of politics an elite is called a political elite and it consists of the persons who wield political power in the political system. Despite being a minority group, it effectively controls all the effective centres of political power.

There are different theories put forward by different thinkers who tried to explain the nature of the elites in their own ways. The table below would help to have a quick glimpse of the basic ideas regarding the elites:

POLITICAL ELITE THEORISTS		
Theorist	***Approaches***	***Contentions***
Gaetano Mosca	Organizational	In every society, two classes of people exist-the rulers and the ruled- the former is always less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys advantages that follow, tries to find out a legal and moral basis for being in the citadels of powers.
Robert Michels	Organizational	According to Robert Michels, all organizations are run by a "leadership class", who often act as administrators, executives, spokespersons or political strategists for the organization.
Vilfredo Pareto	Organizational	History is the graveyard of aristocracies, elites remain in circulation, they rise and fall, one elite replacing another.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The word 'Elite' refers to "the chosen element in the population". (True/False)

.....

Q.2: According to Mosca, in every society two classes of people exist- the _____ and the _____ (Fill in the blanks)

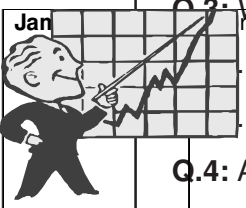
Q.3: What is G.D.H. Cole explanation regarding elite?

.....

.....

Q.4: According to Vilfredo Pareto, elites remain in circulation. (True/False)

.....



Jan	nomic	The power of elites has its source in the ownership of the means of production and distribution of goods. the privileged few manages to receive preferential treatment from the society and thereby prevent others from being in power.
C.W. Millls	Institutional	The elites are a product of the institutional landscape of society. power is an attribute not of classes but of institutions, all elites cannot be of equal significance as only a few may have access to the seats of power.

9.4 VILFRED PARETO: CIRCULATION OF ELITES

Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) was a social scientist who was the pioneer in propounding the elite theory of power. Individuals perpetually differ from one another in their abilities and capacity thus making inequality inevitable in the society, which is the main basis of the elite theory of power. There is a minority in every society, which effectively rules and exercises power and influence. It does so because it possesses some extra-ordinary characteristics- intellectual ability, administrative acumen, military power or moral authority. It therefore, forms the elite of a given society. One of the famous books authored by Pareto is titled "The Mind and Society".

Pareto, who made popular the concept of elite (derived from Mosca), said, "so let us make a class of people who have the highest indices in their branch of activity and to that class give the name of elite". Pareto defined elite as "a small number of individuals, who in each sphere of activity have succeeded and arrived at higher echelon in the professional hierarchy." In other words, Pareto advocates that some persons are superior in their abilities while others possess inferior abilities. The class of people possessing superior abilities constitutes the elite. Let us, discuss the elite theory under the following headings:

- **Pareto's Division of Society into Two Strata:** Pareto maintains that the population of society stands divided into two strata: (I) the lower stratum (the masses and the non-elites), and (II) the higher stratum-the elite or the ruling elite. He further sub-divides the higher stratum into two parts- the governing elite and the non-governing elite------ the **governing elite** comprises the small number of individuals who are directly or indirectly play a significant part in the government and wields power and **non-governing elite** comprises all other successful persons. The non-governing elite includes the successful businessmen, artists, politicians, lawyers, engineers and so on.
- **Attributes of Governing Elites:** The governing elites have ideal qualities of mental faculties and courage- an ideal combination of the qualities of a lion and a fox. They use of force to rule and reason to justify their rule. Force over the lower stratum and propaganda for winning support are together employed by the governing elites to rule their societies.
- **Concept of Circulation of Elites:** Pareto observed that "history is a graveyard of aristocracies". Old elites always give way to new elites. Elites are in a flux. They are dynamic and not static. In every society, there is an unceasing movement of individuals and resulting in a considerable decline in the qualities of the classes which still hold power, and on the other hand, in an increase of the elements

of superior quality in the subject classes. Pareto discusses various kinds of circulation of elites (I) between different categories of governing elites itself and (II) between the elite and the rest of population. The latter may involve (A) individuals from lower strata entering the existing elite and (B) individuals in the lower strata forming new elite groups and entering a struggle for power with the existing elite.

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: "The mind and society" is written by whom?

.....



The elite is the highest stratum within a _____ (Fill in lanks)

Q.7: What is the two divisions of elites according to Pareto?

.....

.....

Q.8: Why does Pareto occupy a special position in the contribution towards the study of elite?

.....

.....

.....



Organizational approach: It a is a "top down" approach and is an approach to management that delivers plans, goals and directives from higher levels to those below

9.5 GAETANO MOSCA: THE RULING CLASS

Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941) aimed to develop a universal theory of political society and his more general theory of the political class reflects this aim. Mosca was an Italian jurist and political theorist who, by applying a historical method to political ideas and institutions, elaborated the concept

of a ruling minority, present in all societies. Mosca defined modern elites in term of their superior organizational skills. His work, "The Ruling Class" is one of the most prominent books authored by Mosca. According to Mosca, the ruling class is a minority in number and smaller in group and better organized compared to the unorganized ruled class who are a majority in number. The elites are organized minorities in a society.

Mosca adopted the **organizational approach** for his study. He believed oligarchy elements as the base for elite recruitment. He quotes, "In all societies from societies that are meagerly developed and have barely attained the dawning of civilization down to the most advanced and powerful societies - **two classes of people** appear- a class that rules and a class that ruled".

The **first class**, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that comes with the same.

Whereas the **second** the more numerous class is directed and controlled by the first in a manner that is more or less legal.

The larger the political community the smaller will be the proportion of the governing minority and more difficult it will be for the majority to organize against the minority.

Mosca, firmly believes that an elite holds power in an organization on the basis of ability and aptitude to command and exercise political control. They hold and retain power as long as they have the aptitude to command. Once the ruling class looses the aptitude to rule, command and control, there is possibility of replacement of elites. In this way Mosca admits the circulation of elite's theory advocated by Pareto.

In his opinion, the elites who do not adapt to changing conditions and fail to solve the emerging or new problems or interests are likely to be replaced by the new ones. Thus, Mosca advises the governing elites to bring gradual alteration in the political system in order to make it conform to changes desired by public opinion. Mosca accordingly gives his conception of **'Political Formula'**, which is similar to Pareto's concept of **'Derivation'**.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: "The Ruling Class" is one of ……. popular works. (Fill in the blank)

Q.10: Mosca adopted the..... approach for his study. (Fill in the blanks)

9.6 ROBERT MICHELS: THE IRON LAW OF OLIGARCHY

Robert Michels (1876-1936), the student of Mosca repeated the organizational approach in his famous book entitled "Political Parties" in the year 1911. He defends the **"Iron Law of Oligarchy"** which provides unchecked and uncontrollable power to elites in a political system. However, his theory of elite differs from that of Mosca.

Michels admits the virtue and ability of elites in controlling the political system. He believes elites as a minority group hold, influence and controls the political system by virtue of 'Iron Laws of Oligarchy'. According to Michels "Elites consists of those few persons who are able to control the apathetic, indolent and slavish people who are susceptible to flattering and obsequious (obedient) in the presence of strength". His argument is based on the supreme power and grip of elite in an organization. All complex organizations turn into oligarchies run by an elite or leadership class.

According to him, "Organization is simply another way of spelling Oligarchy". In his opinion, even the most democratic modern societies and within those societies the most advanced parties are unable to escape from the "Iron Law of Oligarchy". The power of an organization is vested in the hands of a leadership which is exercised by bureaucracy and other leading politicians of the party. The party hierarchy becomes an established career, once the leaders reach the pinnacle of power, nothing can bring them down. An example that Michels used was Germany's Social Democratic Party.

The elite's power is sustained because of mass - mind, which is not careful but slavish, apathetic, inapt and politically neutral. The shrewd leaders use their power, skill and oratory. Thus, they dominate and influence the masses to follow and obey their orders and follow directions. "If the laws are passed to control the domination of leaders, it is the laws which gradually weaken and not the leaders".

According to Michels, even in a representative democracy, it is impossible to eliminate elite rule and such elite rule, which he calls oligarchy, is inevitable.

The works of Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels inspired subsequent studies by political scientists of the process of the "circulation of elites" within democracies and other political systems.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.11: The "Iron Law of Oligarchy" is associated with Mosca (True/False)

.....

Q.12: According to Michels, "Organization is simply another way of spelling ....." (Fill in the Blank)

9.7 ORTEGA GASSET

Ortega Gasset was a philosopher and humanist who greatly influenced the cultural and literary renaissance of Spain in the 20th century. Gasset (1883-1955) provides unprecedented power to masses. He firmly believed that people choose elites on the basis of their outstanding abilities. They select their leaders by pouring their vast store of vital enthusiasm, belief and trust that they may guide and lead the masses in a better way. They remain in power as long as they enjoy the trust and confidence of masses.

According to Gasset, the rule and the ruled, the capacity to lead and the capacity to be led is natural and common in human phenomena. Thus on this belief he has developed masses backed elite theory. Gasset

defines elite as a person of outstanding ability, who assumes power with the backup of masses. In his opinion masses recruit and remove elites. Thus, elites are the chosen elements of the population. Masses render support and repose faith in their administration as long as they are satisfied and feel safe.

He quotes, "The masses revolt when aristocracy becomes corrupt and inefficient, and the motive behind the revolt is not that they have objection of being ruled by aristocracy but would like to be ruled by a more competent aristocracy." Thus, in the disillusionment, the masses again turn to their new leadership and a new aristocracy emerges.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.13: According to Gasset defines elite as a person of outstanding ability, who assumes power with the backup of …… (Fill in the Blank)

Q.14: According to Gasset, elites remain in power as long as they enjoy the trust and confidence of masses. (True/False)

……

9.8 OTHER ELITIST THEORIES

Besides the above mentioned theories of elite, we have also some other theories which are worth describing to have a lucid understanding of the concept of elite.

- **James Burnham**

  Burnham's Elite's theory constitutes an attempt to **combine the theory of Elitism with the principles of Marxism**. He advocates the view that the present capitalist system would ultimately be replaced by a society in which the income and political institutions will be replaced by a society in which the income and political institutions are controlled by a few persons only. He designates these persons as the **Managerial Elite**.

In a capitalist society, whole business is controlled by the professional managers. The basis of elite power is control over production i.e. income. "The easiest way to discover the ruling elite in any society is usually to see what group gets biggest income." Buruham, accepts, like Marx, the importance of means of production in society. However, the similarity between his views and Marxism ends here. Whereas, Marxism believes that after the revolution, the means of production will come into the hands of the proletariat, Buruham, advocates that means of production are and destined to be in the hands of the elite- the group of persons controlling the means of production and income of the society.

- **C.Wright Mills**

According to C. Wright Mills, the basis of elite power is economic and social and not just economic as argued by Burnham. He advocates that those who occupy top positions in the institutions are power elites. They move on to positions of power in the government. According to Mills, "Elites are those who hold the leading positions in the strategic hierarchies". He is concerned with power and rule rather than legal sources of legitimacy. In his opinion, power is not an attribute of classes or persons but of institutions. His book, "Power Elites" (1959), adopted the "institutional power approach" for the study of elites.

It is the power in an institution that determines the position, status, authority and influence of elite in a modem society. The institutional power determines the role of elites and further empowers them to determine or fix the role of others in a contemporary society.

Karl Mannheim, Anthony Downs and Joseph Schumpeter are the other leading exponents who further developed the elite theory under different political systems in the modern period.

- **Karl Mannheim**

Karl Mannheim initially related elite theory with Fascism and later made a reconciliation between elite theory and democratic theory.

The theory of elites proposes **the rule of few and a microscopic minority which is obviously opposed to democratic form of government**. He argues that the nature of society remains democratic, even though the policy and decision making is in the hand of chosen elites.

The people cannot take direct part in the government but they can make their aspirations felt at certain intervals and this is sufficient for the government. Though the actual shaping of policy is in the hands of elites. Mannheim says that there should be an effort to narrow the gap between elites and masses for stable governance. He insists that selection of elites must be on the basis of merit and the distance between elites and masses should be reduced.

- **Joseph Schumpeter**

Joseph adopted the institutional method to identify the nature of elites and forms of government. In his book, "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy", he proposed plurality of elite theory. The democratic method is the institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the votes of the people.

This shows that democracy is not a government of the people or a means to give effect to the will of the people. The role of people is merely to choose their rulers from competing elites. The one great merit of democracy is that it does not allow political leadership to wield absolute power. Leadership must draw up policies to win over the electorate. The initiative remains in the hands of the leaders and the people merely decide which among those leaders should represent them. Schumpeter added an economic input while choosing the competitive elites in a democratic society.

- **Anthony Downs**

Anthony Downs, the author of "Economic Theory of Democracy" emphasises the role of economic inputs as a major factor in elite recruitment. Parties in democratic politics, writes Anthony Downs

"are analogous to entrepreneurs in a profit seeking economy. So as to attain their profit ends, they formulate whatever politics they believe will gain the most votes, just as entrepreneurs produce whatever products they believe will gain the most profits for the same reasons".



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.15: Mill believed that the basis of elite power is economic and social. (True/False)

……

Q.16: The book "Power Elites" is written by _____. (Fill in the blank)

Q.17: Explain Burnham's idea of elite?

……

……

……

Q.18: Karl Mannheim initially related elite theory with Fascism. (True/False)

……

Q.19: Joseph Schumpeter adopted _____ method to identify the nature of elites and forms of government. (Fill in the Blank)

9.9 APPRAISAL OF THE ELITE THEORIES

The elite theories first of all share almost the same views. The following are the **similarities**:

- Almost all the elite theorists agrees that elite is subject to changes in every society. This has been described by many as the "Circulation of Elites."
- Elite theories view democracy as the ultimate form an Oligarchy.
- Every segment of social relationship is dominated by elite.
- In every society, power is really enjoyed by a small group of persons who have high prestige and widespread influence. This group is called the governing elite or the power elite.

- It believes that the rule of the elite is natural and is a condition without which no political system, not even a democratic system can be successful.
- The Elitist theorists contributed to better understanding of social and political life of societies. The key concept is "power" and those who weild power become the leaders of thde society. Heredity, wealth, intellect, organizations and institutions are the means to get power.

The following are the some of the **limitations** of the elitist theory:

- The elite theories wrongly assume inequality as the basis of society. Fundamentally, all are equal in the sense that all are capable of developing their faculties on the basis of which they could occupy any public office. No one is inherently more able and wise than others. The difference in intelligence and qualities is that of degree and not of kind. As such, the division between the elite and the masses is not organic.
- The elite theories are a conservative theory because they give a theory of democracy to justify the prevailing socio-economic and political inequalities in several societies. It builds up a strong thesis, though partial and subjective, in favour of the traditionally existing malpractices.
- The elite theories fail to suggest remedies for the prevailing defects of the democratic political systems. On the contrary, they build up a defence of some of the evil practices characterizing the contemporary political systems.
- The elite theories are based on the institutional and not on the ideological aspect of democracy. It is mainly descriptive in nature. It believes in the "end of ideology" theory and maintains that ideologies are meaningless because every political system is bound to be governed by the "Iron law of Oligarchy".
- The elite theories wrongly reject the principle of social, political and legal equality of the people. It is wrong in so far as it rejects the principle of responsibility and accountability of the rulers to the masses.



ACTIVITY 9.1

Observe the Indian society and analyze the role of elite. Also find out which explanation of elite is appropriate in the contemporary society.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.20: Discuss any two limitations of the elitist theories.

……

……

……



9.10 LET US SUM UP

- The dictionary meaning of the word 'Elite' is "the chosen element in the population". As such, groups of chosen elements in society are referred to as the 'elites'. Elite constitutes minority of the population but it is a centre of power and enjoys a superior position in the society.
- Elites operate in every field in life. There is intellectual elite, the elite of the city, elite of the lawyers, etc. They are the selected successful persons in different walks of life. In the context of politics an elite is called a political elite and it consists of the persons who wield political power in the political system. Despite being a minority group, it effectively controls all the effective centres of political power.
- There are different theories put forward by different thinkers who tried to explain the nature of the elites in their own ways.
- Vilfred Pareto defined elite as "a small number of individuals, who in each sphere of activity have succeeded and arrived at higher echelon in the professional hierarchy." In other words, Pareto advocates that some persons are superior in their abilities while others possess inferior abilities. The class of people possessing superior abilities constitutes the elite.

- Pareto maintains that the population of society stands divided into two strata: (I) the lower stratum (the masses and the non-elites), and (II) the higher stratum-the elite or the ruling elite. He further sub-divides the higher stratum into two parts- the governing elite and the non-governing elite
- Pareto observed that Old elites always give way to new elites. Elites are in a flux. They are dynamic and not static. In every society, there is an unceasing movement of individuals and resulting in a considerable decline in the qualities of the classes which still hold power, and on the other hand, in an increase of the elements of superior quality in the subject classes. Pareto discusses various kinds of circulation of elites.
- Gaetano Mosca aimed at developing a universal theory of political society and his more general theory of the political class reflects this aim. According to Mosca, the ruling class is a minority in number and smaller in group and better organized compared to the unorganized ruled class who are a majority in number. The elites are organized minorities in a society.
- Mosca adopted the organizational approach for his study.
- Mosca, firmly believes that an elite holds power in an organization on the basis of ability and aptitude to command and exercise political control. They hold and retain power as long as they have the aptitude to command. Once the ruling class looses the aptitude to rule, command and control, there is possibility of replacement of elites. In this way Mosca admits the circulation of elite's theory advocated by Pareto.
- Mosca accordingly gives his conception of 'Political Formula', which is similar to Pareto's concept of 'Derivation'.
- Robert Michels defends the "Iron Law of Oligarchy" which provides unchecked and uncontrollable power to elites in a political system. Michels admits the virtue and ability of elites in controlling the political

system. He believes elites as a minority group hold, influence and controls the political system by virtue of 'Iron Laws of Oligarchy'.

- The elite's power is sustained because of mass - mind, which is not careful but slavish, apathetic, inapt and politically neutral. The shrewd leaders use their power, skill and oratory. According to Michels, even in a representative democracy, it is impossible to eliminate elite rule and such elite rule, which he calls oligarchy, is inevitable.
- Ortega Gasset believed that people choose elites on the basis of their outstanding abilities. They select their leaders by pouring their vast store of vital enthusiasm, belief and trust that they may guide and lead the masses in a better way. They remain in power as long as they enjoy the trust and confidence of masses.
- James Burnham's gave the concept of Managerial Elite.
- According to C. Wright Mills, the basis of elite power is economic and social and not just economic as argued by Burnham. He advocates that those who occupy top positions in the institutions are power elites.
- Karl Mannheim, Anthony Downs and Joseph Schumpeter also gave their perspectives on elites.



9.11 FURTHER READING

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

9.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: The rulers and the ruled

Ans. to Q. No. 3: "The chosen class may exist in a big family, club, trade union, bureaucracy, armed forces etc. to demonstrate that a group emerged to positions of leadership and influence at every social level."

Ans. to Q. No. 4: True

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Vilfred Pareto

Ans. to Q. No. 6: society

Ans. to Q. No. 7: The elite is divided into: (i) a governing elite; and (ii) a non-governing elite

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Pareto presents a theory of elites as the natural divisions based upon the unequal abilities of the members of society. He conceives of elites in terms of social elites and governing elites as well as explains the process of change in elites on the basis of his concept of 'circulation of elites'.

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Gaetano Mosca's

Ans. to Q. No. 10: organizational

Ans. to Q. No. 11: False

Ans. to Q. No. 12: Oligarchy

Ans. to Q. No. 13: masses

Ans. to Q. No. 14: True

Ans. to Q. No. 15: True

Ans. to Q. No. 16: C. Wright Mills

Ans. to Q. No. 17: Burnham's Elite-theory constitutes an attempt to combine the theory of Elitism with the principles of Marxism. He advocates the view that the present capitalist system would ultimately be replaced by a society in which the income and political institutions will be replaced by a society in which the income and political institutions are controlled by a few persons only. He designates these persons as the Managerial Elite.

Ans. to Q. No. 18: True

Ans. to Q. No. 19: institutional

Ans. to Q. No. 20:

(a) The elitist theory is a conservative theory because it gives a theory of democracy to justify the prevailing socio-economic political inequalities in several societies. It builds up a strong thesis, though partial and subjective, in favour of the traditionally existing malpractice.

(b) It fails to suggest remedies for the prevailing defects of the democratic political systems. On the contrary it builds up a defense of some of the evil practices characterizing the contemporary political systems.



9.13 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Explain Pareto's Division of Society into Two Strata.

Q. 2: Explain Pareto's concept of circulation of elites.

Q. 3: Explain Burnham's Managerial Elite.

Q. 4: Explain the elite theories of Gasset and Mills.

Q. 5: Explain the elite theory of Schumpeter.

Q. 6: Discuss comparatively the elite theories of Pareto , Mosca and Michels.

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UNIT 10: POWER, AUTHORITY & LEGITIMACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Power

- 10.3.1 Meaning of Power
- 10.3.2 Characteristics of power
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- 10.3.4 Forms of power
- 10.3.5 Methods of exercising power

10.4 Authority

- 10.4.1 Meaning of Authority
- 10.4.2 Characteristics of Authority
- 10.4.3 Basis of Authority
- 10.4.4 Relationship between Authority and Power

10.5 Legitimacy

- 10.5.1 Meaning of Legitimacy
- 10.5.2 Basis of Legitimacy
- 10.5.3 Types of Legitimacy

10.6 Let Us Sum Up

10.7 Further Reading

10.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.9 Possible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of power
- discuss the characteristics of power
- explain the sources of Power
- discuss the forms of power
- explain the methods of exercising power

- explain the meaning of authority
- discuss the characteristics of authority
- explain the basis of authority
- discuss the relationship between authority and power
- explain the meaning of legitimacy
- discuss the basis of legitimacy
- discuss the types of legitimacy.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

The study of politics is closely associated with three important concepts : power, authority and legitimacy. Politics is considered as a struggle for power. Separation of power from the study of Political Science is impossible. Robert A. Dahl demonstrates that power, influence and authority characterize the study of politics. Robert A Dahl argues, "Power, influence and authority are commonplace words that ordinary people share with political practitioners and political theorists. One hears of power to govern, the power of purse, political power, spiritual power, economic power, national power, judicial power, presidential power, black power, student power, state power."

10.3 POWER

10.3.1 Meaning of Power

The term "power" was derived from the Latin word "imperium", meaning "to be able". Thus, the concept of power is related to one's ability to influence other's behaviour and action.

➢ **Definitions of Power :**

There is no unanimity among scholars regrading the definition of power. Some definitions of power provided by eminent scholars are highlighted below:

In the definition given by Max Weber, power is "The chance of man or a number of men to realize their own will in a

communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.

R.H. Tawney defines power as "the capacity of an individual or group of individuals to modify the conduct of others in the manner which one desires".

Bertrand Russell regards power as "the production of intended effects".

M.G. Smith defines power as "the ability to act effectively over people and things using means, ranging from persuasion to coercion.

Samuel Beer writes, "One person exercises power over another when he intentionally acts in such a manner as to affect in a predictable ways the actions of others.

For George Schwarzenberger, " If A confronts B with the prospects of shifting his behaviour, A is attempting to exercise power over B."

A review of the scholarly definitions of power mentioned above reveals that power is one's capacity to influence other's behaviour and actions to meet intended interests. This is clear in these words of David Easton : "Power is the relationship in which one person or a group is able to determine the actions of another in the direction of the former's own ends." Power is used to achieve one's own ends. Therefore, Edward Shills remarks, 'Power is ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with one's own ends." Power is a central theme in politics.

10.3.2 Characteristics of Power

Being a central theme in the study of politics, power has some unique characteristics. Some of it salient characteristics are elaborated below :

1. Power is action-oriented and aims at achieving an end. Exercise of power is a calculative action. This is evident in the words of Anthony Giddens : "Power is the ability to make a difference, to change thing from what they would otherwise have been, 'A' exercises power over 'B' when 'A' affects 'B' in a manner contrary to 'B's interests.
2. Power is a relationship between the actors who exercise power and those over whom power is exercised. Therefore, Morgenthau argues that "power may comprise anything that establishes and maintains control of man over man and it covers all social relationships which serve that end, from physical violence to the most subtle psychological ties by which one mind controls another."
3. Power is characterized by occurrence of threats or punishments. The presence of threat or punishment in power is evident in these words of Robert A. Dahl : "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do."
4. Power is not tangible like wealth (such as money) in economics. However, power can be realized especially when it is exercised. So, Hans Morgenthau believes that power is a psychological relationship between its exercisers and those upon whom it is exercised. In the words of Morgenthau "By power we mean the power of man over the minds and actions of other men."
5. Distribution of power is not made equitably. For example, political elites share larger portion of power in a political system, whereas the ruled remains in the periphery of power. However, power is not static. For example during the cold war, the two super powers, namely the USA and the USSR, commanded nearly equitable power and influence. But with the disintegration and decline of the USSR, the world became unipolar where the USA exercised hegemonic power. Therefore, power and its

actors are changeable. Power, power-actors and power-relationships change according to situation and circumstances.

6. Power is relative and not absolute. Nobody can exercise power if power is not accepted by social norms, enacted laws and sanctions. It also implies that power requires somebody who is ready to obey what the power holders dictate. If they deny to accept, power ceases to function.
7. Sanction has to back power since power in the capacity to influence other's action and behaviour. Indeed, the state is distinguished from other political systems only to the extent that it successfully upholds the claim to the exclusive right to determine the conditions under which certain kinds of severe penalties, those inviting serious physical pain, constraint punishment, or death, may be legitimately employed. In other words, power is backed by legitimate sanctions.

10.3.3 Sources of Power

Scholars have identified various sources of power. Some of the major sources of power are detailed below :

1. According to Mao Tse-Tung, power emanates from force-generated fear. He holds that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". Therefore, force stands as an important source of power. It rests in coercion and force.
2. Knowledge is one of the prime sources of power. Francis Bacon says, "Knowledge is power", For example, possession of extraordinary expertise by a person in an organisation makes him/her legitimate power-authority (manager, chief executive or director) who is authorised to administer. Experiences and updated skills add to such power.
3. An organization works as a key source of power. An organization creates a collective and common platform where the leaders of that organization enjoy popular support,

enhancing their power and influence. For example, political parties provide organization strength to their leaders. Formation of government reinforces their power. Therefore, Gaetano Mosca claims that ruling elites enjoy and concentrate power and authority in their hands.

4. Authority is also considered as one of the main sources of power. Simply, authority implies 'the right to command and direct, to be heard and obeyed by others'. Legitimate power is called authority, implying that the power is accepted. For example, contesting elections legitimately allows political party/parties to form government and rule over a country. Authority empowers persons to exercise legitimate power upon the rest of the society, i.e, over the ruled.

5. A power holder cannot perform well if he/she fails to get support of the human resources available in a particular country. Power extracts from human resources, which consists of individuals and groups who obey, assist and cooperate with the ruler, voluntarily or under pressure, in spreading and implementing his/her policies over the society'. To be effective and efficient, a ruler requires all round and constant support from the concerned human resources.

6. The status possessed by individuals works as an important source of power. Robert A. Dahl argues that a person with sound resources can exercise and enjoy more power. For example, an individual with higher economic resources becomes more influential to exercise command over the rest of the society. Outstanding personality makes a charismatic leader with influential power.

7. Material resources also contribute to power understood in terms of access to property and assets, economic resources (such as money), natural resources (such as land and water), infrastructure facilities (such as housing facilities), and control

over media and other means of communication. Material Resources place an individual in an extraordinary position in a social or political system. By utilizing such material resources, he/she can exert tremendous influence.

8. Cultural supremacy acts as a source of power. Antonio Gramsci claims that cultural supremacy of the Western powers makes them hegemonic powers to administer their influence and rule across the globe.
9. Popular support also works as an important source of power. Will of the citizens, not force, is the basis of power. Mahatma Gandhi believes in the will of the people to enhance leaders' power with sufficient legitimacy.

Thus , power emanates from various sources. A person with power may receive his/her power from one or multiple sources of power.

10.3.4 Forms of Power

Scholars have classified power into different forms. In this section, some forms of power are discussed:

- According to **Crespigny**, power can be classified into six categories including **coercive, inductive, reactional, impedimental, attrahent** and **persuasive power**.

  Coercive power is based on force or threatening. **Inductive power** refers to that kind of power where someone provides something attractive or valuable to others to spread his/her influence over others. In a **reactional power** relationship, one is obeyed by the other when the latter thinks that obeying would help him/her or disobeying would lead to severe situation (such as punishment). **Impedimental power** occurs when the power-holder uses some constraints to influence the behaviour of others. For example, a high profile bureaucrat may get official work done by his/her subordinates

at the earliest by exercising his/her institutional position to withhold the promotion of their subordinates. **Attrahent** power is a power relationship where one loves or admires another because of the latter's attractive persuality or quality. This power is also known as charismatic power. **Persuasive power** is a result of persuasion and is based on rational or irrational arguments whereby one gets another to follow the former's actions by way of persuasion.

- **John French and Bertram Raven** classify power into five categories : **Coercive, reward, legitimate, referent** and **expert power.**

  Where the power exercisers use coercion or force to influence others' behaviour and action, it is known as **coercive power**. If one fails to obey, he/she would face coercive measures (such as capital punishment).

  Offering reward (such as bonus), one can exercise power over others, which is called **reward power**. For example, a Chief Managing Director (CMD) of a company may reward the best performing subordinates to encourage them and thus ensure their efficiency.

  Legitimate power is backed by formal arrangement such as law or constitution or agreement. For example, an elected Prime Minister (PM) can exercise power legitimately in accordance to the law of the land.

  Using charisma, popularity or acceptance, one can influence his/her flowers. For example, a high profile film star is more influential many his/her followers. This power is mean as **referent power**.

  Expert power emanates from one's extraordinary possession of knowledge, information expertise. Expert power is closely related with the statement "knowledge is power". Expert power creates an influential leader.

- **Max Weber** divides power into three categories, viz. **political power, economic power**, and **social power**. Political power is highly institutionalized, where one is empowered to administer. From the liberal point of view, political power works as a conflict resolution mechanism, and thus it becomes a neutral arbiter. Political power enjoys control over public or state resources such as labour, natural resources and wealth. Political power implies sovereignty. Political power is associated to the functionaries of the state. Political power aims to fulfill political objectives. John M. Pfiffner and Frank P. Sherwood define politics as "the process by which political power is acquired and exercised". Allen Ball places political power as the core concept of studying politics. This is evident in these words of Ball : "If politics is the resolution of conflict, the distribution of power within a political community determines how the conflict is to be resolved and whether the resolution is to be effectively observed by all parties." Political power commands sanctions. Allen Ball adds that the concept of power can be defined as 'the capacity to affect another's behaviour by some form of sanction'.

  There are two aspects of political power : formal and informal. Conventionally, political power rests with the legislature, executive and judiciary. These organs are formally empowered to exercise political power. They represent the formal aspects of political power. On the other hand, there are some other informal political organs, such as political parties, pressure groups and interest groups, which articulate their interests politically to influence the behaviour of the state and participate in decision making. Political power is characterized by use of sanction, and the sanction comes from lawful authority. Political authority can formulate and enforce public policy to run the entire political, social and economic system.

In the Weberian classification, we have also economic power. Generally, the power of the wealth or generated by wealth is known as economic power. One's possession and control over the means of production and distribution, for example, big industrialists, landlords, owners of Multi National Corporations (MNCs) are economically influential who can control not only the market but also the state. In Marxian analysis, the class, which commands control over the means of production and distribution, can use state power to get the interests fulfilled. According to F.A. Hayek, state intervention destroys liberty of individuals. Friedman comes with a suggestion that 'economic and political power should never combine' because such combination would lead to total destruction of individual liberty. Economic power leads to class-division of a society.

Max Weber also finds social power and places special emphasis on it. According Weber, some sections of the society enjoy special status in a society and thus they command control and influence over the rest of the society. Due to honour and prestige they own in a society, this section can take the role of key decision makers and become social elite. This social class concentrates power in their hands and is obeyed by the society.

Apart from the above, classification of power entails some other forms of power. Some of these forms of power are highlighted below:

- **Ideological Power:**

Ideological power is based on ideology. Scholars define ideology as a systematic set of arguments used to justify an existing or desired social order. Ideology works as a guiding force. For example, western countries such as the USA believe in the liberal capitalist and democratic ideology. By expanding their ideology worldwide, western powers have established their

presence almost all over the world. During the Cold War, the two power blocs led by the USSR and the USA were successful in garnering support for their respective ideologies from like minded countries. Antonio Gramsci holds that states use ideological apparatures to create hegemony. There are various ideologies such as Marxism, Capitalism, Nazism, Fascism, Militarism, Communism, Populism etc. Ideological power creates ideological leadership.

- **Psychological Power :**

  Psychological Power has linkages with public opinion. Psychological power creates moral leadership. By boosting the morale of the international community as well as of the citizens, a political leader can enhance and realize national interests of the state. For example, recently the Indian leadership was successful to get some Pakistan based terrorists as international terrorists in the floor of the Security Council of the United Nations. This is a diplomatic victory for India.

10.3.5 Methods of exercising Power

Exercising power requires various methods. Some of the methods used to exercise power are explained below.

1. **Persuasion :**

   Persuasion is the most widely used and effective method used in exercising power. Persuasion helps to motivate others without resorting to force or punishment. In international relations, state-actors use persuasion to fulfill and improve national interests. Scholars hold that 'the art' of persuasion consists in defining and logically explaining a particular problem or issue or dispute to other nations or any other nation'. Simply, through persuasion, a nation attempts to convince other nation (s) to advance its cause in international platforms.

2. Rewards :

Rewards imply offering gainful material or non-material support to others with the aim to get the reward-providers' interests fulfilled. Rewards also include psychological, economic or political benefits advanced to win support from others. At international platforms, developed western nations engage in providing financial assistance to economically poor countries of the developing world. Countries like the USA often offer economic packages to Asian Countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka or Bangladesh. Offering such economic assistance is not without an aim. It works as rewards on the part of the recipient-countries. And, the provider countries can influence these weaker nations as platforms to advance the former's national interests including expansion of latter's market to the countries of the developing world. Rewards also include military aid, technological support, weapons, training, loans and gifts, etc.

3. Punishment :

Punishment is also used to exercise power. It is important to note here that the nations that aim to exercise power through punishment, are to be powerful enough. Scholars show that 'a powerful nation can inflict punishment on an offending or unhelpful state by imposing economic sanctions or norms or policies or placing trade restrictions or ensuring a denial of a possible reward'. Usually, powerful nations engage in using threat of punishments against a disobeying state. If that fails, powerful nations do not hesitate to use military power or put economic sanctions to pressurise the opponents to change their behaviour or actions. For example, the USA launched the Operation Desert Storm (January 17, 1991 - February 28, 1991) against Iraq as a response to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. It was an attempt to change Iraq's behaviour whom the USA had warned.

4. Force :

Scholars opine that punishment is treated as a preventive measure, but when it is actually carried out, it becomes the use of force. It refers to the physical violence. Practical launch of the Operation Desert Storm by the USA against Iraq is the use of force, because it resorted to practical punitive actions. Therefore, force is the method where actual use of physical violence (force) is made, whereas punishment refers to the threat of use of force or violence. War is an example of force through which a nation attacks other state to secure the formers national interests.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The term "power" was derived from the Latin word "imperium", meaning "to be able". (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Who classified power into six categories including coercive, inductive, reactional, impedimental, attrahent and persuasive power?

.....

.....

Q.3: Mention any two characteristics of power.

.....

.....

Q.4: Mention any two methods of exercising power.

.....

.....

10.4 AUTHORITY

10.4.1 Meaning of Authority

The term "authority" is widely used in political science. The term "authority" is derived from the Latin word "auctor" or "auctoritos",

meaning "advice" or "counsel". Simply authority refers to "the right to command or to give an ultimate decision". In the following for sections, we will focus on some of the definitions of authority advanced by various scholars.

- **Definitions of Authority**

MacIver remarks, "Authority in often defined as being power, the power to command obedience."

Accordingly to Herbert A. Simon, "Authority is the power to make decisions which guides the actions of another. It is a relationship between individuals, one superior and the other subordinate. The superior frames and transmits decisions with expectations that they will be accepted by subordinates. The subordinates accept such decisions and their conduct is determined by them."

Jouvenel defines authority as the "ability of man to get his proposal accepted." Robert A. Dahl conceptualizes authority in these words : "A" commands "B" and "B" feels "A" has perfect right to do to and which he has a complete obligation to obey. Power of this kind is often said to be legitimate. But when "B" feels "A" has absolutely no right to ask him to obey, which he has no obligation to obey, and power perhaps of this kind is often said to be illegitimate. Legitimate power is often called authority. An important element of authority is legitimacy.

Carl J. Friedrich defines authority as "the embodiment of reason and depends on the capacity of reasoned elaboration."

According to Michels, "Authority is the capacity, innate or acquired for exercising ascendancy over a group."

Max Weber writes that authority is "the chance of commands being obeyed by a specifiable group of people. Legitimate authority is that which is recognised as legitimate and justified by both the ruler and the ruled."

Thus, authority refers to legitimate power. When power is exercised legitimately, then it is called authority. Authority emanates, according to Hannah Arendt, when command and obedience come into a relationship. S.E. Finer holds that here the 'command' implies 'a claim to be obeyed', and 'obedience is the 'recognition to the claim that it is right'. So, without legitimacy, authority does not exist. Finer shows that "fear is certainly the father of power, but authority is its mother. To inculcate the population with the belief that their rulers have the right to demand obedience and their corresponding duty to give it is the principal art of government.

10.4.2 Characteristics of Authority

The following are the characteristics of authority.

1. Authority is legitimate power. So, legitimacy is the core characteristic of authority.
2. Authority and power are closely associated. Authority is legitimate power, but power may not be authority if it lacks legitimacy.
4. Authority is based upon reason. According to Frederick, "The man who has authority possesses something that I would describe as the capacity for reasoned elaboration, for giving convincing reasons for what he does or proposes to have others to do." When power is exercised reasonably, people accept it and then it becomes authority.
5. Authority requires it to ensure accountability. For example, in democracy the democratically elected rulers are answerable to the citizens.

10.4.3 Types of Authority

Max Weber classifies authority into three types : rational - legal authority, traditional authority, and charismatic authority.

1. Rational - legal authority :

Rational - legal authority is 'formal' authority. If can be seen in modern administrative arrangements. For example, bureaucracy in a modern nation can be cited as an example of rational - legal authority. Rational - legal authority is based on formal rules and codified laws of a state. Impersonality and rationality are two prime characteristics of rational - legal authority. Bureaucracy, being a rational legal authority, is a specific administrative arrangement where the bureaucrats enjoy and exercise power in accordance with the established law and procedures of the land. They work in an well defined administrative set up. They enjoy obedience from the people not because of their personality or charisma or traditional loyalty, but because of uniform and codified rules and principles specified through laws, ordinance or constitution of a state. Rational - legal authority holds office through prescribed procedures such as election, nomination, selection or promotion.

2. Traditional Authority :

Traditional authority is based upon traditional customs, heritage, habits, cultural ties and social structures and values. Generally, power shifts from one generation to another in traditional authority. By virtue of traditionally accepted rules and principles, one with traditional social status becomes powerful to be obeyed by the rest of a given society. For example, traditional headman in a Naga society receives traditionally accepted respect and social position and he can command his discretion in the traditional decision making process. We can also see traditional authority in modern hereditary and dynastic monarchies of UK, Bhutan, Saudi Arabia , etc. Their acceptance and legitimacy are based on traditional customs, convention beliefs, trust, loyalty, rituals and relationship. Unlike the rational - legal authority, traditional authority is not based on rationality and formal legislation. Society accepts traditional authority.

3. Charismatic Authority :

Charismatic authority is a 'gifted' authority. It is based upon personality or charisma an individual carries with him/her. When a person's personality or charisma or ideas or vision attracts a large of people (or followers), then he/she becomes a charismatic leader. As examples of charismatic authority, we can cite persons like Dalai Lama, Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King (Jr.), J.L. Nehru etc. According to Max Weber, presence of charismatic authority can be seen in both traditional and rational - legal authority. Due to extra-ordinary personality, unique vision, or outstanding charisma, charismatic authority can wield unchallenged influence and power, especially among the followers. Exceptional heroism places them in the apex and in the core places of the hearts of the followers. Charismatic authority can play a vital role in a national emergency and crisis of national importance. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela played historically significant roles during the movements for independence in India and South Africa respectively. They became prominent national figures and represented their respective nation's voice when time demanded. Millions of people were motivated by their leadership because of their charisma.

10.4.4 Basis of Authority

There are various grounds on which authority is based. Traditional customs, beliefs, practices and principles sanction power to become authority. There traditionally accepted elements, thus, work as basis of authority. Authority is also based on formal procedures, law and constitution of a nation state. These are the key bases on which rational-legal authority functions. Individual charisma and exceptional quality and knowledge provide basis to Charismatic authority. These values make an individual extraordinary

and unique to exercise power legitimately. Authority is also based on institutional set up such as organization. According to Max Weber, bureaucracy rests on legal-rational procedures and rule of law. Bureaucracy works as a part of the organization of the state. Bureaucracy acts impersonally as prescribed by the law and constitution of a nation state. Legally administered elections make the elected representatives legal-rational authority. Therefore, they are empowered to make laws in legislature. Thus, authority is mainly based on traditions, charisma and formal rule of law.

10.4.5 Authority and Power

Authority and power are closely associated. Authority is the legitimate power. For Weldon, authority is a kind of power. Weldon conceptualizes authority as "the power exercised with the general approval of the people concerned." So, power needs popular support or legitimacy to become authority. However, there are scholars who distinguish power and authority. The concept of authority is necessary to bring out the ways in which behaviour is regulated without recourse to power, that is, force, incentive and propaganda." So, authority and power have distinct characteristics. C.J. Friedrich holds, "Authority is not a kind of power for something that accompanies it." Authority is the 'accepted power', and hence it is legitimate. Hence, Robert A. Dahl observes, "It is for more economical to rule by authority than by means of coercion." Nietzsche also holds that authority is "something which creates power, but it is not itself a power".

However, distinguishing power and authority is somewhat difficult because without power, conceptualization of authority is not possible. Actually, when power is backed by legitimacy, it transform into authority. Hence, power and authority are closely linked. Herbert A. Simon understands authority is "the power to make decision which guides the actions of another. It is a relationship between individuals, one superior and the other subordinate. The superior frames and transmits decisions with expectations that they will be accepted by

subordinates. The subordinates accept such decisions and their conduct is determined by them." It indicates that authority is the legitimately exercised power.

Despite close linkages between power and authority, both are different with own salient characteristics. Authority is considered as 'Positive" power, while power is seen as 'Negative' power. Authority allows autonomy, whereas power is associated to constraint.

Authority is based on will. On the over hand, power is coercive, indicating use of force..

However, it is important to note that these distinctions between power and authority is not absolute. Both power and authority are characterised by some common elements. Therefore, Lasswell argues : "Power becomes authority when it is legalized. Capacity to issue orders is power, whereas authority is that point where the decisions are taken." It clearly indicates that legalized or legitimate power is called authority.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write two characteristics of authority?

.....

.....

Q.6: Which authority is based upon traditional customs, heritage, habits, cultural ties and social structures and values. ?

.....

.....

10.5 LEGITIMACY

10.5.1 Meaning of Legitimacy

The world "legitimacy" originated from the Latin word "legitimus", meaning "lawful". Power, authority and legitimacy are closely associated with the study of politics. Therefore, legitimacy occupies

a central position as a core concept in Political Science. It indicates lawfulness or rightness of a person or group of individuals to exercise power. Power becomes authority when power is exercised legitimately. It carries consent or support of those who are governed.

Scholars are with different views when they attempted to define legitimacy. Some scholarly definitions of legitimacy are highlighted below.

- **Definitions of Legitimacy**

  S.M. Lipset conceptualizes legitimacy in these words : "Legitimacy involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are most appropriate for the society."

  G.K. Robert defines, "Legitimacy is that principle which indicates the acceptance on the part of the public of the occupancy of a political office by a particular person, or the exercise of power by a person or group, either generally or in some specific instance, on the grounds that occupancy or exercise of powers is in accordance with some generally accepted principles and procedures of enforcement of authority."

  According to Robert A. Dahl, "A government is said to be legitimate if the people to whom it orders are directed to believe that the structure, procedure, acts, decisions, policies, officials or leaders of the government possess the quality of righteousness, propriety or moral goodness and should be accepted because of this quality irrespective of the specified content of the particular act in question."

  J.C. Piano and R.E. Riggs define, "Legitimacy means the quality of being justified or willingly accepted by subordinates that converts the exercise of political power into rightful authority. Legitimacy reflects an underlying consensus that endows the leadership and state with authority and that offers respect and acceptance for individual leaders, institutions and behaviour norms."

Jean Blondel reviews, "Legitimacy can be defined as the extent to which the population accepts naturally, without questioning the organization to which it belongs."

According to Mark C. Suchman, "Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that action of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions."

Thus, legitimacy is concerned with the consent of the ruled or governed and rightness of the administrators who rule. Legitimacy implies a approval, acceptance, consent, rightness and validity. Therefore, Dolf Sternberger rightly says, "Legitimacy is the foundation of such governmental power as is exercised both with a consciousness on the government's part that it has a right to govern and with some recognition of that right by the governed." The recognition or consent has to come from 'significant' numbers of the ruled. There are, in fact, two ways in which one can talk about the extent of legitimacy. One relates to the number of persons, who support the political system or group- the greater this percentage, the more legitimate the political system or group would seem to be; the other relates to the intensity of the system- members of the political system or group may be very passive, almost neutral, or else intensely opposed or intensely in favour. When these two aspects are linked, it becomes conceivable to measure the legitimacy of a group or political system by considering its weighted support minus the weighted rejection. If the figures were near zero or even negative, the group would have no legitimacy and would be in considerable danger of not maintaining itself. Thus, legitimacy is based on the consent that the people extend to a political system or leadership.

10.5.2 Basis of Legitimacy

There are some specific grounds on which legitimacy is based. Basis of legitimacy varies in accordance to the nature of legitimacy. Legitimacy may sometimes be based on rationality, i.e., formal law and procedures of a state. For example, elected political authority in a democratic country receives legitimacy from popular support, laws and the constitution of the land.

There is also traditional basis of legitimacy. Some authorities are sanctioned by traditionally accepted norms, customs, values, structures and beliefs of a social or political system. For example, representation of the United Kingdom (UK) by its royals in international platform is legitimate because they are the traditional authority of the UK by virtue of traditions.

Legitimacy also rests on a person's charisma. Due to extraordinary personality vision, knowledge or competence, some persons are welcome, honoured and accepted by people in a social or political system. Such charismatic leadership becomes legitimate because of their widely accepted charisma.

10.5.3 Types of Legitimacy

Based upon these bases, Max Weber classifies legitimacy into three categories. They include rational-legal legitimacy, traditional legitimacy and charismatic legitimacy.

- **Rational - legal Legitimacy :**

  According to Max Weber, rational - legal legitimacy is based on formally designed and accepted laws, procedures and principles. Here, the authority becomes legitimate by a set of well-documented principles, rules, claims and duties and responsibilities. For example, the elected Prime Minister of India can exercise legitimate authority documented in the Constitution of India and other specified laws and ordinances. His/her

authority is unquestionable as long as the Prime Minister administers the state following the Constitution and the established law of India. Thus, rationality creates rational - legal legitimacy.

- **Traditional Legitimacy :**

  When authority is legitimized by accepted traditions, customs, norms, values, beliefs and structures of a given social or political system, then traditional legitimacy comes into existence. The King of Bhutan, for instance, is administering over the kingdom because of the traditionally accepted authority he has secured. People of Bhutan do not question his authority, rather they extend their heart-core loyalty and honour to the king of Bhutan, making him a legitimate ruler. Traditional legitimacy transmits from one generation to another to empower them as legimate authority.

- **Charismatic Legitimacy :**

  An authority is called charismatically legitimate, when its authority is based on charisma. Due to exceptionally outstanding personality, one enjoys power to exercise. Such leadership does not require formalities in principle. For instance, a tribal chief in Africa may be transformed into legitimate charismatic authority with extraordinary personality or knowledge. Followers place them in the core corner of their heart, indicating their popular acceptance. Even without immediate formal recognition of the state, leaders with charismatic legitimacy can exert wonderful influence in a social or political system. With due course of time, their charismatic legitimacy provides them the opportunity to become rational-legal authority with formal recognition. Thus, legitimacy when is based on charisma , it becomes charismatic legitimacy.

Power, authority and legitimacy are three core concepts in the study of politics. Power implies the capability to influence

or change other's behaviour and actions by one to fulfill his/her interests. When such power is legitimized, it becomes authority. That is, these three concepts are closely inter-linked. Eminent political scientist Lasswell rightly writes : "Power becomes authority when it is legalised. Capacity to issue orders is power, whereas authority is that point where the decisions are taken. "Authority is based upon consent or popular support if it is legitimate. And, without legitimacy power cannot transform into authority."



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: The world "legitimacy" originated from the Latin word "legitimus", meaning "lawful". (True/False)

.....

Q.8: Who classified legitimacy into three categories, namely, rational-legal legitimacy, traditional legitimacy and charismatic legitimacy?

.....

.....



10.6 LET US SUM UP

- Politics is considered as a struggle for power.
- Power, authority and legitimacy are three core concepts in the study of politics. Various definitions of power have come up. For instance, R.H. Tanwhey defines power as "the capacity of an individual or group of individuals to modify the conduct of others in the manner which one desires."
- Power has different characteristics. For instance, power is action-oriented to achieve an end done.
- There are various sources of power. For instance, according to Mao Tse-tung, "power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

- Scholars have classified power into different forms. According to Crespigny, power can be classified into six categories - coercive, inductive, reactional, impedimental, attrahent and persuasive power. Max Weber divides power into three categories - political, economic and social power.
- Exercising power requires various methods. Some important and widely used methods include persuasion, rewards, punishment and force.
- Authority is legitimate power.
- Regarding classification of authority, Max Weber is of the opinion that there are three types of authority - rational - legal, traditional and charismatic authority.
- Legitimacy is concerned with the consent of the ruled or governed and rightness of the administrators who rule.
- Legitimacy is particularly based on three bases or grounds : rationality, tradition and charisma.
- There are three kinds of legitimacy - rational-legal, traditional and charismatic legitimacy.



10.7 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. Mahajan, V.D. Political Theory. New Delhi: S.Chand & Company Ltd.
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.



10.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Crespigny.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: (a) Power is action-oriented and aims at achieving an end. Exercise of power is a calculative action. This is evident in the words of Anthony Giddens : "Power is the ability to make a difference, to change thing from what they would otherwise have been, 'A' exercises power over 'B' when 'A' affects 'B' in a manner contrary to 'B's interests.

(b) Power is a relationship between the actors who exercise power and those over whom power is exercised. Therefore, Morgenthau argues that "power may comprise anything that establishes and maintains control of man over man and it covers all social relationships which serve that end, from physical violence to the most subtle psychological ties by which one mind controls another."

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Persuasion and Rewards

Ans. to Q. No. 5: (a) Authority is legitimate power. So, legitimacy is the core characteristic of authority.

(b) Authority and power are closely associated. Authority is legitimate power, but power may not be authority if it lacks legitimacy.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Traditional authority

Ans. to Q. No. 7: True

Ans. to Q. No. 8: Max Weber

10.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: The term "power" is derived from the word "Imperium", which is a _____ word. (Fill in the blank)

(a) English (b) French (c) Italy (d) Lating

Q. 2: Who defines power as the "production of intended effects"?

(a) R.H. Tawney (b) Prakash Chander

(c) Bertrand Russell (d) Samuel Beer

Q. 3: Who said, "Power comes from the barrel of a gun?

(a) St. Augustine (b) Mao Tse-tung

(c) Francis Bacon (d) Name of the above

Q. 4: Who defines authority as "the embodimant of reason and depends on the capacity of reasonel elaboration"?

(a) C.J. Friedrich (b) Robert A. Dahl

(c) Max Weber (d) H.A. Simon

Q. 5: Which one of the following is not included in Max Webeir classification of authority?

(a) Rational-legal authority (b) Psychological authority

(c) Traditional authority (d) Charismatic authority

Q. 6: "Legitimacy involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are most appropriate for the society."-

Who made this statement

(a) G.K. Robert (b) Robert A. Dahl

(c) Jean Blondel (d) S.M. Lipset

Q. 7: Write the Latin word from which the term "legitimacy" is derived.

Q. 8: Write the meaning of authority?

Q. 9: Write two distinctions between power and authority.

Q. 10: Mention two sources of power.

Q. 11: Write two characteristics of power.

Q. 12: Write a short note on the relationship between authority and legitimacy.

Q. 13: Define power. Analyze the relationship between power and authority.

Q. 14: Critically explain the different types of authority classified by Max Weber. Provide suitable example.

Q. 15: What is authority? Analyze the characteristics of authority.

Q. 16: Critically elaborate the different methods used in exercising power.

Q. 17: Distinguish punishment and force as methods of exercising power.

Q. 18: Highlight the different forms of power.

Q. 19: Analyze the different sources of power.

Q. 20: Write the different characteristics of power.

Q. 21: What are the different forms of legitimacy ? Explain.

Q. 22: "Power, authority and legitimacy are closely associated." Do you agree with this statement? Explain by advancing arguments in favour of your answer.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 11: THEORIES OF MODERNIZATION: W.W. ROSTOW, SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Meaning and Characteristics of Modernization

- 11.3.1 Meaning of Modernization
- 11.3.2 Characteristics of Modernization

11.4 Agents of Modernization

11.5 Views of W.W. Rostow and Samuel P.Huntington on Modernization

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.8 Possible Questions

11.9 Further Reading

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the broad meaning of modernization
- discuss the characteristics of modernization
- asses the role of different agents in bringing about modernization
- understand the viewpoints of different thinkers on modernization.

11.2 INTRODUCTION

The Second World War brought about a lot of changes in the study of political science. The traditional approaches have lost their importance and some modern approaches and concepts have emerged, more specifically to study the problems of the newly independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America popularly known as the "third world" countries or the developing countries. Among these, the concepts of political modernization and political development have assumed great importance in studying the post-Second World War phenomena in politics.

11.3 MEANING AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERNIZATION

11.3.1 Meaning of Modernization

The term "modernization" cannot be defined precisely. Simply speaking, modernisation means a transformation of societies from the old to the modern. It is nothing but a movement from a traditional to a contemporary society.

Some of the scholars try to conceptualise political development as being synonymous with modernisation. But this cannot be regarded as true because there exists some basic differences between the two. Infact, modernization is one of the aspects of political development; it constitutes the initial stages of political development in which a nation tries to become industrialized, urbanized and technologically developed.

Different scholars have tried to define the term "modernization" in different ways. Some have conceptualised modernisation as a process by which newly independent, under developed countries and non-industrialised nations try to become industrialized. Some others try to visualize it as a process whereby new-born nations after the Second World War try to become "westernized". Some others have regarded it as a general process of change by which societies respond to the changing environment.

Scholars like Halpern tries to conceptualise modernisation as 'the transformation of systems'. When dramatic / radical changes occurr in different systems like political, social, economic intellectuals, religious, and psychological, etc., then it can be regarded as modernization .

Karl Deutsch envisages modernization as 'social mobilisation'- a process in which major aspects of traditional, social, economic and psychological ties are broken down and people are ready to accept new patterns of socialization and behaviour

According to C.E. Welch, when rational utilization of resources are made in order to establish a modern society then such a process is known as modernisation.

In the words Eisenstadt, "Historically, Modernisation means those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in western Europe and North America from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century and then have spread to other European countries and in the nineteenth and twentieth century to the South American, Asian and African continents". (As cited in S.P. Varma, 1998 P-348)

In the Indian context, Myron Weiner, explains it as involving :

1) Industrialization, 2) Programmes to change the Hindu Social structure, and 3) A unified national state, (as cited in S.L.Verma. P-202)

From the above definitions it is clear that modernization is a comprehensive phenomenon which can be studied at different levels, say for example, the psycho-cultural level, demographic level, social level, economic level, intellectual level, political level and so on. Hence, Huntington described modernization as a multi-faceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity.

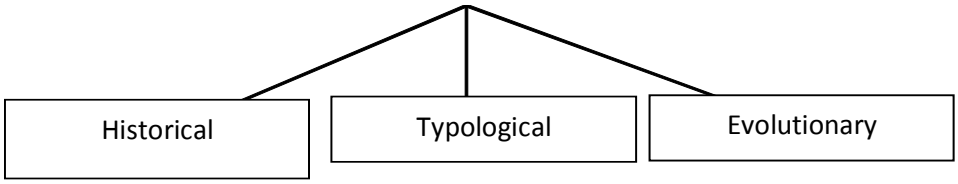
- **Political Modernization and its Dimensions**

  The term political modernization consists of two words- political + modernization. It suggests that when modernization occurs in politics, then it can simply be termed as political modernization. Political modernization is the product of change in the political culture and political institutions.

According to S.P Huntington when a political System transforms in the direction of rationalization of authority, differentiation of structure and expansion of political participation ; in addition to economic development and social mobilization then it can be termed as political modernization. (as cited in Mahajan, 1988.p 215)

Political modernization refers to the process of differentiation of political structures and secularization of political culture which magnifies the capacity and efficiency of a political system.

Political modernization can be studied from three main perspectives:



(as cited in Pathi & Mishra 1998, P.206)

Historically, political modernization means the entire changes in political structure and culture which in turn was influenced by secularization, industrialization, expansion of the involvement and participation of the masses.

Typologically Political modernization indicates the process of transformation of policy from pre-modern 'Traditional' into a post traditional 'Modern' polity.

From Evolutionary perspective, it refers to enhancing the capability of the political man/woman so he/she they can develop structures to cope with different challenges and try to attain new social goals.

Thus, political modernization is characterized by:

- Enhancing the power of government - central and state, legal and administrative organs of the state and other political agencies.
- Growing spread of the potential power of all adult citizens.
- A shift from traditional society to a democratic society. In a traditional society, legitimacy on the part of the ruler was secured either by way of force or by fear of God. But, in a democracy, rulers' fate is determined by the consent of the masses, who are regarded as the ultimate repository of the potential political power.

So, the old traditional authority structures either feudal or religious have lost their importance. In place of that, a single, secular and national political authority emerges, which is centralized in nature

Political modernization indicates five major areas of transformation in human relations.

a) From the point of economic dimension, it indicates the shift of agriculture into market and commercialization of agriculture. It suggest the switch over of agricultural economy to industrial economy based on high level of technology, and widening the units of economic activity-production, consumption and marketing.

b) From the intellectual point of view, it indicates a broad extension of people's understanding about the environment and dispersal of this understanding all over the society through expanded literacy and mass communication programmes.

c) At the psychological level, modernization involves a fundamental shift in values, attitudes and expectations.

d) Demographically, it implies the advancement of living standards of people, greater mobility and a shift of population from rural to urban areas.

e) In the social sphere , modernization implies the replacement of individual's loyalty to family and other primary groups to voluntarily organized secondary associations like club, union, etc.

As such, modernisation can be regarded as a comprehensive phenomenon which brings about a lot of radical changes in different fields of human life.

11.3.2 Characteristics of Modernization

V.D. Mahajan has identified nine important characteristics of modernization (as cited in Mahajan, 1988, P.216)

These are :-

1) **Application of technology and Mechanization :**

Modernization begins with the use of science and technology, as a result of which, a lot of changes occurr in human life. Old ways of life style have been replaced by new ones. Their old dwelling houses have been replaced by well-built house. Traditional methods of cultivating lands through ploughs have been replaced by the use of tractors. Earlier people used bullock carts to travel but the application of technology and mechanization has made a drastic change in this regard. People now can easily make travel with the help of modern means of transportation like buses, trains and aeroplanes, etc.

2) **Industrialization:**

Industrialization and modernization both are related to each other. Industrialization is a process of socio economic change that transformed a human group from an agrarian society into an industrial society. Now gradually traditional economy has been on the path of decline and industrial economy is coming up. Invention of new machines and factories has changed all the aspects of human beings - be it in the field of food habits, dress and culture, transport and communications and so on.

3) **Urbanization :**

Along with industrialization, modernization is characterized by urbanization. As soon as the industrialization process started, people began to migrate from villages to towns in search of livelihood to earn money, resulting in the growth of urban centres. Furthermore, the invention of modern means of science and technology has assisted them to move from rural to urban.

4) **Increase in national and percapita Incomes:**

Modernization avenues offer more opportunities to people as well as nations to raise their income. Agricultural economy supplemented by industrial growth and exporting such products

to other countries have contributed to the increase of both national and percapita incomes.

5) **Enhancing Literacy:**

Modernization is characterized by improving Literacy. Every possible step is taken by the government to root out illiteracy from the country. Crores of rupees have been spent by the government in infra-structural development so that each citizen can have access to education in different stages.

6) **Political Mobilization:**

Modernization leads to political mobilization. Increased literacy and high growth of per capita income through modernization encourage the masses to get involved in the political affairs of the country. The right to vote, the right to contest in election, the right to form associations and political parties, etc., have facilitated greater political participation in democracy.

7) **Development of Mass Media Techniques:**

One of the main features of Modernization is development of mass media techniques. Mass media may be print media like - news paper , magazines, books etc; electronic media like movies, radio broadcasting, TV, etc., and different means of transport services like roads, railways and air services and so on. Through these improvemenst, people can communicate with each other which in turn increases the process of interest articulation and interest aggregation resulting more and more participation in politics.

8) **Social Mobility :**

Modernization brings social mobility. As modernization starts, the people also start to migrate from villages to the cities in search of better amenities, facilities and jobs. The role of the traditional village headman has declined and such a traditional authority has been replaced by the leaders of different political parties and other organizations.

9) **Growing National identity:**

The spirit of national identity is raised by modernization. The people start to surrender their narrow and conservative loyalties of caste, colour, sex, religion, etc. Instead, people identify interests with the interest of the Nation.

Apart from these there are some other features of Modernization:

10) **A Complex Process :**

Modernization is a complex process because no single factor or single dimension is involved in the process of modernization. It is a multi faceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity. Modernization is a global process. This process originated in Europe and now it has spread all over the world. Thereby, it has now become a world wide phenomenon. (as cited in Johari, 2015, P-225)

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Typologically Political modernization indicates the process of transformation of policy from pre-modern 'Traditional' into a post traditional 'Modern' polity. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Mention any two characteristics of Modernization.

.....

.....

11.4 AGENTS OF MODERNIZATION

There are different agents of Modernization. These are -

1) **Colonialism :** Colonialism can be regarded as one of the important agents of Modernization. The colonial rulers had introduced modern means of transport and communication like roads, railways, telephone and telegraph services, banking system, modern

education, processing plants, etc. After the Second World War, most of the colonies became independent and our national leaders began to use all these structures introduced by the colonial power in the direction of modernization.

2) **Elite :** In the process of modernization, the elite has played an important part. Elite represents the higher strata in the society. Whatever their typology may be, they have influenced the society from different angles. Their thinking, belief, charisma, ideology, competence, outlook, etc have had a great impact in modernizing our society. For example in India charismatic leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajiv Gandhi, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and so on have contributed a lot to modernize India. Likewise, progress have been made in the direction of modernization in India owing to the efforts made by business elites like Tata, Birla, Ambani and others.

3) **Role of the Military:** The military is often particularly concerned with economic modernization and expansion. In states where trained technicians are in a short supply the military may want to set its technical personnel to the task of economic development. The military may be distressed by the corruption of political leaders. In such cases, the military may stage a coup to cleanse the state by removing corrupt politicians and replacing them with presumably efficient and honest military leaders. Thereby, it becomes feasible to put the state on the path of modernization. This situation often occurred in countries like Nigeria, Brazil, Pakistan, Indonesia etc. However, since modernization is associated with the soared of democracy, it is important that the transition to civilian rule takes place at the earliest.

4) **Bureaucracy:** An well organized and effective bureaucracy has played an important role in the task of development and modernization. Bureaucracy has to take an important role in the direction of modernization in the sense that -

- Bureaucracy has to find out the right and important development goals,

- It has to formulate and implement developmental plans, programmes, policies and projects. Bureaucracy has to mobilize human resources and materials for their proper utilization leading to the development of the country.
- It has to improve the capacity of the existing institutions for the developmental purpose.
- It has to utilize science and technology for the rapid growth of the country.

Bureaucracy has to create awareness among the citizens regarding protecting the nation from the threats of national integrity and creating unity among the masses. In fact, policies are prepared by the politicians and in this context all the ground work is performed by the bureaucrats . Thereafter, developmental policies are implemented by the bureaucrats.

5) **Role of Intellectuals:** The intellectuals have played a positive role in bringing about modernization of a country. Intellectuals are those who can give new ideas and directions to the society. For example the leaders of India's Freedom Movement who formed the Indian National Congress in India were intellectuals, who had the capacity to understand different socio- political and economic problems of India and gave new ideas and a direction to the Indian masses. The Makers of our Constitution included different ideals in our Constitution so that India would move towards the goal of modernization and development . At present also, intellectuals have played the role of 'think tanks' and have been offering solutions to diifferent problems like poverty, unemployment , human rights violation, separatist movement, environment degradation, terrorism and other contemporary problems.

6) **Political Parties:** As an agent of modernization, political Parties also have a role to play in bringing about modernization. It is regarded as a main modernizing force of a country. It is because after election when the government is formed, the ruling party has to prepare such policies and laws which can protect national interest and promote the common good. Those who cannot win in the election

forms the opposition. An effective opposition is also needed, which can offer constructive criticism to the government so that the process of modernization and development is not halted. Political parties maintain a link between the government and masses . They provide political education to the masses and thereby the people become aware about the process of modernization in the country.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Mention any four agents of modernization.

.....

.....

Q.4: Political parties maintain a link between the government and ……..(Fill in the Blank)

11.5 VIEWS OF W.W. ROSTOW AND SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON ON MODERNIZATION

11.5.1 Views of W.W.Rostow on Modernization

It is a universal phenomena that without economic growth we cannot attain the goal of modernization. The whole modernization process is conditioned by economic growth . Depending upon the rate of economic growth, countries of the world are classified into developed, underdeveloped and developing or third world countries.

It was Walt Whitman Rostow (1916-2003), an American economist, who portrayed a theory named 'stages of economic growth model' in order to show how economic growth leads the process of modernization in a society. To explain this theory, he divided the growth of human society in five progressive stages on the basis of economic growth.

These stages are:-

i) Pre- Newtonian economy or traditional society.

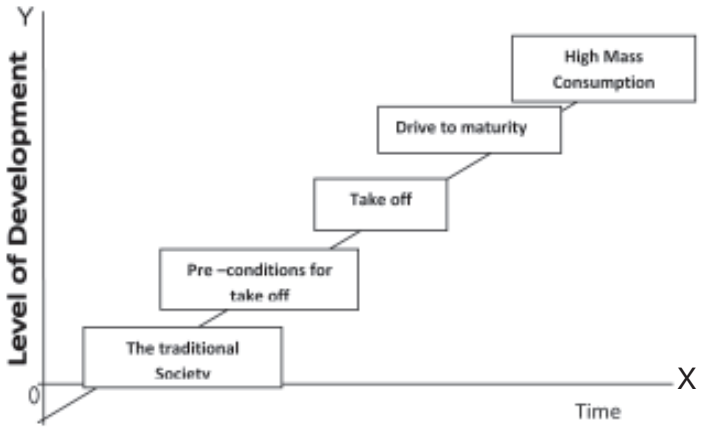
ii) Pre condition to take off or transitional society.

iii) Take off stage

iv) Drive to Maturity stage

v) High Mass consumption stage.

Each stage has a function of productivity, economic exchange, technological improvements and income . Economic growth occurs when advancing from one stage to another. Accordingly, when a society is transformed in an upward direction, that is to say, from pre-newtonian economy to high mass consumption level, then this process is said to be called modernization. These stages corresponding to economic growth and modernization can be presented in the following diagrammatic form:



Let us discuss the stages in detail:

- **First stage: Pre-Newtonian Economy or the Traditional Society**

  In the process of economic growth, the first stage refers to the Pre-Newtonian economy. In this stage, no scientific technology was used for production. Subsistence economy prevailed in the society. It means, in this stage, a non-monetary economy which relied on natural resources to provide for basic needs through hunting, gathering and subsistence agriculture prevailed. Men produced things to that extent which was required only for survival. There was no question of producing surplus. In this stage, the main occupation of the masses was agriculture. The main income

source of the state was land revenue. Of course, some of them used to work as smiths, the weavers and craftsmen, etc.

Familyism prevailed in economy. That means production was confined to the members of the family.

Fatalism was one of the basic features of this stage. That means the whole socio - economic process was dominated by God.

The sense of individuality was not found. Because in this period the question of individual wealth did not arise.

Society was very static. Mobility of people was very less as compared to today's society.

Political power was in the hands of the landed aristocracy.

- **Second stage: Pre-Conditions to take off or the Transitional Society**

The second stage of economic growth of human society is transitional one known as pre-conditions to take off. In this stage, some fundamental changes occurred in the fields of economy, society and politics.

People began to realize that in order to run a better life there must be economic development. In this period of human society some financial institutions like bank, treasury, etc., were established. Some commercial activities and institutions -like various markets, shops, industries, sprang up . In place of barter economy, paper currency emerged to run economic growth. Transition was noticed in the development of economic infrastructure like modern transport and communication- it caused faster economic growth.

In the social field, It was seen that the parochial attitude of men started changing and improved means of transport and communication led to greater social mobility . Moreover, expansion of education took place which in turn changed the outlook of the people.

In the field of politics, the question of political sovereignty came up. A strong tendency was built up to create a strong national government which would provide a peaceful order in political and economic fields. However, despite the introduction of modern system of production, the society remained backward during this stage.

- **Third stage : The Take off**

The third stage of the development of human society is known as the take-off stage of economic growth .This is a very critical stage of human development. Because this is the stage of transition as the society passed from traditionalism and entered into modernism. The societies of most of the countries ,mainly those states which belong to third world, passed through this stage. Like the second stage, in this stage also, people of the different countries began to realize that economic development is the only means to lead a better life

In this phase, greater extension of economic activities came about as compared to earlier stage. More and more interest was shown by the people to invest in productive purposes as a result of which the concepts of share - market, stock -market etc. come to existence.

In this stage, there was better use of science and technology which increased production in both the agricultural and industrial sectors.

Country	Take off Period
U.K	1783-1802
Russia	1890-1914
USA	1843-1860
Germany	1850-1873
Canada	1896-1914
China	1952
India	1952
Tentative take off period	

https//en. Wikipedia.org/wiki/Rostow%.27S stages –of-growth #overview)

Foreign capital for investment increased day by day resulting in more industrialization. Because of industrialization more and more rural people are released from their fields i.e. from their agricultural activities and they are drawn to industry.

They began to stay in nearby industrial settlements permanently. As a result , urbanization started during this phase and more and more commercial activities grew around them.

Communication and transport systems improved resulting in greater mobility of the people. Expansion of education look place. Social institutions such as marriage system, caste system, religious outlook, etc undergwent changes.

In the field of politics, it was seen that the question of consolidation of national political power come to existence. Like India most of the developing countries attained political independence during this period and the question of choosing the path for modernizing the economy came to the forefront. Some of them accepted the communist model, some accepted the capitalist model and countries like India has accepted, the mixed model.

- **The Fourth stage : Drive to Maturity**

There are a few countries of the world that have attained the stage of drive to maturity . In this stage diversified industrialization grow up in human society. Here all production methods are mechanized and it is only possible because of sustainable investment. Greater efforts are made for the exploitation of resources. That is to say here that all natural and man- made resources are fully utilized. More and more scientific knowledge and techniques are used in all productive purposes.

Large scale investment in social infrastructure like schools, universities and hospitals are made. Improvement of medical facilities, increase in longevity , reduced death rate and birth control become possible.

- **Fifth Stage : The Stage of High Mass Consumption**

The USA is the first country in the world that has attained the stage of high mass consumption .After the USA, countries like the UK, France, Germany, Japan , etc. have attained the stage

of high mass consumption. This stage implies that there is no lack of minimum requirements of life, every one is sufficient for themselves. People enjoy a high standard of living and have financial security. Massive urbanization , extensive use of automobiles, large scale use of durable consumer goods with production reaching climax are some of the characteristics of this stage. The countries that attain this stage always try to influence and dominate other countries of the world in different aspects like political, economic and military.

Criticisms:

Rostow's contribution to the study of modernization and economic growth has been criticized in different ways by different critics. Some of the drawbacks pointed out by the critics are:-

1) Critics are of the view that for reaching the goal of development, traditional society is not essential.
2) Critics point out that before the take off stage it is also not compulsory to undertake the stage of preconditions.
3) To critics Rostow has arbitrarily fixed the dates of takeoff.
4) The fourth stage i.e, drive to maturity is puzzling.
5) The last stage is also criticized on the ground of not being chronological. It is because sometimes a country can reach the level of high mass consumption even before reaching the maturity stage. In this context, the critics have cited the example of the modernization and economic growth that took place in Canada and Australia, that have entered the last stage of economic growth without crossing the maturity stage.

Neverthless, inspite of such drawbacks, we cannot minimize the importance of Rostow's theory of economic growth because from the facts of history, he has been able to show how a country achieve the goal of modernization by crossing different stages. His study is based on the facts of history, therefore, he is successful in giving us a realistic analysis of economic growth.

Thus, inspite of its drawbacks, Rostow's theory of economic growth has created a lot of curiosity not only among the academicians but also among the policy makers.

11.5.2 Samuel P. Huntington on Modernization

Samuel Phillips Huntington, born on 18 April, 1927 and died on 24 December, 2008, was an American political scientist, a scholar and an adviser to the Government of USA. Huntington is famous for his major work " The Clash of Civilizations" which he wrote in 1996 . In addition to this some other famous books of his are - "Political Order in Changing Societies", "The Solder and the State", "The Crisis of Democracy", "Many Globalizations", etc.

According to Huntington, in addition to economic development and social mobilization, political modernization includes three more aspects. These three aspects are :-

A) Rationalization of authority

B) Differentiation of structure and

C) Expansion of political participation. (As cited in Mahajan, 1988, P-215)

Let us elaborate these points:

A) **Rationalization of Authority :**

By the phrase Rationalization of Authority Huntington means the replacement of a large number of traditional, religious, familial and ethnic political authorities by a single, secular and national political authority (as cited in World politics, vol. 18. No. 3 (Apr, 1966) P.P. 378- 404) http:// links Jstor.org/ sici?sici=0043-8871 % 28196604%2918 % 3A 3 %3C378% 3 APMAVE % 3E20.CO% 3B2 - O)

A modern government is not the product of nature or God, but it is the product of human beings. Government is the ultimate authority and people render their obedience to this authority that maintains order in the society. The national government

i.e, the national political authority possesses sovereign power - both external and internal. So far as external sovereignty is concerned, the authority is free from external or foreign control which is termed as transnational influences by Huntington . By internal sovereignty Huntington means that a national government does not bow its head in front of any local and regional power. It suggests national integration and centralization of political power in the hands of this single national political authority. Then it should be a secular political authority.

It stand for secularization of politics. That means the moving more and more from a monarchical, totalitarian system to a democratic system, to democratic values, norms, beliefs, attitudes, etc. When people accept, believe, and repose their faith in the democratic values, democratic institutions, democratic way of life then a political system becomes secular.

In this context , we can say that the event of Glorious Revolution in England in 1688 was a step towards the attainment of modernization. In this event the absolutism on the part of the monarch came to an end, monarch became the nominal head and powers went to the hands of parliament.

B) **Differentiation of structures :**

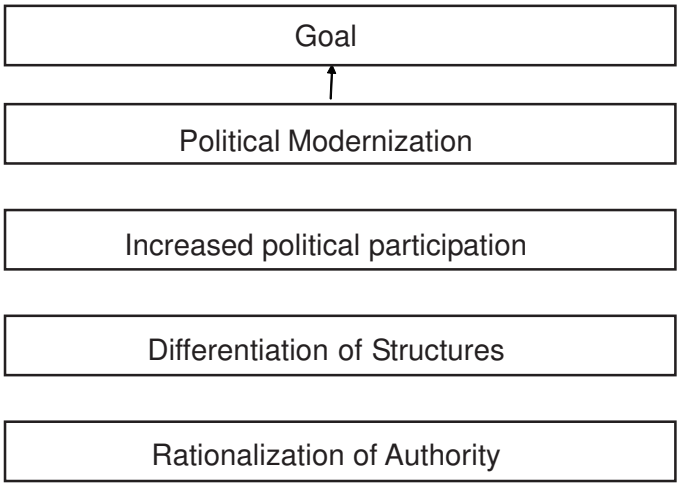
Secondly, Political modernization involves the differentiation of new political functions and the development of specialized structures to perform those functions. (ibid). Differentiation stand for diffusion and specialization of structures. In this context, contrary to the monarchical system , the democratic system is the best one. Because in monarchy, all powers are concentrated in the hands of a single monarch. But in democracy, powers of the government are diffused into different organs, where people can participate in large numbers and express their demands. Huntington has pointed out some

peculiar agencies among whom the functions of the government should be diffused- these are like legal, military, administrative, scientific, etc. They should be separated from the political realm and should be specialized and autonomous. Administrative hierarchy will be there, in which power and authority will be distributed in an orderly manner and in a more disciplined way. Power and authority are distributed on the basis of merit and achievement rather than arbitrary placement.

C) **Expansion of Political Participation :**

Political participation stand for the involvement of the people in the selection of the rulers, formation of public policies and decision-making. Political modernization is said to occur when people's participation in politics increases and there is also an increase in new political institutions like political parties and interest groups. Through political parties and interest groups, the members of the society can participate in the political process at every level covering all the activities of the political system. In a democratic system of government, such broad political participation may put pressure on the government and thereby it may in turn increase the popular control over the government. On the contrary, in an autocratic system of government we have seen an opposite picture. In a totalitarian state, increased participation has necessitated more and more control over the masses and political institutions by the government.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that when a political system is marching towards the aspects of Rationalization of authority, Differentiation of structures and Expansion of political participation, then it is easy for the political system to reach the goal of political modernization. It can be presented as follows:-



Huntington added that in Europe and America Political modernization occurred by the above mentioned model.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: What are the five important stages of Economic Growth according to Rostow?

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Q.6: What are the three important aspects of political modernization according to Huntington ?

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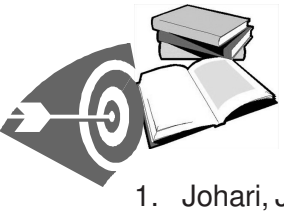
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11.6 LET US SUM UP

- Modernization is a movement from a traditional to a contemporary society. Huntington described modernization as a multi-faceted process involving change in all areas of human thought and activity.

- The term political modernization consists of two word political + modernization. Political modernization is the product of change in the political culture.
- Political modernization can be studied from three main perspectives, namely, historical, typological and evolutionary.
- There are five major dimensions of political modernization - such as economic, intellectual, psychological, demographic and social .
- American economist W.W. Rostow has pointed out five stages of economic growth in connection to modernization , these are - Pre-Newtonian stage, Preconditions to take off stage, Take off stage, Drive to maturity stage, and the High mass consumption stage.
- To Huntington when a political system transforms in the direction of Rationalization of authority, Differentiation of structures and Expansion of political participation then it can be termed as political modernization.



11.7 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. Comparative Politics. New Delhi : Sterling publishers private Ltd.
2. Mahajan, V.D. Political Theory. New Delhi: S.Chand & Company Ltd.
3. Dr. Pathi, Srinibus & Dr. Mishra, Madhusmita. Political Sociology . New Delhi : Kalyani Publishers.
4. Soma Shekar, N.T. Development Economics . New Delhi: New Age International Publishers Pvt. Limited.
5. Verma, S.P. Modern Political Theory. New Delhi : Vikas Publishihg House Pvy. Ltd.

11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: (a) Industrialization

(b) Political Mobilization

Ans. to Q. No. 2: True

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Colonialism, Elite, Role of the Military, Political Parties

Ans. to Q. No. 4: masses

Ans. to Q. No. 5: There are five progressive stages of economic growth according to Rostow . These are namely-

1. The stage of Pre - Newtonian Economy.
2. The stage of Pre -conditions to take off
3. The stage of Take off.
4. The stage of Drive to Maturity.
5. The stage of High Mass consumption.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: According to Huntington there are three important aspects of Political modernization . These are -

1. Rationalization of authority
2. Differentiation of structures
3. Expansion of political participation.



11.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: What is the views of Myron Wiener on modernization ?

Q. 2: How does political mobilization relate to modernization ?

Q. 3: Write a note on role of Elite as an agent of modernization.

Q. 4: Mention four important features of Pre- Newtonian economy as pointed out by W.W.Rostow.

Q. 5: Write the meaning of Rationalization of Authority?

Q. 6: Define modernization. Explain the main features of modernization.

Q. 7: Discuss the different agents of modernization.

Q. 8: Critically explain the views of W.W.Rostow on modernisation.

Q. 9: Explain the views of Samuel P. Huntington on modernization.

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UNIT 12: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT- VEWS OF LUCIAN PYE

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Political Development: Its Meaning

12.4 Characteristics of Political development as identified by Lucian Pye.

12.5 Factors Leading to Political Development

12.6 Difference between political modernization and political development

12.7 Let Us Sum Up

12.8 Further Reading

12.9 Answer to Check Your Progress

12.10 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning and concept of political development.
- explain the characteristics of political development.
- discuss the factors leading to Political Development.
- differentiate political modernization and political development.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

In the study of modern political analysis, the concept of political modernization and political development have assumed great importance. After the end of the Second World War many Afro-Asian and Latin American states got political independence. The then the prevailing approaches to study politics failed to explain the socio-political realities in these countries. Against this background, political development and modernization emerged as major concepts to study politics in the third world countries. In order to

explain their changes i.e.; transition from one stage to another in the direction of growth and development, the concept of political development appeared as a new concept.

12.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Broadly speaking, political development implies two things -

- Firstly, it means development of democracy i.e.; increasing participation of people in the decision making process, increasing democratic values and democratic way of life etc. And in this context modernization that is to say economic development has been regarded as a pre-requisite for political development.
- Secondly, it means development of the political systems of the developing countries or third world political systems.

Different scholars have defined the term political development in different ways.

Lucian Pye, the pioneer in the study of political development, defined the term political development as "cultural diffusion and adapting, fusing, and adjusting old patterns of life to new demands." (as cited in www. Macrothink.org/journal/index. Php/jpag/article/download/6627/64)

Samuel P. Huntington defined it as "the institutionalisation of political organisations and procedures." (as cited in varma, 1998, P-359)

From the perspective of the third world, Helio Jaguaribe the Latin American writer has regarded political development as 'political modernisation plus political institutionalisation.' (ibid P. 353)

According, to scholars like Coleman, Karl Deutsch, Lipman and so on, political development means the study of the developed western countries and their ways which are followed by the developing countries as a path of development.

Recently, Han S. Park (1984) has defined political development as "political development may be defined in items of the capacity of the political system to satisfy the changing needs of the members of the society." (as cited in http:// www.d.wnn.edu/~Schiton/articles/GPD5.html)

From the above discussion, it is seen that there is no single, unique and precise definition of political development. Different scholars have defined it according to their own thinking and perspective. On the basis of above definitions it can be said that political development is nothing but the process of bringing about the growth of the political system acquiring capability of facing and solving all the new and problems arising from changing circumstances. It means the development of the capabilities of the political structures so that it can meet the ever growing demands of the people that arise from the changing circumstances.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Broadly speaking, political development implies which two things?

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12.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS IDENTIFIED BY LUCIAN PYE

Lucian Pye (1921-2008) was an American Political Scientist, regarded as the first batch writers on political development who analysed the concept of development in depth. Lucian Pye in his famous book "Aspects of Political Development" has studied the pros and cons of the existing views on political development offered by different scholars and after reviewing these he offered his own views regarding political development. Some of the existing views on political development are - "Political development as Mobilisation and participation" , "Political development as one aspect of a Multi - Dimensional process of social change", "Political development as Mobilization and power", "Political development as stability or orderly change" , "Political development as the building of democracy", etc.

Lucian Pye has made an overview of all the above mentioned definitions and views of political development and remarked that these definitions have made the concept more confusing. He tries to resolve this

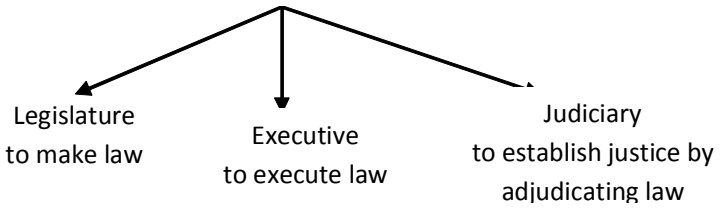
confusion by identifying what is common to all the views mentioned above and then presenting his own views on political development. Lucian Pye identifies three common characteristics of political development. These are-

A) **Equality** B) **Capacity** and C) **Differentiation**. All these three aspects are interlinked to each other in the form of 'development syndrome'. These features can be elaborated as under -

A) **Equality :** Equality is the first requisite principle of political development. By the term 'equality' Lucian pye suggests mass participation and involvement of the people in the politics of a political system. Following are the main aspects of equality -

- **Equality of opportunity:** BY the term "equality", Lucian Pye puts more emphasis on equality of opportunity so that people can enjoy equal participation in political process without any discrimination on the grounds of religion, caste, creed, wealth, colour of skin, sex, place of birth, etc. No section of people should be deprived of the right to take active part in the politics of a country.
- **Impartiality:** Equality also stands for impartiality at all levels of the political system and the society. Political participation should be based on impartiality, no bias should be made on any artificial ground and there should be mass involvement in politics.
- **Universal Laws:** It stands for universal and impersonal application of law. People should be subject to equal laws and should be equal in the eyes of the law. There should not be separate laws for different groups of the society.
- **Recruitment on merit:** All appointment in the political system should be made on the basis of equality and merit. Recruitment should not be made on any political considerations or on the basis of any primordial factors.

B) **Capacity :** Capacity stands for the development of governmental functions like - Wings of the government and functions



It refers to the capacity of a political system by which it can convert 'inputs' into 'outputs' and the extent to which it can make an impact on the rest of the society and economy. In other words it is associated with governmental performance.

It means the political system should develop its capacity of shouldering its obligations and responsibilities efficiently, it should be able to implement public polices and laws firmly, it should be capable of facing all problems and meeting all demands that are emerging with the changing circumstances and ability to run the administration efficiently.

C) **Differentiation :** Differentiation is another feature of political development. It stands

for the level of political institutions, diffusion and specialization of structures, decentralization, etc. It means that the different functions of the political system should be performed by different structures and one institution or structure should not be empowered to perform all types of functions. In this context, it is found that democracy is more effective than monarchy. In monarchy there is no differentiation/ separation of powers among legislature, executive and judiciary. King is all in all, there is no share of people in decision making. On the contrary, democracy is more effective in the sense that there are more political institutions and people can participate in the political system to a great extent. However, "differentiation does not imply fragmentation and the isolation of the different parts of the political system but specialization based on an ultimate sense of integration." (as cited in Johari, 1996, P-174)

The foregoing discussion about Lucian Pye's development syndrome can be presented in the form of the following diagram-

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

DIFFERENTIATION

CAPACITY

EQUALITY

As shown above, when equality increases (peoples' involvement) it causes effect on the capacity of the system, the system must try to solve the demand / inputs that comes from peoples' involvement, thereby it leads differentiation. Again when differentiation increases it also gives more opportunity to the people to take part in the political process (equality) - which again effect the capacity of the system. Thus we have seen political development is a combination of all these three elements. More equality, more capacity and more differentiation leads to more political development and when there is political development it leads to stability in the political system.

However, Lucian Pye himself admits two things-

- Firstly, all these three elements - equality, capacity and differentiation may not necessary fit easily together. Tensions may arise among these elements. Because more pressure for greater equality can challenge the capacity of the system. Likewise, equality also can be reduced by differentiation if the political system stress on the importance of quality and specialized knowledge.
- Secondly, development is not an unilinear process, that is to say, the political system does not pass through sharp and district stages, rather it is affected by a range of problems.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.2: What are the three common characteristics of political development identified by Lucian Pye?

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Q.3: Write the meaning of differentiation.

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Q.4: Mention two aspects of equality .

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Q.5: Write the meaning of capacity.

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12.5 FACTORS LEADING TO POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

It is a general question as to what leads to the development of a political system. There are some factors which leads to political development. These factors are -

- **Industrialization :** Industrialization brings economic development in a country and such economic development is regarded as a precondition of political development.
- **Urbanization :** Urbanization is a process of migration of the people from rural to urban. It causes mass mobility, broadens the outlook of the masses, spreads greater economic activities and urban areas are the main centre for the game of politics, thereby creating an atmosphere conducive for political development.
- **Spread of education and literacy :** Spread of education is an important factor for political development. Because of education people become aware about the ongoing politics in their respective

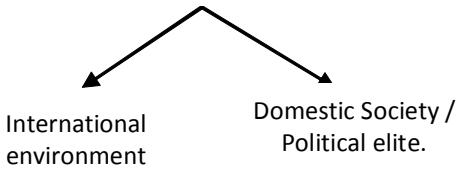
political system and such awareness helps in bringing about political development.

- **Expansion of Mass Media :** Now mass media, be it print or electronic-has taken a vital role in exposing the happenings in a political system. As a result, there takes place greater interest articulation and interest aggregation leading to pressure being put upon the government to solve different demands of the masses.
- **Expansion of secular culture:** Secular culture stands for the declining influence of religion and religious values within a given culture. In this sense when politics operates in the line secular culture then it leads to political development.

The factors discussed above can bring about political development in terms of -

- Expansion of modern bureaucracies.
- Development of the spirit of nationalism.
- Emergence of political parties.
- Increasing popular participation.
- Increasing the capacity of the political system to cope with the demands of the masses and so on.

Almond and Powel added two factors that leads to political development. These are -



In addition to the above factors leading to political development, Almond and Powel have mentioned four important challenges that may lead to political development:

i) **Problem of State-Building :** The problem of state building relates to the question of sovereignty of the state. When a serious threat from the external or domestic environment comes to the forefront that threaten the very existence of the political system then the

government has to take some new measures which can lead to political development.

ii) **Problem of Nation-Building :** Nation building stands for unity and integrity among masses within a political system. Discarding narrow loyalties like family, caste, religion etc. when a person shows loyalty to the nation or motherland then it is said to be nation building. When nation building is challenged then the question of political development comes to the forefront.

iii) **Problem of Participation :** Problem of participation requires political development. There is an increasing demand from the masses to take part in the decision-making process. The government has to respond to these demands. Because of this, government has to take necessary steps to build requisite political infrastructure so that people can participate in the political process to the maximum.

iv) **Problem of distribution :** The main function of a political system is authoritative allocation of values in society. That means government has to distribute different demands/values of the masses in such a manner that leads political development. If a political system has failed to do the same, then it has to reform, take necessary steps to distribute the demands judiciously - for example, distribution must be made on the lines of equality without any discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, language, place of birth, sex, etc. Equal opportunities should be given to all and selection, appointment to high posts should be on the basis of merit. Therefore, the problem of distribution can be regarded as one of the important factors of political development.

In the context of factors of political development, Lucian Pye has offered six types of crises in political development. These are ,namely -

i) Identity crisis
ii) Legitimacy Crisis
iii) Penetration Crisis
iv) Participation Crisis
v) Integration Crisis
vi) Distribution Crisis

In order to handle these crises properly, political development is required or we can say that these crises have acted as a motive force that lead to political development.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.6: Mention any two factors that leads to political development.

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Q.7: Mention any two have challenges that may lead to political development as identified by Almond and Powel.

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12.6 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POLITICAL MODERNISATION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Some scholars are of the view that the concepts of political modernization and political development are similar and both appear to be identical. But there are some basic differences between the two on many grounds. Some of the important differences between the two are as follows-

i) On the basis of their scope we can differentiate between the two. Brazilian thinker Helio Jaguaribe regarded "Political development as a process of political modernisation plus political instutionalisation." Thus the scope of political development is wider than that of political modernization. Political modernization is an aspect of political development, but political development is not an aspect of political modernization. The concept of political development embraces the concept of political modernization within its ambit.

ii) On the basis of values, one can differentiate between the two- political modernization is a value free process and it includes all those changes which transform the political system from traditional to modernity.

But political development involves changes based on accepted values and goals and hence it is value laden.

iii) Regarding the issue of 'Ends and Means' - one can notice the differences between the two. Political development is the end/goal of a political system and political modernization acts as a means to achieve the end/goal of political development.

iv) The concept of political modernization is less vague than political development.

v) Political modernization is a within process where as political development is open - ended process.

vi) In political development one can see a reversible process where as there is no reversible process in political modernization. Political modernization is a process that always takes the system towards modernity. It does not go backward. But the process of political development can take a step towards decline or decay.

vii) In political modernization greater importance is given on the diffusion of secular world culture and democratization of political institutions. Whereas political development gives more importance to the overall socio-economic development.

- Close relation between Political Development and Political Modernization However, inspite of some differences, we have seen that there is a close relation between the Political Development and Political Modernization. Scholars like Ferrel Heady remarks that there is no difference between political development and political modernization. Much is common to both of them. In this context we can present the following diagram.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: Mention any two differences between political modernization and political development.

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12.7 LET US SUM UP

- The concept of political development is a post Second World War phenomenon in the study of modern political analysis as well as comparative politics. In order to study the emerging problems of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries after the Second World War, political development emerged as a major concept.
- The name of Lucian Pye is famous as he was the pioneer in the field of study political development. According to him there are three main features of political development. These are - Equality, Capacity and Differentiation.
- Industrialization, urbanization, spread of education and literacy, expansion of mass media, expansion of secular culture are some of the factors that have led to political development.
- There are some basic differences between political modernisation and political development. Nevertheless, we cannot made clear cut demarcation between the two. Both the term intermingle with each other. Because the problems created by political modernisation are recused by political development.



12.8 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. Comparative Politics. New Delhi : Sterling publishers private Ltd.
2. Johari J.C. Principles of Modern Political Science. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
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12.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: In the broad sense political development means two things- Firstly, it stands for utter development of democracy. Secondly, development of developing i.e.; third world countries.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Equality, Differentiation and Capacity

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Differentiation is another feature of political development. It stands for the level of political institutions, diffusion and specialization of structures, decentralization, etc. It means that the different functions of the political system should be performed by different structures and one institution or structure should not be empowered to perform all types of functions. In this context, it is found that democracy is more effective than monarchy. In monarchy there is no differentiation/ separation of powers among legislature, executive and judiciary. King is all in all, there is no share of people in decision making. On the contrary, democracy is more effective in the sense that there are more political institutions and people can participate in the political system to a great extent. However, "differentiation does not imply fragmentation and the isolation of the different parts of the political system but specialization based on an ultimate sense of integration."



Ans. to Q. No. 4: (a) Equality of opportunity

(b) Impartiality

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Capacity refers to the capacity of a political system by which it can convert 'inputs' into 'outputs' and the extent to which it can make an impact on the rest of the society and economy. In other words, it is associated with governmental performance. It means the political system should develop its capacity of shouldering its obligations and responsibilities efficiently, it should be able to implement public polices and laws firmly, it should be capable of facing all problems and meeting all demands that are emerging with the changing circumstances and ability to run the administration efficiently.

Ans. to Q. No. 6: (a) Industrialization

(b) Urbanization

Ans. to Q. No. 7: (a) Problem of State-building

(b) Problem of Nation-building

Ans. to Q. No. 8:

i) Regarding scope we can differentiate between political development and modernization. Political development is an wider term- it includes the notion of political modernization within its ambit. So, political modernization is only one of the aspects of political development.

ii) The concept of political development is not unilinear one. Sometime it may convert into political decay. If the political system has failed to cope with the challenges that comes from environment then contrary to political development it will cause political decay, demise or disintegration.



12.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Point-out Lucian Pye's definition of political development.

Q. 2: What is the Problem of distribution?

Q. 3: What are the six types of crisis in political development according to Lucian Pye ?

Q. 4: What do you mean by Political development? Explain the four important challenges that lead to political development according to Almond and Powel.

Q. 5: Explain Lucian Pye's views on political development.

Q. 6: Discuss the different factors leading to political development.

Q. 7: What is political development ? Point out the differences between political modernization and political development.

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UNIT 13: POLITICAL PARTIES- ROLE AND FUNCTIONS

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning of Political Parties

13.4 Classification of Political Parties

13.5 Role and Functions of Political Parties

13.6 Let Us Sum Up

13.7 Further Reading

13.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.9 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning of political parties
- explain the classification of political parties
- discuss the role and functions of political parties

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Factions, cliques, groups, caucuses, lobbies, etc. have always existed to influence and even shape political processes, but political parties are a more recent development and are in no way comparable to the former category. Factions and cliques lack continuity, formal organization, and long-term agreement on the means to be employed in the context. Political parties stand on a different footing. Representative democracy in the modern times has brought about the party system as a crucial factor in every political society. It may be said that political parties in one form or another is omnipresent in all political systems. Whether it is the rule of a single person

(monarch), or of the few (elite) or even of the many, the norms of party system demand participation of the masses in the political affairs of the country as much as possible.

13.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL PARTIES

A political party may be referred to as being similar to any other party but there are certain features that make political parties unique. They are basically organized groups of people, often with similar viewpoints, who come together in order to contest elections and hold power in the government. The party comes to a consensus on particular proposed policies and programmes, with the aim to uphold the collective good. The aims and objectives have a certain measure of stability and autonomy. Founded by certain individuals holding strong idological views, a political party does not end with their passing away. It always outlives its current members, and has continuity independent of its current leadership.

Political parties are also the organization of people who share the same views about the way power should be used in a country or society (through government, policy-making, etc). It is the grouping of voters and organizing themselves to support certain public policies. Electing officials who will try to carry out the party's policies, is the primary aim of a political party. A political party fields candidates for public office. It proposes different perspective on different issues ranging from war and taxes to how children should be educated, etc.

In a democracy when people are dissatisfied with the government in power then voters express their opinions by voting for the candidates fielded by different political parties who could uphold their views and interests. Political parties may be of large or small, and may be of national or local. There are millions of members and supporters in large political parties. In a democratic set up, political parties take part in a competition in winning seats in legislatures which is the hallmark of democracy.

Political parties were not regarded as respectable or adorable bodies for quite some time. A party was associated with partiality and was thus viewed as something going against national interest, at any rate, not in consonance with them. It was much later in the history of political parties that a positive image of parties developed, and their contribution began to be recognized. In 1956, **Sigmund Neumann** observed, "Political parties are the life-line of modern politics.' It is to be noted here that, **Maurice Duverger, Robert Michels, Max Weber, M.Y. Ostrogorski, Sigmund Neumann, Giovanni Sartori, Otto Kirchheimer** and etc. are among the leading scholars in the field of comparative study of political parties.

Some of the popular **definitions** with regard to political parties are cited below :

- According to **Edmund Burke**, "a political party is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest, upon some particular principle in which they all agree".
- **Max Weber** defined a political party as "a voluntary society of propaganda and agitation, seeking to acquire power in order to procure chances for its active adherents to realize objective aims, or personal advantages, or both".
- **Joseph Schumpeter** observes, "the first and foremost aim of a political party is to prevail over the others in order to get into power or to stay in it".
- **M. Duverger** defines political parties as "groups organized for the purpose of achieving and exercising power within a political system".
- According to **A. Schlesinger**, "political parties are organizations whose goal is to capture the public office in electoral competition with one or more other parties".
- Lastly, **Gilchrist** defined it as an "organized group of citizens who profess to share the same political view and who by acting as a political unit, try to control the Government".

Therefore, the above discussion also explains that **four essential things are required for the formation of a political party**. They are **principles, policies and programmes, desire for power,** and **national interest**. Moreover, the existence of political parties can be traced with the growth and development of representative institutions and expansion of suffrage. They are thus an actual product of the nineteenth century.



LET US KNOW

Though it is true that the institution of a political party has assumed a respectable place now, its meaning, nature and role are still a matter of serious debate. While the **liberal view** appreciates the existence and role of political parties as the agencies of organized public opinion with the help of which a political system operates, the **Marxian view** examines it within the framework of class antagonism.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Political parties are also the organization of people who share the same views about the way power should be used in a country. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: M. Duverger defines political parties as "groups organized for the purpose of achieving and exercising power within a ..... system. (Fill in the Blank)

Q.3: What do you understand by the term "political parties'?

.....

.....

13.4 CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The classification of political parties that was presented by Maurice Duverger (1917-2014) in 1951 became very popular, and is now generally accepted. He has classified the political parties mainly into two types. One

is the 'cadre parties' and other 'mass parties', on the basis of the two principles of strength of the members, and the structure.

However, a fundamental distinction can be made between cadre parties and mass-based parties.

The two forms of parties coexist in many countries, particularly in Western Europe, where communist and socialist parties have emerged alongside the older conservative and liberal parties. Many parties do not fall exactly into either category but combine some characteristics of both.

Let us now discuss cadre parties and mass parties :

- **Cadre Parties**

Cadre Parties basically refers to those parties dominated by politically elite groups of activists. The **history of the cadre parties** dates back to the 19th century, when it was developed in **Europe** and **America**. During that period, suffrage was limited. A very small segment of the population enjoyed political influence. The common people mere spectators rather than active participants. Let us have a quick understanding about the historical framework of the cadre parties : (Source: www.britannica.com)

- The cadre parties of the 19th century comprised the **aristocrats** and **bourgeoisie**. They reflected a fundamental conflict between the two classes, that is, the aristocracy on the one hand and the bourgeoisie on the other. The former, composed of landowners, depended upon rural estates on which a generally unlettered peasantry was held back by a traditionalist clergy. The bourgeoisie, made up of industrialists, merchants, tradesmen, bankers, financiers, and professional people, depended upon the lower classes of clerks and industrial workers in the cities. However, aristocracy and bourgeoisie evolved their own ideologies.
- Conservative and liberal cadre parties dominated European politics in the 19th century. These parties emerged during a

period of great social and economic upheaval, and they exercised power largely through electoral and parliamentary activity. Once in power, their leaders used the power of the army or of the police; the party itself was not generally organized for violent activity. Its local units were charged with assuring moral and financial backing to candidates at election time, as well as with maintaining continual contact between elected officials and the electorate. The national organization endeavoured to unify the party members who had been elected to the assemblies. In general, the local committees maintained a basic autonomy and each legislator a large measure of independence.

Maurice Duverger explains the cadre parties as below :

- It is a grouping of notable figures that constitute the structure of political party. It believes in the principle of 'selection'.
- The notable figures take a very important part in the formulation of its policies and programmes, nomination of candidates for elections, conduct of electoral campaigns, collection of funds for the party and the like.
- Here quality is the most important factor. Prestige of a person, his or her expertise in the techniques of fighting elections and his or her power of gathering financial resources for the organization count very much.
- Not only this, such people prepare a cadre for the party who support the party at the time of elections.
- Reference, in this direction, may be made to the communist parties that have a cadre of their own drawn from labour and peasant organizations.

- **Mass Parties**

Cadre parties normally organize a relatively small number of party adherents. Mass-based parties, on the other hand, unite hundreds of

thousands of followers, sometimes millions. But the number of members is not the only criterion of a mass-based party. The essential factor is that such a party attempts to base itself on an appeal to the masses. It attempts to organize not only those who are influential or well known or those who represent special interest groups but rather any citizen who is willing to join the party.

At the end of the 19th century **the socialist parties of continental Europe** organized themselves on a mass basis in order to educate and organize the growing population of labourers and wage earners.

Such was the case with the **German Social Democratic Party**, which by 1913 had more than one million members. Such organizations were necessarily rigidly structured.

Maurice Duverger explains the mass parties as stated below:

- The growth of franchise is responsible for converting cadre parties into mass parties to a very great extent.
- A mass party is one that believes in the principle of 'elections' so as to win the title of popular legitimacy.
- It tries to enroll more and more members and act with their confidence and consultation. The membership is an open affair that is available to everyone who subscribes to its basic policy.
- Regular subscription is the source of its finances and the vast size of its membership is the stuff of its activity.
- In this way, mass party technique replaces the capitalist financing of electioneering by democratic financing.

Duverger also explains that there are certain **elements of a party organization** which also portrays the different types of political parties. They are as discussed below :

1. **Caucus:** Identifiable with a small unit like clique, core committee, coterie and the like, it is a very small entity having a limited nature. Its size is deliberately kept as small as possible. Its strength does not depend upon the number of its key

members but upon the quality they possess. It is, indeed, a group of notables chosen because of their influence. It plays a very important part in the decision-making process, though it reaches its peak on the eve of elections. Thus, it may be likened with institutional elite. Caucuses may be of direct and indirect types. They belong to the first category (as in the case of French Radical Socialists) where they are composed of 'notabilities' chosen for their individual qualities and personal influence; they belong to the second one where(as in the case of Republican and Democratic parties of the US) they are composed of the 'experts'

2. **Branch:** It designates a basic element which is less centralized than a caucus. While the latter deliberately seeks to live away from the masses, the former appeals to them and also appreciates its growing proximity with them. It is by and large an invention of the Socialist parties which desire to maintain their intimate touch with the people at large. It is found that leaders of the Socialist parties desire to maintain their intimate touch with the people at large. It is found that the leaders of the Socialist parties come to the branch members and talk about their problems and then a free exchange of ideas takes place. An attempt is also made to recruit more and more members with the help of branch organizations and to disseminate political education among the people. The result is that the branches of a political party become very important in the day-to-day functioning of the party. Besides, its impact upon the pople in general is so abiding that they see in polities a means of bettering their position. In this way, branch system corresponds to the working class mentality.

3. **Cell:** It is an invention of the Fascist and Communist parties where the occupational units of the ruling party are scattered in every nook and corner of the country and every cell has a much greater hold on its members than the caucuses and branches.

The members of a cell carry much importance than the members of the party. The secretary of a cell can control the activities of the unit by virtue of his or her strong influence. The party solidarity is also very strong, because cell is a unit of about dozen members or so who know each other intimately. Above all, the cells have an ideological orientation and they are a source of every clandestine action. The entire network of the cell is controlled by the highest unit of the party composed of the real decision makers at the top.

4. **Militia:** The Fascist Party of Mussolini in Italy and the Nazi Party of Hitler in Germany (and also the Communist Party of China under Mao) made another experiment by taking militia as the basis of their party's organization. Mention may be made of Hitler's Storm Troppers, Mussolini's Shock Troops and Mao's Guards. The members of these organizations remain civilians though they are given military training, wear prescribed uniforms, hold party flags and act at the behest of the party leaders working under the supreme command of the chief of the organization. It is a kind of private army of the party in power sufficient to combat and finish the enemies inside the country.

However, there are certain problems with the classification of political parties as proposed by Duverger as mentioned below :

- It may be said that, in modern times, electioneering has become a very costly affair. The subscription paid by the members is very meagre and no mass party can function without the help of 'political funding' from big industrialists or business magnates of the country.
- The difference between a cadre and a mass party, as pointed by Duverger, for reason, becomes irrelevant and we are ultimately forced to endorse the view of Lenin that every political party, except that of the Communists, is a bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie organization.



ACTIVITY 13.1

Try to list out and figure the different types of political parties in India in accordance with the classification discussed above.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: A clear classification of political parties was presented by Maurice Duverger (True/False)

.....

Q.5: The ..... of a cell can control the activities of the unit by virtue of his strong influence (Fill in the Blank)

13.5 ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are an indispensable part in modern societies. It is the prerequisite of modern democracy. It is unthinkable, to run a democratic government without the aid of political parties as they perform innumerable important functions in the governance.

- **Role-** There are four important roles that are being played by the political parties in our political system. These are described belows:
  - **Selection of Candidates for Political Office-** Political parties performs the prime function by nominating candidates for political office by narrowing the ground from a huge number of wannabes to a manageable few credible and efficient candidates. This helps the voters by simplifying and bringing a certain order in the electoral process and preventing chaos.
  - **Mobilization of Voters-** Political parties plays another important function in information providing and energizing their members. They present their brochures, run mass media campaigns, door to door campaigns, and call voters on the phone. Individual candidates can also work in a similar fashion, but the main advantages with political parties is that it secures complicated

networks of state and local offices that can be immediately pushed into the service of a candidate once the party nomination is secured. In addition, parties provide finance to their candidate's campaigns with their fundraising apparatuses.

- **Facilitating Policy and Governance-** Parties also bring order to the process of policymaking. Individual politicians, as party members, have a ready-made group of associates that generally cooperate with their efforts to pass and implement legislation. In addition, party alliances fill up the gap between the legislative and executive. The presence of political parties helps to narrows the distance between the branches and helps them work together.
- **Monitoring the party in power-** Parties also serve as critical watchdogs for the public. The relationship among the major parties ensures that the parties which are not in power (opposition parties) will keep a close eye on the ruling party and notify the public of any wrongdoing or policy mistake.

- **Functions-** The functions of political parties are discussed below :
  - **Political parties facilitate the working of Parliamentary Government-** A parliament consists of the representatives of the people. The political parties organize the representatives for the parliament or legislative assembly on party lines. On the basis of their party affiliation, the electorate chooses their representatives. The party which gets the majority of votes forms the government and runs the state and the other parties in the legislature constitute the opposition and try to find out the errors with the government action and policies, thus making it more responsible. If the political parties do not exist, the elected representatives may work at cross purposes just making the formation of a government or opposition impossible.
  - **Political parties formulate Public Policies-** Each political party fights the election to achieve its objectives incorporated in their political manifesto. As soon as the elections are over and

government is formed, the majority party forming the government seeks to formulate its policies of administration on the basis of promises made in the election manifesto. The interests of the general public are the backbone of these policies. The betterment of the general condition is the main objectives behind the most of the policies and plans formulated by the government. In addition, they also formulate policies on national security, internal law and order, etc. Besides, each party has its own ideology. It is assumed assured that the majority party gets the mandate of the electorate to implement its own political programme.

- **Political parties educate people and form Public Opinion-** Parties in any system of government educate, formulate and organize public opinion. The level of political consciousness of common citizens is also developed by the political parties who otherwise have no time to examine and study issues of the state. Public rallies, meetings, press conferences on important issues are organized by the political parties in their effort to come closer to the people and make their viewpoints clearer. The common people are made aware of the economic, social, and political conditions of the country. The masses are made to be acquainted with their voting rights. The common people therefore are empowered to analyze the pros and cons of various important issues. This helps in formulating public opinion on crucial matters. The common people generally do not get much time to engage themselves in active politics and therefore get benefited by these meetings, etc. They also lack the understanding of different aspects of the basic issues involved in administration. Therefore, the political parties play an important function in this regard.
- **Political parties provide political stability-** The political parties play an important function in stabilizing the political process of the country. There are many forces which cause deterioration of social stability and endanger security, like regionalism, localism,

factionalism, communalism, etc. which are tackled by political parties by incorporating the ways to address these issues in their ideology. This helps to appease the disintegrating forces and promote cohesion. 'Aggregation of interests' is the main function of the political parties. The political parties by performing their assigned role in the legislatures in a representative democracy, play a great role in maintaining social and political stability.

- **Political parties help in the recruitment of leaders-** The essential function of any party is to recruit people of integrity, letters, action, leadership to its fold as members and prepare them for election in future. Because it is the members of the party who propagate the party ideologies, discuss the burning issues and hold meetings and press conferences to mobilize public support. It is these leaders again who contest in the election and form the government if elected to power. Such leaders being drawn from public life are expected to understand expectations of the common people and formulate public policies accordingly. Parties always get popularity and recognition though their leaders only.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q.6: Mobilizing voters is not a role of political parties. (True/False)

.....

Q.7: Political parties educate people and form ..... (Fill in the Blanks)

Q.8: State two roles and two functions of political parties?

.....

.....

Q.9: Why recruitment of leaders is necessary for a political party?

.....

.....

.....



13.6 LET US SUM UP

- The aim of a political party is to elect officials who will try to carry out the party's policies. A political party fields candidates for public office.
- In modern societies, political parties seem to be an indispensable part in almost every country. Modern democracy is unthinkable without the parties.
- The classification of political parties that was presented by Maurice Duverger (1917-2014) in 1951, became popular, and is now generally accepted. He has classified the parties into 'cadre parties' and 'mass parties', on the basis of the two principles of strength of the members, and structure.
- The four important roles that is being played by the political parties in our political system are- Selecting candidates, Mobilizing voters, Facilitating governance and Monitoring the party in power.
- Beside these, the other important functions that have been assigned to the political parties are- political parties make the working of parliamentary government possible; political parties formulate public policies; Political parties educate people and form public opinion, political parties provide political stability and help in the recruitment of leaders



13.7 FURTHER READING

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

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

13.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Political

Ans. to Q. No. 3: A political party is an organized group of people, often with common views, who come together to contest elections and hold power in the government. A political party fields candidates for public office.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: True

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Secretary

Ans. to Q. No. 6: False

Ans. to Q. No. 7: public opinion.

Ans. to Q. No. 8:

Role:	Functions:
a) Selecting Candidates	a) Political parties make the working of parliamentary government possible.
b) Mobilizing Voters	b) Political parties formulate public policies.

Ans. to Q. No. 9: Recruitment of the members is essential because the members of the party propagate the party ideologies, discuss the burning issues and hold meetings and press conferences to mobilize public support. It is these leaders again who contest in the election and form the government if elected to power.



13.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Write the meaning of a political party.

Q. 2: What is the difference between cadre party and mass party?

Q. 3: Describe in brief some notable functions of political parties

Q. 4: Explain the importance of political parties in a democracy

Q. 5: Define political parties.

Q. 6: Explain the distinctive roles of political parties.

Q. 7: Discuss the elements of a party organization as put forward by Marice Dunrger.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 14: PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTEREST GROUPS- NATURE AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Meaning and Nature of Pressure Groups and Interest Groups

14.4 Types of Pressure Groups

14.5 Similarities and Differences between Pressure Groups and Political Parties

14.6 Political Significance of Pressure Groups and Interests Groups

14.7 Let Us Sum Up

14.8 Further Reading

14.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.10 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- explain the meaning and nature of pressure groups and interest groups
- discuss the types of pressure groups
- discuss the similarities and differences between pressure groups and political parties
- analyze the political significance of pressure groups and interests groups.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

In the post-war period, the coming of Behaviouralism followed by Post-Behaviouralism has produced a qualitative change in political studies. These have now come to be process or behaviour oriented studies of politics. The emphasis now is to study all the factors, forces and structures

which directly or indirectly influence the process of politics. Politics is now regarded as basically a group phenomenon in which people organized in groups are engaged in the process of politics and through it they try to secure desired and favorable allocation of authoritative values by the government. The political parties try to secure power through elections in the state. Behind political parties are several interest pressure groups which try to influence the course of the political process and the authoritative values being made and implemented through in such a way so as to secure maximum fulfilment of their respective interests. Therefore, in contemporary political science, the study of pressure groups and their forms enjoys as much importance as the study of political parties.

14.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTEREST GROUPS

"Pressure Group" and **"Interest Group"** are two terms but often used interchangeably, as many scholars advocate that there exists no real difference between the two. **They are called interest groups** because the basis of organization of each group is the shared and common interests of the members who believe that these interests can be secured through their collective efforts in the group. On the other hand, **they are called Pressure Groups** because the means that these groups use for securing their interests are pressure tactics. Each group tries to secure and promote its interests by putting pressure on the Government- legislature, executive, bureaucracy and judiciary, and upon the political parties, particularly the party in power or the majority party and the society at large.

Therefore, a group is regarded as an interest group when it is trying to secure the interest of its members and it is called a pressure group when it is using pressure upon the government and society for securing its interests. No organic difference between interest groups and pressure groups exist and these two terms can be interchangeably used as synonyms.

Some of the popular **definitions** of Pressure/Interest Groups are as under follows :

- **V.O. Key** says, "Pressure Groups are private associations formed to influence public policy."
- **Almond** and **Powell** define it as "By interest group we mean a group of individuals, who are linked by particular bonds of concern or advantage, and who have some awareness of these bonds".
- **H. Zeigler** explains, "Pressure Group is an organized aggregate which seeks to influence the context of governmental decision without attempting to place its members in formal governmental capacities."
- **Hitchner and Harbold** defines, "the term Pressure Group is employed "to describe any collection of persons with common objectives who seek their realization through political action to influence public policy. Still more simply, an interest group is any group that wants something from government."
- **Myron Weiner** explains, "By interest or pressure group we can mean any voluntary organized group, outside the government structure, which attempts to influence the nomination or appointment of government personnel, the adoption of public policy, its administration and adjudication."
- **C.H. Dillon** regards, "An interest group is an association of people having a mutual concern. They become in turn a pressure group as they seek government aid in accomplishing what is advantageous to them."
- **Nature of Pressure Groups/Interest Groups:** The nature of pressure Groups/Interest Groups is discussed below :
  - **Interest as the main basis:** Every pressure group is organized for securing one or several common interests. People with commonly shared interests unite to form pressure groups because they accept that the common interests can be secured only through collective group efforts. These are formal organizations of the people who share one or more common interests and are committed to secure these through collective efforts of the group.

- **Mutual cooperation and Pressure techniques:** Pressure groups or interests groups try to secure their goals through the cooperative efforts of its members. They seek to maintain and promote co-operation among their members and thereby try to secure their interest. They try to persuade all those persons who have the power to satisfy their interests. They resort to lobbying with Legislators, Ministers, Administrators, Civil Servants, Judges and the Press for favorably influencing their policies, decisions, and activities.
- **Non-Partisan Character:** Pressure Groups are basically non-partisan in character. They do not directly participate in struggle for power. Nevertheless, they try to influence the course of elections, right from selection of candidates to victory and government formation, in a way that can help them to secure their interest. They bargain with political parties in order to win support for their goals. They do not have permanent parties in order to win support for their goals. They can support a party in respect of some of its policies as well as oppose it in respect of its other policies.
- **Organization:** A pressure group is a formally organized structure. They are organized associations of people. Each such group has a constitution of its own and a formal organized structure consisting of elected or nominated representative of the members.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The term "Pressure Group" and "Interest Group" are often used interchangeably. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: According to V.O. Key, "Pressure Groups are private associations formed to influence ....." - (Fill in the Blank)

Q.3: Pressure Groups have a parties an character. (True/False)

.....

Q.4: Mentioned any two categories of people whom pressure groups try to influence.

.....

.....

.....

14.4 TYPES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

Interest groups/Pressure groups have been variously classified by different scholars. But among them, the classification put forwarded by Almond and Powell is widely accepted and popular. This classification is briefly discussed below.

Almond and Powell's Classification

According to Almond and Powell, the interest groups are of the following four types :

- **Non-Associational Interest Groups:** These groups refer to kinship and lineage groups, and ethnic, regional, status and class groups which articulate their interests intermittently through individuals, cliques, family and religious heads and the like. The distinguishing characteristics of such interest groups are the intermittent pattern of articulation, the absence of an organized procedure for establishing the nature and means of articulation, and the lack of continuity in internal structure.
- **Associational Interest Groups:** These are specialized structure for interest articulation including trade unions, organizations of business or industrialists, ethnic associations, associations organized by religious denominations and civic groups. Their particular characteristics are the explicit representation of the interests of a particular group, a full time professional staff, and orderly procedures for the formulation of interests and demands. Such groups play a leading role in so far as they tend to regulate the development of the other types of interest groups.
- **Institutional Interest Groups:** Such groups are found within such organizations as political parties, legislatures, armies, bureaucracies and churches. These are formal organizations composed of

professionally employed personnel, with designated political or social functions other than interests articulation. These groups may articulate their own interests or represent the interests of other groups in society.

- **Anomic Interest Groups:** These are more or less spontaneous penetrations in the political system emerging from the society, such as riots, demonstrations, assassinations and the like. They may begin by articulating interests, but may end up performing other functions as recruitment or rule communication, rule application or rule adjudication.

Maurice Duverger's Classification

According to him, there are two divisions of pressure groups. These are:

- **Exclusive Groups:** In the first category are those groups whose only function is to put pressure on the political system.
- **Partial Groups:** The partial groups, on the other hand, are essentially set up to be the promoters of interests of their members, but in that process they only occasionally use pressure tactics.

Jean Blondel's Classification

Blondel divides the pressure groups into two categories on the basis of the factors responsible for their formation. These are:

- **The community interest groups:** These are formed to promote community interests. The social relations are behind their formation. Most of the community groups are informal in nature. They put pressure on the government to seek state protection and assistance. The community groups are divided further into customary and institutional groups.
- **The associational groups:** These comprises the protective groups and promotional groups. The protective groups try to protect the interests of their members like those of trade unions and associations of traders or professionals. The promotional groups, on the other hand, have membership of a large cross-section of the community. The promotional groups may include groups for disarmament, or the Greens seeking promotion of environmental security.



LET US KNOW

The major pressure/interest groups present in India irrespective of their nature are the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), The Bhartiya Kisan Sangh (BKS), The All India Students' Federation (AISF), Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Punjabi Sahit Sabhas, The United Mizo Federal Organization, All India Medical Council, etc.



ACTIVITY 14.1

Try to categorize the above mentioned pressure groups in India in accordance with the different types of pressure groups that have been discussed already.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: According to Maurice Duverger pressure groups must not exert any political pressure. (True/ False)

.....

Q.6: Interest groups have been classified by Blondel on the basis of factors responsible for their ..... (Fill in the Blank)

Q.7: According to Almond and Powell what are the different types of interest groups?

.....

.....

.....

14.5 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PRESSURE GROUPS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties and pressure groups are both very important with respect to the functioning of the political system The major **differences** between political parties and pressure groups are as follows-

- A pressure group is the public body acting behind the political party (outside the political party) whereas political directly take part in constituting the government.
- Pressure groups act in an indirect way. They try to influence and pressurize the government to get their demands fulfilled. They do not intervene directly whereas political parties act directly, they are legally entitled to frame policies and take decisions concerning the country.
- Pressure groups pressurize the executive and the legislature to achieve their aims whereas political parties bring co-ordination in the working of the executive and the legislature.
- Pressure groups use both conventional and non-conventional means to demonstrate their demands whereas political parties use only constitutional means to execute their duties and functions
- Pressure groups work for self interest, they emerge and dissolve as per the need of certain groups whereas a political party is more stable as it works for national interests and not merely for any certain groups or objectives.

The major **similarities** between political parties and pressure groups are as follows;

- Both political parties and pressure groups seek to influence the government. They influence the government policies and act. for changes.
- Both political parties and interest groups may work together depending on the issues they represent. If their policies match, it is more likely for them to cooperate.
- Both Political parties and pressure groups criticize the government policies. Some of the government policies may have no benefits to the citizen at all or may favour only the ruling class. This being the case, both political parties and pressure groups criticize the government plans, policy and practice and suggest the way forward.

- Both political parties and pressure groups take actions to promote changes and further their goals. They may stage demonstrations or public protests against poor governance forcing the government to take measures.
- They both represent the viewpoints of people who are not satisfied with the current conditions in the society and often represent alternative viewpoints that are not well represented in the mainstream population. By forming pressure groups or political parties people seek to express their shared beliefs and values and influence changes within communities and socio-political structures.
- Both political parties and pressure groups may use a variety of strategies to achieve their goals. These include lobbying and influencing the elected officials, the government, media advocacy and direct political actions (eg. organized protests).



ACTIVITY 14.2

Try to identify and analyze whether the similarities and dissimilarities could be observed between political parties and pressure groups in the Indian political structure?



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: The pressure groups and political parties are always similar in all characteristics. (True/False)

.....

Q.9: Pressure groups pressurise the executive and the legislature to achive their aims. (True/False)

.....

Q.10: List out any two similarities and any two dissimilarities between pressure groups and political parties.

.....

.....

14.6 POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTERESTS GROUPS

- **Functions of Interest Groups as Interest Articulation Structures:** The first step in the political process is the making of demands upon the political decision-makers by the people. This is done by them through their groups. Groups bring the claims of the people to the notice of the decision-makers. The process by which the claims of the people get crystallized and articulated is called interest articulation. Pressure groups or interest groups play a key role in this process.
- **Functions of Interest Groups as agents of Political Socialization, Participation, Communication and Recruitment:** Pressure groups are agents of political socialization in so far as they influence the orientations of the people towards the political process. They play an important role in the transmission of cultural values and in influencing the behaviour of the people in politics. Through participation in the group activities and by influencing the nature of political process the members of various groups get engaged in political participation. The training that the members of the groups undergo as their office bearers or active members enables and encourages them to take up political roles. It is in this way that pressure groups perform the function of political recruitment.
- **Role of Interest Groups in Elections:** To contest elections is the function of the political parties and not of the pressure groups. Pressure groups, by nature are non-partisan groups. Nevertheless, these indirectly play a crucial role in elections. When the political parties are selecting their candidates, these groups try to influence the choice.
- **Role of Interest Groups in the Party Politics:** In a political system, there is present a continuous process of interactions between political parties and pressure groups. The latter are always at work to

influence the policies and activities of a political party (usually the majority party) or parties in such a way as can help them to secure their interests. The former are also continuously engaged in attempts to secure the support, cooperation and resources of the organised groups in order to strengthen their respective chances in the political struggle.

- **Interest/Pressure Groups and Legislation:** Interest/Pressure groups play a vital role in the legislative process, not only as important structures of interest articulation, but also as active agencies engaged in lobbying with the legislators for securing desired laws or amendments in laws and policies of the government. Right from the time of preparation of election manifestoes of various political parties to the passing of laws by the legislators, the pressure groups remain associated with the process of rule-making. Besides involvement in the process of inducting "favoured candidates" into the legislature, the groups try to influence the direction of parliamentary debates through press, propaganda and lobbying.
- **Pressure Groups and Administration:** Pressure Groups are actively involved with the process of administration. The important role played by the organized associations, unions, and trade unions of the civil servants is a well known fact. Civil Servants are the real personnel behind the political executive, who manage the day-to-day administration and policies of the government. Their interest groups as well as the interest groups enjoying their sympathies and goodwill play an influential role in the policy-making and running of administration.
- **Interest/Pressure Group's role in Judicial Administration:** Pressure groups do not hesitate to affect the work of the judiciary. Their penetration into the judicial system is a well known fact of the contemporary era of democracy. Groups try to resort to the judicial system for securing and safeguarding their interests. Since judiciary

in a democratic system is the guardian of the rights and liberty of the people, interest groups often seek access to the court for the redress of their grievances against the government as well as for getting declared a particular decision or policy as unconstitutional. They try to resort to the system of judicial review to get the unsuited laws and policies rejected as unlawful.

- **Interest Groups and Public Opinion:** Pressure groups play a leading role in the formulation of public opinion. Each pressure group is continuously engaged in evaluating all such laws, rules, decisions and policies which have a direct or indirect bearing on the interests it represents. It always places the pros and cons not only before its members but also before the general public for eliciting popular support as well as for catching the attention of the government.
- Pressure groups and interest groups promote national and particular interests and constitute a link of communication between citizens and the government. They provide necessary information and keep the nation politically alive. Today democratic politics has to be politics through consultation, negotiation and some amount of bargaining. These cannot happen without pressure groups and interest groups.



LET US KNOW

According to **Andrew Heywood**, the main **advantage** of a pressure group is that it strengthens representation by articulating interests and advancing views that are ignored by political parties, and by providing a means of influencing government between elections. On the other hand, the main **disadvantage** of a pressure group is that it entrenches political inequality by strengthening the voice of the wealthy and privileges, those who have access to financial, educational, organizational or other resources.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.11: There is no distinctive political significance of pressure groups (True/False)

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Q.12: Since ..... in a democratic system is the guardian of the rights and liberty of the people, interest groups often seek access to the court for the redress of their grievances against the government. (Fill in the blanks)

Q.13: Discuss briefly the significance of pressure groups as an agent of political socialization.

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14.7 LET US SUM UP

- The political parties try to secure power through elections in the state. Behind political parties are several interest pressure groups which try to influence the course of political process and the authoritative values being made and implemented through in such a way to secure maximum satisfaction of their respective interests. Therefore, in contemporary political science, the study of pressure group forms enjoys as much importance as the study of political parties.
- "Pressure Group" and "Interest Group" are two terms but often used interchangeably, as many scholars advocate that there exists no real difference between the two. They are called interest groups because the basis of organization of each group is the shared and common interests of the members who believe that these interests can be secured through their collective efforts in the group. On the other hand, they are called Pressure Groups because the means that these groups use for securing their interests are pressure tactics.

- The nature of Pressure Groups/Interest Groups can be discussed under the following heads: Interest as the main basis; Mutual cooperation and Pressure techniques; Non-Partisan Character; and Organization.
- Interest groups/Pressure groups have been variously classified by different scholars. But among them, the classification put forwarded by Almond and Powell is widely accepted and popular.
- The major difference between political parties and pressure groups is that pressure group is the public body acting behind the political party (outside political party) whereas political parties go on to constitute government
- The major similarity between political parties and pressure group is that both political parties and pressure groups seek to influence the government. They influence the government policies and act for changes.
- Pressure groups and interest groups promote national and particular interests and constitute a link of communication between citizens and the government. They provide necessary information and keep the nation politically alive. Today democratic politics has to be politics through consultation, negotiation and some amount of bargaining. These cannot happen without pressure groups and interest groups.



14.8 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. (2017). Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd.
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4. Ray, S.N. (2006). Modern Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.

14.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: True

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Public policy

Ans. to Q. No. 3: False.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: a) Legislators

b) Administrators

Ans. to Q. No. 5: False

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Formation

Ans. to Q. No. 7: According to Almond and powell, the interest groups are of the following four types: i) Associational Interest Groups; and ii) Non-Associational Interest Groups; iii) Institutional Interest Groups; iv) Anomic Interest Groups.

Ans. to Q. No. 8: False

Ans. to Q. No. 9: True

Ans. to Q. No. 10: The major differences between political parties and pressure group are as follows-

1. A pressure group is the public body acting behind the political party(outside the political party) whereas political parties go on to constitute the government.

2. Pressure groups act in an indirect way. They try to influence and pressurize the government to get their demand fulfilled. They do not intervene directly whereas political parties act directly, they are legally entitled to frame policies and take decisions concerning the country.

The major similarities between political parties and pressure group are as follows-

1. Both political parties and pressure groups seek to influence the government. They influence the government policies and act for changes.

2. Both political parties and pressure groups may work together if their policies match.

Ans. to Q. No. 11: False

Ans. to Q. No. 12: Judiciary

Ans. to Q. No. 13: Pressure groups are agents of political socialization in so far as they influence the orientations of the people towards the political process. They play an important role in the transmission of cultural values and in influencing the behaviour of the people in politics. They are the factors of sociological and psychological environment of the political system.



14.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: A group is an interest group when it is trying to secure the ..... of its members and it is a pressure group when it is using ..... upon the government and society for securing its interests. (Fill in the Blanks)

Q. 2: Pressure groups use pressure tactics to achieve their objectives (True/False)

Q. 3: Define pressure groups.

Q. 4: Discuss the two categories of pressure groups as put forward by Jean Blondel's Classification

Q. 5: Discuss Almond and Powell's Classification of Pressure Groups.

Q. 6: Explain the nature of pressure groups/interest groups.

Q. 7: Discuss the significance of pressure groups/interest groups.

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UNIT 15: STATE INSTITUTIONS- MILITARY, POLICE AND BUREAUCRACY

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Functions and Role of the Military.

15.4 Civilian Control of the Military.

15.5 Functions and Role of the Police

15.5.1 Types of Policing

15.6 Bureaucracy and Democracy with special reference to the role of Bureaucracy in a modern state.

15.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

15.8 Further Reading

15.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

15.10 Possible Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- describe the features and functions of the military
- discuss the need for and advantages of having civilian control over the military
- discuss the functions of the police
- explain the role of the police
- discuss bureaucracy and democracy with special reference to the role of the bureaucracy in a modern state.

15.2 INTRODUCTION

State institutions refer to those bodies established by the state, to perform certain basic governmental functions on the behalf of the state such as maintenance of law and order, defending the nation, implementation of policies of the government, executing developmental

programmes, etc. through a series of accepted and regular procedures. In other words, these are machineries established by the state to pilot and organize its own affairs and administer its functions and duties. There are different types of state institutions like the police, the military, the bureaucracy, etc.

15.3 FEATURES AND ROLE OF THE MILITARY

The term military refers to the armed forces of a country comprising mainly of three divisions viz- the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, as well as paramilitary forces, which are usually placed under the control of the particular state. Its functions are manifold. It is entrusted with the responsibility of not only protecting the state from external invasions but also for maintaining peace and order within its territory. At the same time, its role is also seen during the time of national emergencies when it is given the responsibility of maintaining law and order. It is usually seen that the different security forces of the state have to deal with various circumstances relating to law and order, but in matters relating to defence, it is the role of the military alone which comes into the foreground. In the words of Samuel. E. Finer in his work "The Man on the Horseback" states that the armed forces enjoy overwhelming superiority in the means of applying force and says " The wonder, therefore, is not why this rebels against its civilian masters, but why it ever obeys them." The military is a heavily armed and highly organized force which is officially maintained by the state. The recruits have a distinct identity, which is designated by their uniform. The military is primarily entrusted with the task of taking care of the defence of the state securing its territorial borders and national interests against internal as well as external aggressions and threats. The role of the military is to identify the possible threats which a state might encounter and prevent them from occurring. In this regard, the role of intelligence agencies comes into play, particularly the role of the military intelligence. The military intelligence agencies are meant to to operate in a secret way

and secure information and chalk out plans for conflict escalations, initiation of combat, assess military capabilities of aggressors, develop models for combating the hostile forces as well as provide guidelines in national security matters:

Military organizations are seen to be characterized by a hierarchical mechanism, where the principle of hierarchy is strictly adhered to. Ranks are normally allotted in a descending order of authority and where all strategic decisions are made by senior officers and the sub-ordinates are meant to comply with them. The military personnel, dispending upon the nature of the state system may either be recruited or conscripted. They may be recruited either full time or on a reserved basis. The military is expected to remain politically neutral. The role of the military may be summarized under two sub-heads:-

a) Under normal circumstances, where the role of the armed forces is centered around defending the unity, integrity and sovereignty of a nation.

b) Under abnormal circumstances which arises when the military assumes the real power of a nation. In such a situation, the Army General becomes the real ruler of the country by overthrowing the civilian government; and the people are made to obey the military authority.

However, besides these two situations, the military also comes to assume a major role in the state during the time of natural calamities like flood, earthquake, cyclones, etc.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Write briefly about the role of the military.

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15.4 CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY

One of the prerequisite features for a stable democratic system is often seen as civilian control, which means a democratic form of government run by elected officials.

In the words of Prof. Richard H. Kohn "civilian control is not a fact but a process".

Civilian control over the military is a concept that entrusts the ultimate responsibility for ruling a nation and taking effective strategic decisions upon the civilian authority. As Samuel P. Huntington in his work " The Soldier and the State", has stated that by civilian control over military is meant "the proper subordination of a competent professional military to the ends of policy as determined by civilian authority.

The very purpose of civilian control is to not make security superior to the larger purposes of nation but the other way round. The role of the military is to defend the state and not to define the nature of the state. Here again, reference could be made to the various scholars including Huntington who have advocated for objective civilian control wherein the role of the civilian leaders is to set the policy parameters, while the military professionals are to determine the best means to achieve the goals of those policies. However, critics maintain that the military nowadays has no longer an exclusive claim to strategic expertise.

The basic premise of civilian control over military is based on the principle that at the end of the day, policies of the state are to be set by the civilians and the military is limited to decisions about means.

It may be noted here that the concept of civilian control over military is a basic principle of the American Constitution. The framers of the American Constitution fixed to ensure that the military should be under the civilian control, and this is reflected in Article-I, Section 8, as well as Article II, Section 2 of the American Constitution.

Article I, Section 8 of the American Constitution states that the "Congress shall have Power To…. raise and support Armies ….." and "To

provide and maintain a Navy." In addition, Congress must provide for the State militias when they are called to federal service.

Article II, Section 2 states that, "The President shall be the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States."

It is the American Congress, which has the power to declare war as well as making rules for governing the military. Civilian control over the military has certain advantages which are as under :

- Civilian control over the military prevents the outcome of a coup or a military dictatorship.
- It also ensures minimum use of force as military personnel, because of their nature of job, are more willing to use force to settle disputes than civilian authorities.
- Again, giving a free rein to the military, is not always compatible with liberty and democracy. In a state where the military is not under civilian control, there is a possibility of having a military dictatorship, when the military decides that it can serve the country better than the civilians.
- It is the civilian authorities who alone can coordinate a holistic and balanced strategic framework by roping in the expertise of its vast network of security advisers, defence experts, serving and retired personnel of the armed forces . Strategic formulations done only by the military may at times ignore geo-political realities of the world.

However, the military must be given some amount of autonomy and flexibility in terms of its ability to take strategic decisions at times. In situations of war, since everything right from equipment to manpower is under the ultimate control of the civilian government, it is important that the government acts with promptness. If the government in not quick and prompt enough to take appropriate decisions, the nation may suffer. Thus, coordination with top level military officials is necessary during such times.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.2: Mention any two advantages of civilian control over the military.

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15.5 FUNCTIONS AND ROLE OF THE POLICE

The term police refers to a body of officials who represent the civil authority of the government. The police is entrusted with the duty and responsibility of maintaining law and order, enforcing law, preventing, detecting and investigating crime and criminal activities, responding to emergencies and providing support services.

The **functions** of police can be discussed under the following sub-heads:

a) **Enforcing law:** An important function of the police is to investigate crime and identity criminals, so that a political system can function smoothly. It is also meant to ensure that the laws made by the government pertaining to human life, security, property and well being are properly obeyed and enforced.

b) **Preventing crimes:** Another significant function of the police is to prevent occurrence of crimes, by responding to incidence and patrolling on a regular basis.

c) **Testify in court:** An important duty of police officers is to testify in court and present the evidence collected by them with regard to any incident in a substantial manner. They may also testify as expert witnesses.

d) **Crime-free and Criminal-free society:** The function of the police is to make the society free from crimes and criminals as they are the only agency equipped and empowered legally to deal with crimes.

They are an integral part of the criminal justice system. They must collect evidence quite meticulously so that it will stand scrutiny in the court and the criminals will be punished appropriately.

e) **Protecting Public Property:** Another important function of the police is to protect public property, which includes roads, railways, bridges, public parks, etc. from misuse, acts of vandalism, violence or any other kind of attack. They are to create and maintain a feeling of security in the community and promote amity.

The responsibility of police are many and may vary from one system to another , certain duties relating to peacekeeping and law enforcement and protective functions are common to all police forces across the world. The role of the police is discussed below:

The police is not an isolated identity but very much related to the state, and are accountable to the people they serve. From the functions discussed above, we can deduce two key features of policing:-

a) **Legitimate use of force :** The is the only agency in the state which is legally empowered to use force while exercising their duties. The use of force in terms making arrests, conducting search operations, using riot control tactics including firing, etc. on the part of the police is determined by the law and no police personnel can act arbitrarily or violate legal norms in this regard.

b) **Discretionary activity:** While the law provides the basis upon which the police operates, the various police regulations does give the police certain amount of discretion to decide what is best for maintaining public order in certain situations.

As a matter of fact, it is important to build trust between the police and citizens. A healthy police-community relationship is very essential. In the absence of trust, the effectiveness of police work reduces. As a police personnel is looked upon as the most visible representatives of the government, the police is expected to be the most accessible, interactive and dynamic institution of the state.

15.5.1 Types of Policing

Social and political scientist James Q. Wilson conducted a study on police departmental styles in 1968. He studied police departments in eight different communities. He found that there are three distinct styles of policing which are mentioned below:

a) Watchman style
b) Legalistic style
c) Service style

As per the watchman style, the emphasis of the police personnel is on maintenance of order, but through informal methods. They try to resolve disputes and control disruptive behaviour by using their discretion. Instead of arrests, warnings may be issued or fines may be imposed.

As per the legalistic style, there is an emphasis on strict enforcement of the law and actual arrests are made in case of violations of the law.

As per the service style, the police department works mainly as a service oriented department. It tries to prevent crimes and solve problems by way of working in collaboration with community groups and undertake such activities as providing counselling for minor offenders, sensitizing people , etc.

There is also the concept of Community Policing whereby certain officers are deputed in certain neighbourhoods or areas and they continue to operate in the same area so that there grows a strong bond between the citizens living and working in that area and the police.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: Mention any four functions of the police.

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15.6 BUREAUCRACY AND DEMOCRACY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY IN A MODERN STATE

- Bureaucracy is one of the most powerful institutions of the political system which plays a very decisive role in the scheme of a country's governance. In any democratic political system, the bureaucracy is the most vital and potent element as it runs the administration of the state according to the policies and laws of the political executive. The efficiency of the administration of a state depends upon the qualities and efficiency of bureaucracy. The bureaucracy constitutes the permanent and professional part of the executive organ of the government, whose role is of two types:

  a) **Advisory:** It advises the political executive in policy making

  b) **Administrative:** It administers and implements the policies and decisions made by the political executive.

In a modern state, the bureaucracy is considered as the cohesive and coherent institution, on whose shoulder lies the responsibility of running the administration. The civil service plays a very important role in running the administration. The civil servants are responsible for carrying out and implementing the policies of the government. In matters relating to policy making, the bureaucrats formulate policies, even though policy making is the function of the government. The civil servants advise the political executive to run their departments. The ministers receive all the information and advice regarding the functioning of their respective departments from the civil servants. The civil servant also play an important but indirect role in law making, by way of drafting the bills, for the ministers, who place the bills in the legislature for law-making. In matters of financial administration like collecting taxes, disbursement of financial benefits, settling deputes involving taxes, granting subsides and concessions, etc., the bureaucracy plays a very vital role. With the rise of the modern democratic welfare state, it has become very important to establish a close relation between

the people and the state. Herein again comes the role of bureaucracy which plays a very important connecting point between the people and the state. The civil servants serve as a two way link in the sense that they communicate all government decisions to the people and on the other hand communicate to the government the needs and views of the people.

In every democratic system, it is the elected representatives who are entrusted with the responsibility to govern, but is the institution of bureaucracy upon which the continuity and efficiency of administration is dependent. Thus, we can aptly conclude that the bureaucracy constitutes the backbone of the state and its administration.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Write briefly about the role of bureaucracy in a modern state.

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15.7 LET US SUM UP

- The term military refers to the armed forces of a country comprising mainly of three divisions viz- the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, as well as paramilitary forces, which are usually placed under the control of the particular state.
- The military is heavily armed and is a highly organized force which is officially maintained by the state. The recruits have a distinct identity, which is designated by their uniform. The military is primarily entrusted with the task of taking care of the defence of the state securing its territorial borders and national interests against internal as well as external aggressions and threats.

- The role of the military is to identify the possible threats which a state might encounter and prevent them from occurring. In this regard, the role of intelligence agencies comes into play, particularly the role of the military intelligence.
- The military intelligence agencies are meant to to operate in a secret way and secure information and chalk out plans for conflict escalations, initiation of combat, assess military capabilities of aggressors, develop models for combating the hostile forces as well as provide guidelines in national security matters.
- Military organizations are seen to be characterized by a hierarchical mechanism, where the principle of hierarchy is strictly adhered to. Ranks are normally allotted in a descending order of authority and where all strategic decisions are made by senior officers and the sub-ordinates are meant to comply with them.
- The military personnel, dispending upon the nature of the state system may either be recruited or conscripted. They may be recruited either full time or on a reserved basis. The military is expected to remain politically neutral.
- The very purpose of civilian control over the military is to not make security superior to the larger purposes of nation but the other way round. The role of the military is to defend the state and not to define the nature of the state.
- The basic premise of civilian control over military is based on the principle that at the end of the day, policies of the state are to be set by the civilians and the military is limited to decisions about means.
- It may be noted here that the concept of civilian control over military is a basic principle of the American Constitution. It also ensures minimum use of force as military personnel, because of their nature of job, are more willing to use force to settle disputes than civilian authorities.
- The functions of police are many such as enforcing law, preventing crimes, testifying in court, establishing a crime-free and criminal-free society and protecting public property.

- The police is the only agency in the state which is legally empowered to use force while exercising their duties. The use of force in terms making arrests, conducting search operations, using riot control tactics including firing, etc. on the part of the police is determined by the law and no police personnel can act arbitrarily or violate legal norms in this regard.
- While the law provides the basis upon which the police operates, the various police regulations does give the police certain amount of discretion to decide what is best for maintaining public order in certain situations.
- As a matter of fact, it is important to build trust between the police and citizens. A healthy police-community relationship is very essential.
- In the absence of trust, the effectiveness of police work reduces. As a police personnel is looked upon as the most visible representatives of the government, the police is expected to be the most accessible, interactive and dynamic institution of the state.
- There are three distinct styles of policing, namely, the watchman style, the legalistic style and the service style. There is also the concept of community policing.
- The bureaucracy constitutes the permanent and professional part of the executive organ of the government, whose role is of two types: advisory and administrative.
- In a modern state, the bureaucracy is considered as the cohesive and coherent institution, on whose shoulder lies the responsibility of running the administration. The civil service plays a very important role in running the administration.
- The civil servants are responsible for carrying out and implementing the policies of the government. In matters relating to policy making, the bureaucrats formulate policies, even though policy making is the function of the government. The civil servants advise the political executive to run their departments.

- The ministers receive all the information and advice regarding the functioning of their respective departments from the civil servants. The civil servant also play an important but indirect role in law making, by way of drafting the bills, for the ministers, who place the bills in the legislature for law-making.
- In matters of financial administration like collecting taxes, disbursement of financial benefits, settling deputes involving taxes, granting subsides and concessions, etc., the bureaucracy plays a very vital role. With the rise of the modern democratic welfare state, it has become very important to establish a close relation between the people and the state.
- Herein again comes the role of bureaucracy which plays a very important connecting point between the people and the state. The civil servants serve as a two way link in the sense that they communicate all government decisions to the people and on the other hand communicate to the government the needs and views of the people.
- In every democratic system, it is the elected representatives who are entrusted with the responsibility to govern, but is the institution of bureaucracy upon which the continuity and efficiency of administration is dependent. Thus, we can aptly conclude that the bureaucracy constitutes the backbone of the state and its administration.



15.8 FURTHER READING

1. Johari, J.C. Comparative Politics. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd.
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15.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: The military is a heavily armed and highly organized force which is officially maintained by the state. The recruits have a distinct identity, which is designated by their uniform. The military is primarily entrusted with the task of taking care of the defence of the state securing its territorial borders and national interests against internal as well as external aggressions and threats. The role of the military is to identify the possible threats which a state might encounter and prevent them from occurring. In this regard, the role of intelligence agencies comes into play, particularly the role of the military intelligence. The military intelligence agencies are meant to to operate in a secret way and secure information and chalk out plans for conflict escalations, initiation of combat, assess military capabilities of aggressors, develop models for combating the hostile forces as well as provide guidelines in national security matters:

The role of the military may be summarized under two sub-heads:-

a) Under normal circumstances, where the role of the armed forces is centered around defending the unity, integrity and sovereignty of a nation.

b) Under abnormal circumstances which arises when the military assumes the real power of a nation. In such a situation, the Army General becomes the real ruler of the country by overthrowing the civilian government; and the people are made to obey the military authority.

However, besides these two situations, the military also comes to assume a major role in the state during the time of natural calamities.

Ans. to Q. No. 2: (a) Civilian control over the military prevents the outcome of a coup or a military dictatorship.

(b) It also ensures minimum use of force as military personnel, because of their nature of job, are more willing to use force to settle disputes than civilian authorities.

Ans. to Q. No. 3: a) Enforcing law: An important function of the police is to investigate crime and identity criminals, so that a political system can function smoothly. It is also meant to ensure that the laws made by the government pertaining to human life, security, property and well being are properly obeyed and enforced.

b) Preventing crimes: Another significant function of the police is to prevent occurrence of crimes, by responding to incidence and patrolling on a regular basis.

c) Testify in court: An important duty of police officers is to testify in court and present the evidence collected by them with regard to any incident in a substantial manner. They may also testify as expert witnesses.

d) Crime-free and Criminal-free society: The function of the police is to make the society free from crimes and criminals as they are the only agency equipped and empowered legally to deal with crimes. They are an integral part of the criminal justice system. They must collect evidence quite meticulously so that it will stand scrutiny in the court and the criminals will be punished appropriately.

Ans. to Q. No. 4: In a modern state, the bureaucracy is considered as the cohesive and coherent institution, on whose shoulder lies the responsibility of running the administration. The civil service plays a very important role in running the administration. The civil servants are responsible for carrying out and implementing the policies of the government. In matters relating to policy making, the bureaucrats formulate policies, even though policy making is the function of the government. The civil servants advise the political executive to run their departments. With the rise of the modern democratic welfare state, it has become very important to establish a close relation between the people and the state. Herein again comes the role of bureaucracy which plays a very important connecting point between the people and the state. The civil servants serve as a two way link in the sense that they communicate all government decisions to

the people and on the other hand communicate to the government the needs and views of the people.

In every democratic system, it is the elected representatives who are entrusted with the responsibility to govern, but is the institution of bureaucracy upon which the continuity and efficiency of administration is dependent. Thus, we can aptly conclude that the bureaucracy constitutes the backbone of the state and its administration.



15.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Explain the features and role of the military

Q. 2: Explain the advantages of civilian control over the military.

Q. 3: Discuss the role and functions of police in modern state.

Q. 4: Write about the provisions incorporated in the American Constitution highlighting civilian control over military.

Q. 5: Discuss the role of bureaucracy in a modern state.

Q. 6: Explain the role of police in a modern state.

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- **Websites**

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➢ http:// wwwmacrothink.org/journal/index.Php/Jpag/article/download/6627/64.

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

Centre for Internal Quality Assurance (CIQA)
Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University
City Office: Housefed Complex, Guwahati-781006

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
Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati-781006
(E-mail id: ciqa@kkhsou.in)

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					
VII)	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
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?

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

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Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.