

Chapter 1: Political theory: meaning and approaches.

The present chapter explains what is 'politics' and what is 'theory' which further explains what is political theory, what is its nature, the dimension of political theory, namely, the normative political theory and descriptive political theory. Further, the chapter intended to explain the different approaches to understand politics. Students will be able to understand the following ideas and concepts:

1. **What is political Theory**
2. **Normative and Descriptive Political Theory**
3. **Traditional Approaches to Understand Politics**
4. **Modern Approaches to Understand Politics**
 - A. **Political System approach/Input/Output Approach:**
 - B. **Structural-Functional Approach**
 - C. **Political-Economy Approach**
 - D. **Political Culture Approach**
 - E. **Political sociology Approach**
 - F. **Institutional Approach**
 - G. **Feminist Approach**
5. **Behavioural movement in social science**
6. **Post-Behvioral Movement**
7. **Decline of Political theory**
8. **Resurgence of Political Theory**

WHAT IS POLITICAL THEORY?

Political theory contains two words “political” and “theory”. We need to discuss the meaning of ‘political’ and ‘theory’ separately. The word ‘Political’ derives from the words “polis” meaning the ‘collective affairs’ which takes place in a city-state. The Greek philosopher emphasized on the importance of the State for living a good life. ‘Politics’ means to be involved in the art of government like deliberation, debate and contemplation on various issues, taking part in decision making and holding public office. It is such an important activity in human life that Aristotle said men are naturally political (*Man is zoon politikon*). In the evolution of the ‘political’, the state has been a central focus to examine and explain. Garner argued that ‘politics starts with the state and ends with the state’, therefore, scholars like Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Marx, Hannah Arendt and others examined and explained the nature of state and its authority. However, Machiavelli gave importance to the structure of power. He said that politics is nothing but a *struggle for power*. Therefore, the word political has many facets, namely, economic order, administration, participation, deliberation, opinion, and power relations and list goes on. In the due course of time, the meaning of the word ‘political’ has become wide and broad, for instance, social movements, revolt, war, power-distribution, and so on come under the word ‘political’.

*Harold Laswell's classic book 'Politics: Who Gets What, When, How' (1958) defined politics as **about negotiation for resources**. Resources are always scarce like jobs, essential goods, goods and services, land. People do negotiate to get it for themselves, for their family, relatives and their region. The issue can be taken further: is politics an activity which is confined to the human species alone? Or is it possible to detect politics (however rudimentary) amongst other species, as *Frans de Waal* argues in his entertaining book about power and sex amongst the chimpanzees, entitled *Chimpanzee Politics* (1982). In that book he defines and illustrates chimpanzee politics as ‘social manipulation to secure and maintain influential positions’. And what of discussions in a family as to whether to redecorate the kitchen or go on holiday? Is that politics?*

David Easton defined ***politics as authoritative allocation of value***. He put forward theories of ‘in-put’ and ‘out-put’ models to understand politics. For Easton, politics is all about allocation of values (like jobs, education, health, law and order) by the legitimate authority (government) to its people due their demand and support.

ADRIAN LEFTWICH in his work ***'What is Politics'***(2004) suggests two broad approaches to the definition and conceptualization of politics:

1. **Politics as -the arena, or site,** – holds that politics is an activity found only in certain kinds of societies (normally, those with states) and in certain kinds of institutional sites or processes within those societies.
2. The second approach is **the processual approach,** which holds that politics is a much more *generalized and universal process* which has existed wherever the human species has been found (though it certainly takes many different forms), and hence is a characteristic and necessary feature, if not a function, of *all societies, past and present: it always has been and always will be, and therefore stateless societies have politics,* too.

ADRIAN LEFTWICH in his work **'What is Politics'**(2004) concludes diverse areas of politics which includes:

- a. **Politics as about an art of governing:** It refers to the general patterns and interlocking systems of governing across both public and private spheres by which the overall social, economic and political life of a society is organized and managed, whether government is formed democratically or not.
- b. **Politics as the Exercise of Force/power:** It refers to politics is about power relations, its distribution and operation in the society. This pattern of power at social level reflects in local, national and international politics. The modern state, according to Weber's influential formulation, successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within its territory. The government can be said successfully to claim the monopoly of the use of force because it controls crime and represses rebellion; and it can be said to monopolize the legitimate use of physical force because private individuals may use physical force only with its permission and within specified limits – for instance, parents and boxers.
- c. **Marxism and Politics:** For Marx, politics is nothing less than class-struggle. Marx argues if there is no class, there is no fundamental conflict, and hence, no politics. The opening sentence of the communist manifesto is the “history of all hitherto” existing society is the history of class struggle. They argued that all past history was the history of class struggle based on material condition and interest. These contending classes are always products of economic conditions of their time. Accordingly, when analyzing politics, Marxists look to the analysis of class interests and relative class power in order to explain what happens.
- d. **Politics as a Form of Rule:** Bernard Crick in his work *'In Defence of Politics'* (1962) argues, that politics is a distinctive form of rule whereby people act together through institutionalized procedures to resolve differences, to conciliate diverse interests and values and to make public policies in the pursuit of common purposes. As a unique form of rule, politics is distinct from other forms of rule, such as autocracy or totalitarianism;

and war and violence represent the breakdown not the extension of politics. The forms of rule can be multi-layered i.e. Local, national and international.

- e. ***Politics as Collective Choice:*** It refers to rational choice theory and it considers most people, most of the time, are rational. And common sense tells us that rational people act so as to protect their interests. It considers politics is by definition the realm of the collective – the role of government in large part about the supply of public goods. It means politics is the State's activities as policing, a legal system, defence and education, all of which contribute to public goods.
- f. ***Politics Beyond Boundaries:*** In contemporary era, politics has become wider and goes beyond the boundaries of nation-state. Today there are *common challenges that world is facing like patriarchy and exclusion of women from institutions and political processes, human-trafficking, climate change, food security, global human rights, nuclear threat,* urgent need to reform in global institutions like the *World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, United Nations Security Council, World Health Organization* to fulfill need of the hour, global inequality and poverty. Politics has become important to local as well as to global, and we can be termed as *glocal*.

As we have seen various meanings of politics, now let's see one more dimension to understand politics. From Aristotle to John Rawls, *politics means 'collective affairs' of the state and participation in the public sphere.* What is the public sphere? It is the sphere between the state and family, e.g., market, NGOs, schools, Hospital, society. The state regulates citizens's behaviour through law in the public sphere but left the private sphere untouched. In the 1960s, radical feminists rejected this *public/private dichotomy* and argued that *private (person) is also political.* Therefore, the word 'political' is very contested. It is also about relations among state, society and community. Politics is omnipresent.

The word 'Theory' means ***systematic and organized representation of knowledge.*** ***Rajeev Bhargava*** has argued that the knowledge can be represented through two ways: (1) The word-dependent representation like newspaper write-up, articles, poem, stories, newsletters, essays, and others; and (2) The word-independent representation like drama, painting, sketching, sand art, etc. Rajeev Bhargava defined ***theory as word dependent representation of knowledge.*** Political theory refers to the ***systematic and organized knowledge of politics.*** ***George Sabine*** says, "*It is anything about politics or relevant to politics*". This being the broader meaning, he refers to its narrow meaning, saying that it is "*the disciplined investigation of political problems*" (*A History of Political Theory, 1973*). ***David Held*** defines political theory as "*a network of concepts and generalizations about political life involving ideas, assumptions and statements about the nature, purpose and key features of government, state and society and about the political capabilities of human beings*"

Political Theory is an interdisciplinary endeavor. Its traditions, approaches, and styles vary, but the field is united by a commitment to theorize, critique, and diagnose the norms, practices, and organization of political action in the past and present, in our own places and elsewhere. Across what sometimes seem chasms of divergence, political theorists share a concern with the demands of justice and how to fulfill them, the presuppositions and promise of democracy, the divide between secular and religious ways of life, and the nature and identity of public goods, among many other topics.

For a long time, the challenge for the identity of political theory has been how to position itself productively in three sorts of location: in relation to the academic disciplines of political science, history, and philosophy; between the world of politics and the more abstract, ruminative register of theory; between canonical political theory and the newer resources (such as feminist and critical theory, discourse analysis, popular and political culture, mass media studies, neuroscience, environmental studies, behavioral science, and economics) on which political theorists increasingly draw. Political theorists engage with empirical work in politics, economics, sociology, and law to inform their reflections, and there have been plenty of productive associations between those who call themselves political scientists and those who call themselves political theorists.

Normative and Descriptive Political Theory

Political theory has broadly two sides: first, a normative discourse i.e. it tries to establish norms (rules or ideal standards). Normative studies in political theory try to discover how things should be: what is right, just, or morally correct. It is loaded with value. Values refer to moral principles or ideals: that which should, ought to or must be brought about. Examples of political values include 'justice', 'liberty', 'human rights', 'equality' and 'toleration'. We can contrast the normative with the descriptive. Descriptive discourse of political theory attempts to find out 'how things are'. There are a range of concepts, usually termed descriptive and are supposedly more securely anchored in that they refer to 'facts' which have an objective and demonstrable existence: they refer to what is. Concepts such as 'power', 'authority', 'order' and 'law' are categorized in this sense as descriptive rather than normative. Politics can be studied from both a descriptive and a normative standpoint. However, in politics, facts and values are invariably interlinked, and even apparently descriptive concepts tend to be loaded with moral and ideological implications.

Therefore, there are two kinds of political theory:

1. **Normative Political Theory:** It emphasized on 'how things ought to be' rather than 'how things are'. But how can we answer the question of how things ought to be? For instance, someone may ask how scarce resources like government jobs should be distributed? Or should we give equal respect to all despite differences in wealth, region,

religion and languages? If yes, why? Look at a few more questions: If we have a state, how should it be organized? Should it be democratic? What does it even mean to say that the state is democratic? Is there any rationale for preferring rule by the people to rule by an expert: a benevolent dictator? How much power should the state have? How much liberty should the citizens enjoy? The uncomfortable fact is that there is no easy answer. But, despite this, very many philosophers have attempted to solve these normative political problems.

In explaining such a question we answer with value loaded norms and values like social justice or equality or idea of good. Political philosophers have deliberated, discussed and debated few concepts which are value loaded and have remained contested, for instance, concepts like social justice, equality, liberty, secularism, power, state, gender, etc which are examples of normative political theory. Political philosophers have propounded various normative political ideas.

2. **Empirical/descriptive Political Theory:** it emphasized on 'how things are' rather than 'how things ought to be' in order to define politics. Empirical/descriptive political studies are undertaken by the political scientist, the sociologist, and the historian. For example, some political scientists may ask the question who holds power in the city of New Delhi or what are the rules to distribute goods and services in India? Or who holds property in the society?

The modern political theory evolved as empirical due to the discovery of science, innovation in mathematics and quest for truth. Francis Bacon, Rene Descartes and theorist of enlightenment focused on empirical knowledge about society and politics. In the 20th century, logical positivists and behaviorism emphasized on scientific inquiry of existing knowledge or acquiring knowledge. They advocated to make social science value free.

The partition between normative and descriptive studies, though, is not quite as clear-cut as it might seem. Consider again the question 'who holds wealth?' Why are we interested in this descriptive question? Primarily because the distribution of wealth is relevant to normative questions about justice. In short, studying how things are helps to explain how things can be, and studying how they can be is indispensable for assessing how they ought to be.

Traditional Approaches to Understand Politics

There are four traditional approaches to study politics, namely, philosophical, historical, legal and institutional.

Philosophical approach deals with clarification of concepts used in political science. It aims at explaining what is right and what is wrong along with what ought to be done for the purpose of critical evaluation of existing institutions, laws and policies. It aims to arrive at truth through the use of reason. The truth sought may be normative, descriptive or prescriptive. The objective of philosophical approach is to establish standards of the good, the right and the just. Most of the classical philosophers like Plato, Emmanuel Kant, TH Green have used this method. In contemporary times, John Rawls and Leo Strauss have used it. For Leo Strauss, political science and political philosophy are co-terminus. The explanation through this approach is always value loaded.

Historical approach to study politics has two cardinal points: (1) it explains political phenomena through an analysis of historical events i.e., events of the past; and (2) it tries to understand politics through a historical account of political thought i.e., thought of the past.

Fredirich Hegel, Karl Marx and George H. Sabine used historical approaches to understand contemporary politics. Karl Popper describes the historical approach as “historicism”. He criticised historicism of Hegel and Marx for their discovery of what it is called “ultimate truth” and argued that the historicism of Hegel and Marx gave rise to totalitarianism. As this approach focuses on a series of events that occurred in the past along with political thought prevalent during that time, Sabine has argued that understanding the past is very necessary to understand the present society and politics.

Legal approach tries to explain all political phenomena in terms of law, statutes, and the Constitution. This approach put its attention on the legal and Constitutional framework in which different organs of government have to function. It also inquires the legal position of power exercised by any institution and analyzes whether action and policies are legally valid or not.

Institutional approach is closely related to legal approach. The government itself is an institution and its various organs like legislature, executive and judiciary are also institutions. In addition, political parties, election commission and social organizations like family, religion, school, church, temple, mosque are also recognized as institutions. In other words, an institution is a set of offices and agencies organized in hierarchy. They all have to perform certain functions. The upholders of institutional approach proceed to study the institution and its function which affects the society, economy and politics

All the above approaches have major drawbacks that all have opted for a narrow lens to study politics. They have neglected the role of individual, community, social movements, and the condition in which certain groups (informal groups) play an important role in politics.

4. Modern Approaches to Understand Politics

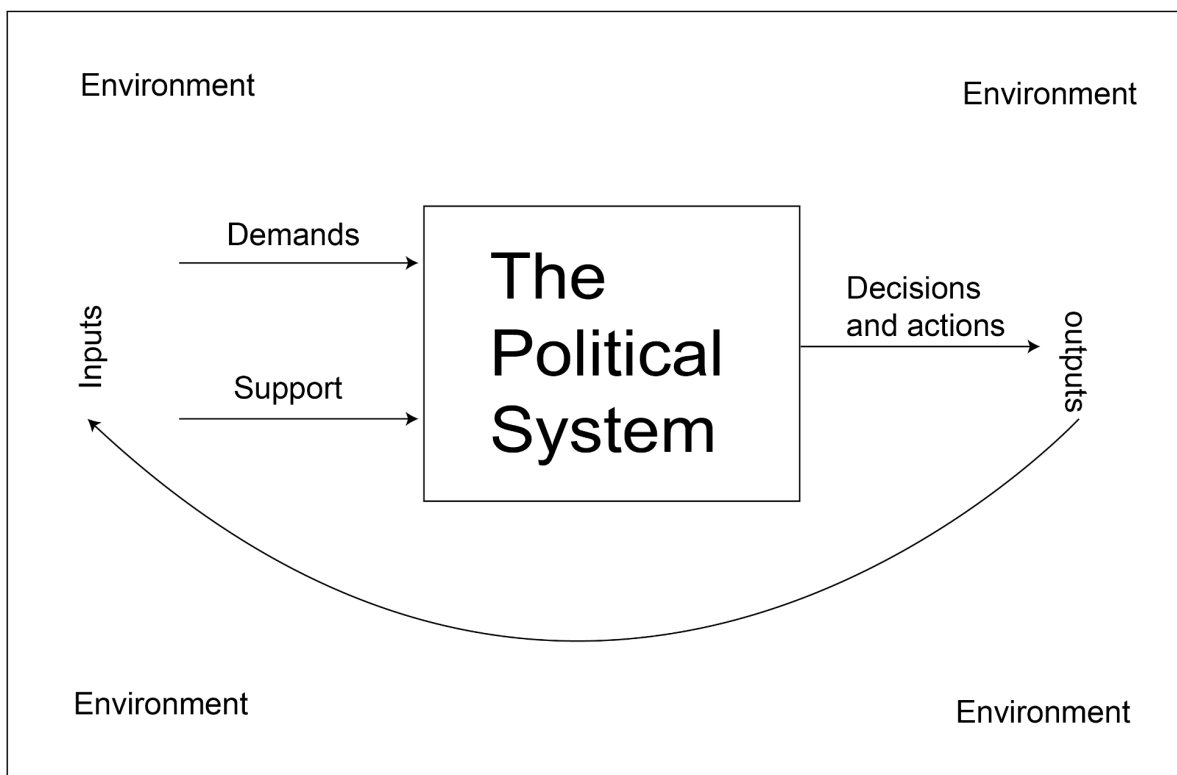
A. Political System approach/Input/Output Approach:

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A. Political System approach

David Easton developed the 'political system approach' in work *The Political System: an Inquiry into the State of Political Science (1953)*. He defined politics as the 'authoritative allocation of value' which broadly constitutes the political process in the system. Any political phenomenon does not take place in a closed circuit or isolation; its ends are connected with the social process that is open. In other words, 'allocation of value' is made because there are corresponding 'demands' from society or 'environment'. According to Easton, the political system receives 'inputs' as 'demand' and 'support' from the environment and it produces 'output' in the form of 'policies' and 'decision'. The 'output' flows back into the environment through a system of 'Feedback' mechanism giving rise to 'demand'. This process continues as an 'input', 'output', and Feedback and any political occurrence can be understood through this system method.

In the political system, David Easton has identified 'demands' act as a raw material and decision act as a manufactured product. He has described support as energy in the form of action or orientation that enables the political system to convert the demand into authoritative decisions and policies. Demands may arise from any source-the people, the politicians, administrations, opinion makers and others-depending on the nature of the government. The extent of support is born to vary-depending on the expectations of the people from their political system. The variability of support is born to affect the destinies of the political authorities (often called government), the regime (democratic, authoritarian, dictatorship, totalitarian and others), and the political community. Outputs are produced by the political system through special processes that ensure their acceptance as binding by the most members of the society at most of the time. Demands act as input in a political system that offers policies and decisions as output. The outputs flow back into the environment through a feedback mechanism giving rise to fresh demands and supports, as shown in figure below:



Easton has identified four kinds of inputs: 1) Demands for allocation of goods and services, such as wages and working conditions, educational opportunities, recreational facilities, infrastructure etc. ,2) Demands for regulation of behavior such as making statutes, public safety acts, rules pertaining to marriage, health and sanitation, 3) Demand for the participation in the political system, for example, right to vote , right to hold office, right to representation, right to form political association and 4) Demands for communication and information, for example, right to information regarding policies etc. Easton has also identified four kinds of support: 1) material support, for example, payment of taxes, rendering services for public interest such as social work, military services and so on. 2) Obedience to law, rules and regulation.3) participatory support such as voting, political discussion and all kinds of political activity and 4) paying attention to governmental communication and display of differences or respect to public authority, symbols and ceremonials. The outputs which comes as policies and decisions are also sub-classified into four categories: 1) extractions that may be in the form of tribute, taxes, or

personal services; 2) regulation of behavior, which may cover a wide range of human activities and so on; 3) allocation of goods and services, opportunities, honors, statutes etc., and 4) symbolic outputs, for example, affirmation of values, display of political symbol such as national flags, and communication of policy intent.

Feedback is a communication process in which the media plays a vital role to spread the people oriented policy or anti-people policy taken by the political system. Feedback produces action in response to information about the state of the political system, or its environment, to structure within the system in such a way that the future action of those structures may be modified in the response. The modification and re-modification of the response after the feedback helps the political system towards achieving its goal.

The above diagram suggests that for analytical purposes the use of the system allows the separation of political life from the rest of the society, which Easton called the environment. This environment demarcates boundaries between society and political system. The units of the political system are “political action”. Inputs in the forms of demands and supports feed the political system. Demands arise either in the environment or within the political system and that serves as a guide to the political system for determining its policies and goals, and support will enable it to achieve its goals. Whether externally or internally stimulated, demands become issues for debate, discussion and resolution. Supports are actions or orientations prompting and resisting a political system. Output emanates from the political system in the form of decision and policy actions. These feed back into the environment by satisfying the demands of some members of the political system, and thus create or generate support for the political system. There may be negation in policies and action that generates new demands in the system.

The framework of system analysis is very important for the comparative analysis of diverse political units, for example, for developed or developing polities. It can also be applicable to international political studies. Yet, this theory has some drawbacks in its generalization about the diverse political system. This approach conceived the political system as preoccupied with stability, maintenance, persistence, and equilibrium, a tendency derived from biology which could not be applicable to a political system. For example, Easton referred to the “authoritative allocation of value” as “life processes” of the political system but this idea can lead to some “misleading assumptions on which to construct an adequate theory of politics”. In particular, he was unable to deal with particular change: “We can in no sense regard Easton’s theory as a theory of political change-as a theory which answers questions concerning why any particular political change occurred”. Further his abstraction may lead to misperception about the real situation, people and the society.

B. Structural-Functional Approach

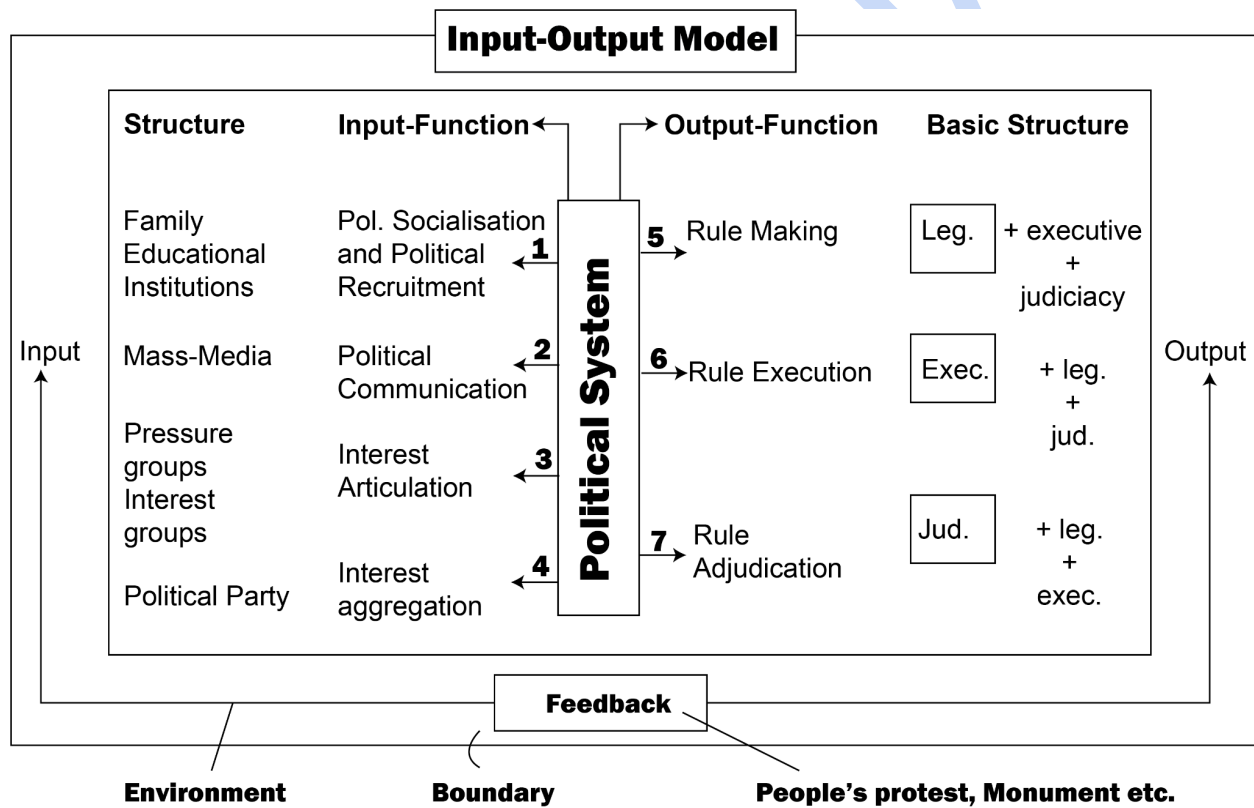
Influenced by Easton's work of system analysis, Gabriel Almond set forth a new formulation, utilizing the political system as a base and turning to a set of concepts related to structure and function. The structural-functional approach of political analysis has been more widely used in comparative politics because it provides for standard categories for different types of political systems. Earlier this model of analysis has been used in social anthropology in the writing of Redcliffe-Brown and B. Malinowski followed in sociology by Talcott Parsons, Robert Merton and Marion Levy. Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman developed a structural-functional approach in their book "*The Politics of the Developing Areas*" (1960).

The political system, as defined by Almond and his associates, was that of a system of interactions to be profound in all advanced and backward societies which performs the functions of integration and adaptation by means of employment, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion. Further, they argued that the political system is the legitimate, order-maintaining or transforming system in the society. Any system has three kinds of particular set of properties: 1) Comprehensiveness: that means a political system that includes all sets of interactions- inputs as well as outputs- which affect the use or the threat of use of physical coercion. Inclusion in all sets of interaction is not only just structure based on law, like parliaments, executives, legislatures, bureaucracies, and courts, or just the occasional or formally organized units, like parties, interest groups, and the media of communication, but all of the structure in their political aspects, including undifferentiated structures like kinship and lineage, status and caste groups, as well as anomic phenomena like riots, street demonstrations, and the like. 2) Interdependence: that means, a change in one subset of interactions produces changes in all the other subsets, for example, electoral reforms of any country affect the feature and nature of the party system, the function of parliament, cabinet and so on of that country. Today, changes in the technology of communication have transformed the electoral process, the characteristics of political parties, the legislature and the executive. 3) Existence of boundaries: by the existence of boundaries in the political system means that there are points where other system end and the political system begins, for example, the murmurs and complaints in the market are not to enter into the political system until they break out in an act of violence, or protest, or demonstrations or something else. (Almond and Coelman, 1960. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, p8).

In the introduction to the collective work co-edited with James S. Coleman, Almond renovated the concept of comparative politics as he replaced political system with state and the legal system, "function" with powers, "roles" with offices, "structure" with institution, "political culture" and "political socialization" with public opinion and citizenship training. Almond argued that all political systems (advanced and backward nations) have four universal characteristics: 1) all political systems, including simplest ones, have political structure; 2) all political systems perform same kind of functions, these functions may be performed with different frequencies, and by different kinds of structures; 3) all political structure is

multi-functional; 3) all political system are “mixed” system in the cultural sense (Chilcote, p133).

Almond also incorporated the Eastonian framework of inputs, outputs, and feedback, but because of its limitations outlined his own functional categories into four inputs and three outputs. The Input functions are: 1) Political socialization and recruitment; 2) Interest articulation; 3) Interest aggregation; and 4) Political communication. Output functions are: 1) Rule-making; 2) Rule application; and 3) Rule-adjudication. Among these, the output functions correspond to conventional governmental functions, which are performed by formal governmental organs, viz. legislature (rule-making), executive (rule-application), and judiciary (rule-adjudication). The inputs, he believes, are particularly useful in characterizing the political system of developing areas.



Input Functions of the Political System

Political socialization and Recruitment: Political socialization refers to the way in which political values are formed and political culture is transmitted from one generation to the next. Most children acquire their basic political values and behavior patterns by adolescence and some of these attitudes will evolve and change throughout their lives, while other attitudes may remain part of their political self throughout life. It is a process of induction into political culture. Its end product is a set of attitudes- cognition, value standards, and feeling- towards the political system, its various roles, and role incumbents. It also includes knowledge of, value affecting, and feeling towards the inputs of demands and claims into the system, and authoritative outputs.

According to Almond and Coleman, “Political socialization in different societies occur in different ways through social, economic, political, cultural, psychological processes in which family, religious institutions such as temple, mosque, church etc, peers group, communities group such caste affiliation, regional affiliation etc, school, work group, voluntary associations, media of communication, political parties, governmental and non-governmental institutions and other all contribute in shaping socialization of an individuals in that societies and further relationships and participations in adult life continue the process(Almond, P-28).” Further socialization processes can occur in different ways and it is a lifelong process.

The socialization may be manifest or latent. Manifest political socialization when it takes the form of explicit transmission of information, values, or feelings vis-à-vis the roles, inputs, and outputs of the political system. It is latent political socialization when it takes the form of transmission, values or feelings vis-à-vis the roles, inputs and outputs of other social systems such as family which affect attitudes toward analogous roles, inputs and outputs of the political system (Almond and Coleman P-28). They further say that the Psycho-cultural school of political socialization correctly argues that latent or “analogous” political socialization is the first most basic stage of political socialization process, the first year of life in the family after birth, the

experience of authority, discipline and of the family “political process” constitute the most rapid and binding stage of socialization.

The political socialization function in different societies may be compared according to the way in which affective and instrumental elements are combined. All political socialization involves an affective component- the incalculable of loyalty to, love of, respect for, and pride in the political system- and instrumental component- policy preferences, strategy of influences and the like.

The arguments of G.A. Almond about political recruitments are as follows: 1) the relationship between the political socialization function and the political recruitment function is just as the relationship between “basic personality” and “status” or “role” personality of an individual. All members of the societies more or less go through common socialization experiences. Differences in the political culture of societies are introduced by differences in the political socialization processes in the subcultures of those societies and by differences in socialization into different status groups and roles. 2) The political recruitment takes up where the general political socialization leaves off. It recruits members from out of the subculture from the society such as from religious communities, statuses, classes, ethnic groups and the like- and inducts into the political system, trains them in appropriate skills, provides them with cognitive maps, values, expectations, and effects.

Interest Articulation:

Every political system has some way of articulating interest, claims, and demands for political actions. The function of interest articulation is closely related to the political socialization function and patterns of political culture produced by the political system. Among three input functions, interest articulation is most important because it occurs within the boundary of the political system and there are many interest groups in the political system that make demands. According to Almond, these are four kinds of interest groups in the political system which performs the articulation function are a) institutional interest groups (b) non-associational interest groups, (c) anomic interest groups, and (d) associational interest groups (Almond, p33).

Institutional interest groups such as legislature, political executive, armies, bureaucracy, judiciary, church, parliament, NHRC and like. These are organizations in the political system that articulate its interests or represent its interest. Institutional interest groups are formally organized bodies made up of professional employed officials or employees. Non-associational interest articulation are kinship and lineage groups, ethnic, regional, religious, status and class groups which articulate interest informally and intermittently, through individual , family and religious

heads, tribe heads, ethnic heads and the like. Anomic interest groups are more or less spontaneous break through into the political system from the society, such as riots, demonstrations, movements and so on. Associational interest groups are the specialized structures of interest, articulation-trade organizations, organization of businessmen or industrialists and so on. Their particular characteristics are explicit representation of the interest of a particular group.

The structure and style of interest articulation define the pattern of boundary maintenance between the polity and the society and within the political system affect the boundaries between the various parts of the political system –parties, legislatures, bureaucracies, parliament and courts. A high incidence of interest articulation is an indication of poor boundary maintenance between the polity and the society and within the political system.

The Function of Aggregation: Every political system has its own way of aggregating the interest and claims articulated by interest groups. Aggregation means formulation of general policies in which diverse interests are combined, accommodated or otherwise taken accounts of, or by means of the recruitments of political personnel, more or less committed to a particular pattern of policy. Almond argued that the function of articulation and aggregation overlap and the distinction between these two is fluid. Aggregation functions can be performed within the sub-system of a political system such as legislative bodies, political executive, bureaucracies, media, party system, interest groups of various types- all perform an aggregative function, either by formulating public policies or by supporting or advocating changes in the system.

Political Communication Function: All kinds of functions performed in the political system-political socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule-making, rule application, and rule adjudication- are performed by means of communication. There are different means of communication through which participants as well as non-participant citizens in the political system get news about the inputs as well as output functions in the political system. Media plays a vital role in political communication through newspaper, TV serials, cinema, internet, magazines, drama, poem and prose, and many more. It can be said that the modern political system is a living being run through the breath in which media act as oxygen. An autonomous communication system “regulates the regulators” and thereby preserves the autonomies and freedom of the democratic polity (Almond, P47).

The Government Functions (Outputs): Rule Making, Rule Application, Rule Adjudication

Rule-making, rule application and rule adjudication are functions of government equivalent to legislative function, executive function and judiciary function. The function is fostered on the basis of the nature of political systems such as democracies or authoritarian or totalitarian or military dictatorship and so on.

Almond and Powell have two chief characteristics of development of the political system: a) structural differentiation; and b) secularization of culture. As they argued that “a principal aspect of the development or transformation of a political system is ...role differentiation, or structural differentiation. Differentiation means the processes whereby role changes and become more specialized or more autonomous or whereby new types of roles are established or new structure and subsystems emerge or are created. The secularization of culture is concerned with political culture which is detailed below as a separate topic of political culture.

Structural-functional analysis has been criticized on various grounds. Firstly, it failed to analyze the power structure in the political system that operates. Secondly, it is conservative analysis of the political system.

C. Political-Economy Approach

Comparative politics embraces all questions of politics but the study of politics cannot be isolated from social and economic questions. The political economy approach to the study of comparative politics is one way of looking at the relationship between politics and economics. Any social and political phenomena cannot be understood completely without understanding of the interaction of those social or political events with economics. This approach is not only a striving to see the relationship of politics and economics but all economic dimensions of social, political, cultural, and institutional domain of society that affect the individual life. This approach, therefore, has a multi-disciplinary dimension in order to enquire about any social and political phenomena. Having said this, it is important to point out that whereas the concept of political economy points at a relationship, there is no single meaning which can be attributed to the concept. The specific meaning of the concept depends on the theoretical or ideological tradition, that is, either Liberal or Marxist, within which it is placed.

Marx's critiques of political economy influenced a number of scholars from worldwide to understand the social and political phenomena very uniquely. His major work, *Capital*, is subtitled as “*A Critique of Political Economy*” that emphasizes commodities, money, surplus value and accumulation of capital. In the preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx began with terms such as capital, landed property and wage labor etc. In his introduction Marx focused on “all material production by individuals as determined by society” and he indicted his predecessors Adam Smith and Pierre Joseph Proudhon, among other, for basing their conception of political economy upon illusions of an 18th century society of free competition in which individual appears liberated from constraints of nature. In this sense, Marx's idea influenced the future's scholars that a separate school has been founded and named as the Marxist School of thought that solely focused on the economic question of any social and political phenomena.

Evolution of Political-Economy Approach

The Political economy understanding of any social and political phenomena is a modern concept. From the time of Plato and Aristotle till the medieval age of political thought, the concept of economy as a self-regulating domain was unknown. Although, Robert L. Heilbroner examined the lives, times and ideas of specific economic thinkers who made it a separate discipline, like Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Karl Marx who focused on the labor theory of value as the foundation for understanding political economy (Chilcote, p341). From the fourteenth century to seventeenth century, Mercantilism dominated the political economic understanding of activities of state that emphasized that the state should promote military power to enhance its economic power or vice-versa. This theme is followed by the Liberal theory of political economy that focused on the 'laissez-faire' state implying the least intervention of the state in the economic activities of individuals and a free market economy system in which the state has a protective role of the individual's life, liberty and property. This theory had been modified by welfare state theorists who advocated for the positive side of the state in order to bring welfare for the people, and these theorists put some constraints on free-market economic society and on the individual's activity. Temporarily, some theorists sought to denounce the welfare aspect of the state and tried to reestablish the 'laissez-faire' state popularly known as neo-liberal or libertarians. Marx's understanding of political economy was the landmark in order to comprehend the economic dimension of any social and political phenomena. He separated his own understanding of political economy to call the liberal political economy as 'bourgeois political economy'. Hence we can draw the whole political economy into two parts 1) the Liberal Political Economy or in Marxist word Bourgeois Political Economy; and 2) the Marxist Political Economy. Here we shall discuss both the political economy and understanding separately.

Liberal Political Economy

The Classical Liberals

John Locke and Adam Smith are the two pillars of early liberals along with David Ricardo and Malthus who shaped the early liberal political economy. Locke tied labor to private property and wealth. He argued that production is the consequence of the individual labor effort to satisfy human needs. The Liberals believed that private property should be protected and the production of the wealth is based on the incentives to work that the right to property entitled to the individual. Adam Smith, in his classical work, 'Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations' provided major themes of political economy such as commodity, capital and value, simple and complex labors. He was the first who formulated the labor theory of value which reduces the value of commodities to the amounts of labor contained in them.

David Ricardo (*In Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*) criticizes the Smithian political economy and offers refinements of it. He advocated the accumulation of capital as the basis for economic explanation. He argued that restrictions on private investment should be eliminated and the government should not intervene in the economy. This understanding of political economy fostered the idea of 'laissez-faire' state that implies minimal role of state or least interference of state in the economic activities of individuals that led to free-market-economic society. Ricardo argues that a division of labor and free trade policies benefit all nations.

Among other classical liberals, Thomas R. Malthus (*Principles of Political Economy*) and Jeremy Bentham are important who contributed to political economy. **Malthus contributed a theory of population to the concept, arguing that population reproduces faster than food production so that unless population growth is checked, the masses would face starvation and death.** Thus the government should not aid the poor, for such action drains wealth and income from the higher section of the society.

According to these classical liberal theorists the state is a necessary evil or a negative institution that constrains individual liberty. J. S. Mill, T. H. Green, L.T Hobhouse and Harold Laski are the welfare state theorists who suggested the positive side of the state in the welfare of the people such as education, health and so on.

Neo-liberalism or Neo-classical Liberalism or Libertarianism stands for contemporary version of classical liberalism which seeks to restore laissez-faire and denounces the welfare state, opposes state interventions and control in the economic activities of individuals. The main proponents of these theories include **F.A.Hayek, an Austrian economist, Milton Friedman, an American economist, and Robert Nozick, an American philosopher. Neo-Liberalism upholds full autonomy and freedom of the individual's economic activities in a free-market society.** It seeks liberation from all kinds of institutions which tends to restrict its version of the free-market economy. The liberal and neo-liberal version of the development process or the political economy process in any state of the world is Modernization Theory.

Modernization theory and political economy of liberal state

Liberal theories of political-economy would include developmental or modernization theories, which were the dominant theories during the 1950s and 1960s. Modernization theories were based on the experience of Western liberal capitalist societies. According to Alvin there are three main historical elements which were favourable to the inception of the modernization theory of development after the Second World War. First, there was rise of the United States of America as a superpower and at the same time other western nations, such as Great Britain, France, and Germany, were weakened by World War II, the United States emerged from war strengthened,

and became a world leader with the implementation of the Marshall Plan to reconstruct war-torn Western Europe. Second, there was the spread of a united world Communist Movement. The former Soviet Union extended its influence not only to Eastern Europe, but also to China and Korea. Third, there was the disintegration of the European colonial Empire in Asia, Africa and Latin America, giving birth to new nation-states in the Third World. These nascent nation-states were in search of a model of development to promote their economy and to enhance their political independence.

Modernization theory argues that unrestricted capitalism, allowed to develop fully, is the best route to economic growth. According to modernization theory, modern societies are more productive, children are better educated, and they need to receive more welfare. In a political sense, Coleman stresses three main features of modern societies: a) Differentiation of political structure; b) Secularisation of political culture-with ethos of political equality-, which c) enhances the capacity of a society's political system.

The major assumptions of the modernization theory of development are:

1. Modernization is a phased process: for example, W.W.Rostow, in his work *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-communist Manifesto*, has given five phase theory for economic development of any country which are as follows:
 - a. Traditional societies- such societies are characterized by rudimentary technology, pre-scientific values and norms and a subsistence economy.
 - b. Precondition for take-off- at this stage societies exhibit a degree of capital mobilization (bank and currency) and start to develop an entrepreneurial class.
 - c. Take-off- this happens when the norms of economic growth are well established and sector-led growth becomes common.
 - d. Drive to maturity- this is characterized by growing economic diversification, greatly reduced poverty and rising living standards.
 - e. High mass consumption- at this stage the economy is increasingly oriented around the production of modern consumer goods, with affluence becoming widespread.

A decade later Rostow added “the search of quality” as a sixth stage in his treatise on Politics and stage of growth. His stage theory has been adopted by many political scientists in which A.F.K.Organski is very famous. He analyzed the role of government through four stages in his Stages of Political Development: 1) primitive national unification, 2) industrialization, 3) national welfare, and 4) abundance. Organski defined

political development in terms of increasing government efficiency in the mobilizing of human and material resources towards national ends. His notion of development assumes, as was the case for the new advanced nation, that the Third World will grow from a stage of underdevelopment to one of capitalist democracy, abundance and mass consumption. Another important theorist C.E.Black described phases of modernization in an effort to avoid the unilinear and evolutionary implications of the simplistic stage theory. He outlined such phases as: 1) the challenge of modernity to traditional society, 2) the consolidation of modernizing leadership as traditional leaders decline in significance, 3) the transformation of economy and society from rural and agrarian to urban and industrial, and 4) the integration of society.

2. Modernization is a homogenizing process. In this sense, we can say that modernization produces tendencies toward convergence among societies.
3. Modernization is an irreversible process. Once any country starts modernization then it cannot be stopped. In other words, once third world countries come into contact with the West, they will not be able to resist the impetus towards modernization.
4. Modernization is a progressive process which in the long run is not only inevitable but desirable. According to Coleman, modernized political systems have a higher capacity to deal with the function of national identity, legitimacy, penetration, participation, and distribution than traditional political systems.
5. Finally, modernization is a lengthy process. It is an evolutionary change, not a revolutionary change. It will take generations or even centuries to complete, and its profound impact will be felt only through time.

All these assumptions are derived from European and American development evolutionary theory. There is another set of classical assumptions based more strictly on the functionalism-structuralism theory which emphasizes the interdependence of social institutions, the importance of structure variables at the cultural variables at the cultural level, and a built in process of change through homeostasis equilibrium. These are ideas derived especially from Parsons' sociological theories. These assumptions are as follows: a) Modernization is a systematic process. The attribute of modernity forms a consistent whole, thus appearing in a cluster rather than isolation; b) Modernization is a transformative process. In order to move society towards modernity, its traditional structures and values must be totally replaced by a set of modern values; and c) modernization is an eminent process due to its systematic and transformative nature, which builds changes into the social system.

The Marxist political economy

Marx had an excellent understanding of political economy not for contemporary society but also of the past and for the future. His work with Frederick Engels “*Manifesto of the Communist Party* (Marx and Engels. *Communist Manifesto*. 2008. Rahul foundation, Lucknow, P-34)” starts with “a specter is haunting Europe- the specter of communism” and “**the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.**” The analysis of historical society by Marx was a complete political economy analysis of history. To understand Marxist political economy, it is necessary to understand the **mode of production, forces of production, means of production and relation of production, as base and its superstructure.**

Marx was the first thinker who founded the idea of scientific socialism and argued that ‘matter’ (economy) is the essence of this universe and all social institutions are the manifestation of changing economic conditions. According to the Marxist theory of political economy any social and political phenomena can be understood in terms of ‘Base’ and ‘Superstructure’. ‘Base’ consists of the mode of production while superstructure is represented by its legal and political structure, religion, moral, social practices, literature, art and culture and so on. Mode of production has two components: forces of production and relation of production. Forces of production cannot remain static because it is very dynamic in nature, they have an inherent tendency of development in the direction of achieving the perfect society. It has two components: means of production (tools and equipment, technology etc.) and labor-power (human knowledge, skills, labor etc.).

Development as Underdevelopment and Dependency Theory

Marxists argue that first-world involvement in the internal development of poor countries is not desirable because of unequal exchange of material resources. International relation, overall, flows from the basic desire of first-world capitalists to acquire profit and indulge in exchange with the Third world. Eventually, first-world capitalists have to look outside their borders for new sources of profits. Dependency theorists criticized the mainstream theory of development and provided an insightful deficiency in the prevailed model. It criticized the modernization theory’s assumption that poor countries are poor due to their lack of economic, social, and cultural development. Dependency theory argues that the poverty experienced by low-income countries is the immediate consequence of their exploitation by wealthy countries on which they are economically dependent.

The foundation of the theory of dependency emerged in the 1950s from the research of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean-ECLAC- one of the most

representative thinkers was Raul Prebisch. The principal points of the Prebisch model are that in order to create conditions of development within a country, it is necessary to control the monetary exchange rate, placing more governmental emphasis on fiscal rather than monetary policy:

- a. To promote a more effective governmental role in terms of national development;
- b. To create a platform of investments, giving a preferential role to national capital;
- c. To allow the entrance of external capital following priorities already as stabilized in national plans for development.
- d. To promote a more effective internal demand in term of domestic markets as a base to reinforce the industrialization process in Latin America;
- e. To generate a larger internal demand by increasing the wages and salaries of the workers, which will in turn positively affect aggregate demand in internal markets;
- f. To develop a more effective coverage of social services from the government, especially to impoverished sectors in order to create conditions for those sectors to become more competitive; and
- g. To develop national strategies according to the model of import substitution, protecting national production by establishing quotas and tariffs on external markets.

The Prebisch model inspired dependency theory, and Prebisch and ECLAC's proposal were the basis for dependency theory at the beginning of the 1950s. However, there are several authors, such as Falleto and Dos Santos who argue that the ECLAC's development proposal failed, which only then led to the establishment of the dependency model. This more elaborated theoretical model was published at the end of the 1950s and the mid 1960s. Among the main authors of the dependency theory we have: ***Andre Gunder Frank, Raul Prebisch, Theotonio Dos Santos, Enrique Cardozo, Edelberto Torres-Rivas, and Samir Amin.***

Understanding Dependency Theory

Dependency theory combines elements from a neo-Marxist perspective with Keynes's economic theory- the liberal economic ideas that emerged in the United States and Europe as a response to the depression years of the 1920s. From the Keynes's economic approach, the theory of dependency embodies four main points:

- a. To develop an important internal effective demand in term of domestic markets;
- b. To recognise that the industrial sector is crucial to achieving better levels of national development, especially due to the fact that this sector, in comparison with the agriculture sector, can contribute more value added to products;

- c. To increase worker's income as a means of generating more aggregate demand in national market condition;
- d. To promote a more effective government role in order to reinforce national development conditions and to increase national standards of living.

According to Foster-Carter, there are three main differences between the classical Marxist movement and the neo-Marxist position; the latter provides a basis for the dependency theory. First, the classical approach focuses on the role of extended monopolies at the global level, and neo-Marxist providing a vision from the peripheral conditions. Second, the classical movement foresaw the need for a bourgeois revolution at the introduction of national transformation processes; from the neo-Marxist position and based on current conditions of Third World countries, it is imperative "to jump" to a socialist revolution, mainly because it is perceived that national bourgeoisies identify more strongly with elite position rather than with nationalistic one. Third, the classic Marxist approach perceived the industrial proletariat as having the strength and vanguard for social revolution. The neo-Marxist approach emphasized that the revolutionary class must be confirmed by peasants in order to carry out an armed revolutionary conflict.

New Dependency Theory

Exponent- Dos Santos

Dos Santos has argued that de-colonisation did not free the third-world completely. The dependency between the imperialist world and their colonies continued even after independence. In addition, capitalist countries, like America, made third world countries dependent on them. This is called new dependency theory.

Dos Santos has analyzed three kinds of dependence:

1. Colonial Dependence: The imperial countries continued their dominance over colonies.
2. Financial Dependence: The western countries helped the newly independent countries through aid and economic assistance. This is known as financial dependence.
3. Technological and Industrial dependence: It emerged in the post- World War II when industrial development started in many third world countries like Indonesia, Brazil, India, Pakistan, etc. The western countries, especially the US, UK and France tried to make dominance through technological and industrial assistance. This is known as new-dependency.

World System Theory and Its Implication on Political Economy Approach

World system theory also enquires of the political economy in an understanding of comparative politics by many theorists of whom Immanuel Wallerstein made a major contribution to the concept. For him, history has been marked by the rise and demise of a series of world systems. The modern political economic system emerged in Europe at around the turn of the sixteenth century and subsequently expanded to encompass the entire world. The driving forces behind this political economy system are the relentless process of expansion and incorporation of capitalist political economy as ‘a system of production for sale in a market for profit and appropriation of this profit on the basis of individual or collective ownership’ (Baylis and Smith. *Globalization of World Politics*.2007, New Delhi, P-147)

This system comprising of three interlocking parts:

1. **Core areas** which are characterized by relatively high wages, advanced technology, democratic government, import raw materials and export manufactured products, have high investment and welfare services.
2. **Peripheral areas** that are characterized by opposite nature of political-economy from Core areas such as below subsistence wages, traditional or low level of technology, non-democratic government, import manufactured products and export raw materials, and no welfare services and investment.
3. **Semi-Peripheral areas** that have mix characteristics of Core and Peripheral areas such as export manufactured products to Periphery and raw materials to Core, import manufactured products from Core and raw materials from Periphery, semi-democratic government, low wages, low welfare services and investment.

Wallerstein has wonderfully explained the interrelationship among these three and showed how these relationships are based on an exploitative nature. He argues that the semi-periphery zone has an intermediate role within the world-system displaying certain features of Core and other characteristics of periphery. Although dominated by core economic interests, semi-periphery has its own relatively vibrant indigenously owned industrial base. Due to its mixed properties of some of core and some of periphery, the semi-periphery plays an important economic and political role within the world-system and also plays a vital role in stabilizing the political structure of the world-system.

World-system theory’s argument is that the three zones (core, periphery and semi-periphery) of the world-economy are linked together in an exploitative relationship in which wealth is drained away from the periphery to the centre, and as a consequence the relative position of the zones become ever more deeply entrenched: the rich get richer and at the same time poor become more poorer.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN WORLD SYSTEM THEORY

Various political scientists followed the Wallerstein line of argument, Christopher Chase Dunn, for example, lays much more emphasis on the role of the interstate system. His argument is that the capitalist mode of production has a single logic in which both politico-military and exploitative economic relations play key roles. In a sense he attempts to bridge the gap between Wallerstein's work and that of the new Marxist, by placing much more emphasis on production in the world economy and how this influences its development and future trajectory.

Andre Gunder Frank (one of the most significant Dependency School writers) has launched a significant critique of World-system theory and argues not only that the World system is far older than suggested by Wallerstein, it is also an offshoot of a system that originated in Asia. Frank argues that the source of the capitalist world economy was not in Europe; rather, the rise of Europe occurred within the context of the existing World system. Janet Abu-Lughod has challenged Wallerstein's account of the emergence of the modern World system in the 16th century, arguing that, during the medieval period Europe was peripheral to a world economy centered on the Middle East.

D. Political Culture Approach

The term culture has diverse meanings according to assumption or perception of particular communities, such as, tribal culture, western culture, Islamic culture, African culture and many more. In a simple sense, culture is a way of life of a particular community. The culture of the upper class of teens in the cities is quite different from the tribal teens or village teens in India. The culture of southern India is different from northern India in terms of food habits, dresses, beliefs, norms, values and so on. The style of speech, the moral assumptions, the gender identities, and the political outlooks will be different in China from India. Culture in this sense consists of the forms of thought, speech and action as well as rituals, institutions and protocols of the particular society and it may vary from one society to another, one state to another, and from one country to another. Culture can be understood as a system of symbols (political, economic, and social) and meanings that even their creator contests, which lack fixed boundaries, that are constantly in flux, and that interact and compete with one another. It can be defined as all the ways of life including arts, beliefs and institutions of a population that are passed down from generation to generation. It also includes codes of manners, dresses, language, religion, rituals, norms of behavior and so on.

In a broader sense, each nation has its own political norms that influence how people think about and react to politics. Americans' strong feeling of patriotism, the Japanese deference to political elites, and French proclivity for protest, Iranian aspiration for nuclear quest despite strong

western protest all illustrate how political norms shape politics. The way political institutions function at least partially reflects the people's attitudes, norms, expectations and hopes. The French Revolution rendered the culture of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity and freedom movements of America generated the culture of Liberty and Justice. Once English used their constitution for repression in South Africa and Northern Ireland, and now they are using it as means to sustain their liberty. The other backward classes fought for representation in higher education through massive protest in India and got 27 percent reservation. When a new regimes forms, a supportive public can help to develop a new system, while absence of public support may weaken the new system. To understand the political tendencies in a nation-state, as Almond Powell argues, we must begin with public attitudes towards politics and their role in the political system- what we call a nation's political culture.

Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba wrote a book entitled '*The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five nations* (1963) in which they studied comparative study of political culture in five states- the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Mexico- due to wide range of political-historical experience of these states. Powell and Verba employ the term 'political-culture' that includes specifically political orientation- attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitude toward the role of the self in the system. It is a set of orientations toward a special set of social objects and processes. When we say the political culture of a society, we refer to the political system as internalized in the cognitions, feelings, and evaluation of its population. People are inducted into it just as they are socialized into non-political roles and social systems. Conflicts of political cultures have much in common with other culture conflicts, and political acculturative processes are more understandable if we view them in terms of the resistance and the fusion and incorporative tendencies of cultural change in general.

The political culture of a nation is the particular distribution of patterns of orientation towards political objects among the members of a nation-state. Almond and Verba tapped individual orientations toward political objects and defined as well as specified specific models of political orientation and classes of political objects. Orientations refer to the internalized aspects of objects and relationships. There are three kind of orientation given below:

- 1) **Cognitive orientation-** knowledge of and belief about the political system, its role and the incumbents of these roles, its inputs, and its outputs;
- 2) **Affective orientation-** feeling about political system, its roles, personnel and performance; and
- 3) **Evaluative orientation-** the judgment and opinions about political objects that typically involve the combination of value standards and criteria with information and feelings.

In classifying objects of political orientation, Almond and Verba start with the general political system and deal system as a whole and include such feelings as patriotism or alienation, cognitions and evaluations of the nation as “large” or “small”, “strong” or “weak” and of the polity as “democratic”, “constitutional”, or “socialist” and so on. On the other hand, they distinguish orientations toward the “self” as a political actor; the content and quality of norms of personal political obligation, and the content and the quality of the sense of personal competence vis-a-vis the political system. In treating the component parts of the political system, Almond and Verba, identified three kinds of objects: 1) specific roles or structures, for example, legislature objects, executive, bureaucracy, 2) incumbent of roles, for example, particular monarch, legislators, and administrators, and 3) particular public choices, decisions, or enforcement of decisions (*Civic Culture: Political Attitude and Democracy in five Nation*.1989.SAGE Publication, New Delhi, P44). These structures, incumbents, and decisions may in turn be classified broadly by whether they are involved either in the political or input process or in the administrative or output process. By input process, they refer to the flow of demands from the society into the polity and the conversion of these demands into authoritative policies. Further, they argue that some structures that are predominantly involved in the input process are political parties, interest groups, and the media of communications. Output refers to the process by which authoritative policies are applied or enforced.

According to Powell (*Comparative Politics: A World View*.2011. P-44), any nation’s political culture may be mapped at three levels:

1. The political system level that includes how people view the values and organizations that comprise the political system. Do citizens identify with the nation and accept the general system of government?
2. The process level that includes expectations of how politics should function, and the individuals’ relationship to the political process.
3. The policy level that deals with the public’s policy expectations for government and how are they to be achieved.

There are three kinds of political culture according to the frequency of different kinds of cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientations toward the political system in general, its input and output aspects, and the self as political actor.

1. **Parochial Political Culture:** In this political culture people are hardly aware of government and politics. They may be illiterate, rural people living in remote areas, or simply people who ignore politics and its impact on their lives. The political culture of African tribal societies and autonomous local communities would fall into this category. In these societies there are no specialized political roles and subsequently the political

orientations toward political objects are not separated from their religious and social orientation. A parochial orientation also implies the comparative absence of expectations of change initiated by the political system because parochial expects nothing from the system.

2. **The Subject Political Culture:** In this political culture people passively obey government officials and the law, but they do not vote or actively involve themselves in politics. Here is a high frequency of orientations toward a differentiated political system and towards the output aspects of the system, but quite low level of orientations toward specifically input objects and the self as an active participant in the political system. The subject is aware of specialized governmental authority; he/she is affectively oriented to it, perhaps taking pride in it, perhaps disliking it; and he/she evaluates it either as legitimate or as not legitimate. But the relationship is toward the system on the general level, and toward the output, administrative, or “downward flow” side of political object; it is essentially a passive relationship.
3. **The Participant Political Culture:** in this political culture people are or have the potential to be involved in the political process. They are informed about politics and make demands on the polity, granting their support to the political leader based on performance. The participant culture is one in which the members of the society tend to be explicitly oriented towards political objects as a whole and to both the political and administrative structures and processes, that is, to both the input and output aspects of the political system. Individual members of the participant political culture may be favorably or unfavorably oriented to the various classes of political objects. They tend to be oriented as an “activist” role of the self in the polity, though their feelings and evaluations of such a role may vary from acceptance to rejection.

Almond and Verba argued that their classification does not imply homogeneity or uniformity of political culture. Thus a political system with predominantly participant culture will, however in limited terms, include both subject culture and parochial culture. Every nation has all three kinds of political culture that is a mix of parochial, subject, and participants in different content that may vary according to the political system, that is, democracy, socialism, authoritarianism and so on.

Political culture of any society cannot be wholly pure participants or subject or parochial, it would be a mixture of all three above. However, one mode of political culture would be dominant, either participants or subject or parochial. Almond has used the term “civic culture” in his book to mean that mixture of these three cultures. The democratic citizens are expected to be active in politics and further he/she is supposed to be rational in their approach to politics, guided by reasons, not by emotions. They are supposed to be well-informed about the political phenomena and to make decisions- for instance, his/her decision on how to vote- on the basis of

careful calculation as to the interests and principles he/she would like to see furthered. This culture, with its stress on rational participation within the input structure of politics, or may be called the “rational activist” model of political culture. The “civic culture” shares much with this rationality-activist model of political culture; it does stress the participation of individuals in the political input process. The “civic culture” is an allegiant participant political culture. The individuals are not only oriented to political inputs, but they are positively oriented towards the input structures and the input process. It is a participant political culture in which the political culture and political structure are congruent. In the civic culture participant’s political orientation combines with and does not replace subject and parochial orientations. Individuals become participants in the political process, but they do not give up their orientations as neither subjects nor parochial.

E. Political sociology Approach:

Why do we need a political sociology or a sociology of politics?

Society and politics are always integral and its institutions like caste, class, gender, region, language, ethnicity etc plays an important role in politics. Aristotle explained sociological interpretation of revolution, citizenship, and state. He is known as the father of political sociology. In modern times, political philosophers like Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau explained sociological interpretation of relation between man and State.

Political sociology is as old as politics itself because there is a relation between society and politics. It deals with sociological interpretation of politics. One can even argue, as Peter Wagner has done, that sociology began in large part as an attempt to propose solutions to political problems which could not be resolved by political means.

Karl Marx is known as the father of modern political sociology. Today, there are various schools of political sociology like Marxist school, Weberian school, Durkheimian, Foucauldian and institutionalist. These schools have different interpretations of power, state, class, society. The core concepts of political sociology now include both traditional concepts of power and state and more modern configurations in concepts of governmentality, the transnational or global state and the problematic notions of ‘weak’, ‘failed’ or ‘rogue’ states.

The later twentieth century saw the demise of the last quasi-imperial political formation, the Soviet Union, and the rise of another, the EU, as well as the decline of the imperial ambitions and role of the US and the rise of China’s. Our political ideologies and movements in the current century also involve a complex mix of the old (liberalism, socialism, democracy, populism, nationalism, fascism, federalism) and their modern avatars in a context of ‘post-democracy’, what has been called ‘post-truth’, and increasingly culturalist drivers of highly segmented political attachments. ‘Identity politics’ could be seen as marginal in the late twentieth century,

but it is now increasingly central, with right-wing populism and cultural conservatism reshaping politics in unexpected ways, such as Brexit and the election of Trump in 2016. Without aiming to predict the future, we might draw two conclusions. One is that generational effects are likely to be particularly important. The other conclusion is that the more political attachments are shaped by cultural and identity concerns, the greater the relevance of a sociological approach to the study of politics.

In India, there are scholars who have studied politics and political institution through the lense of sociology like Andre Beteille studied caste, yogendra yadav studied India's electoral behaviour, Myron Weiner and Rajni Kothari studied political party, Christophe Jaffrelot studied RSS, Paul R Brass on Communalism, Uma Chakravarti and Kamla Bhasin studied Gender .

Political sociologists deal with the issues located at the interface of politics and society like role of caste and gender in politics, role of language in politics. Political sociology evolved as a separate discipline in the modern time.

Today the focus of political sociology has been state formation, governance and violence, riots, election, urban society, civil society relation, collective action and identity, and citizenship. There is good research on democracy and participation from the sociological point of view.

F. New Institutional Approach:

In the broadest sense, institutions are simply rules. As such, they are the foundation of all political behavior. Some are formal (as in constitutional rules) some are informal (as in cultural norms), but without institutions there could be no organized politics.

Institutional approach asks various questions as mentioned below:

1. Who is participating in the institution?
2. Who is able to participate?
3. What are the formal rules of an institution?
4. What are the strategies of the institution?
5. What is the purpose and aim of the institution?

Three dimensions of institutions:

1. Sociological institutionalism: Focus for more informal rules and behaviours.
2. Rational Choice Theorist: How individual choice and interest shapes the decisions of any organization. The self-interest of an individual leader matters most.
3. Historical institutionalist: Focuses on historical evolution of the institution and its present context. Historical Institutionalists are primarily interested in understanding and explaining specific real world political outcomes. Peter Katzenstein and his colleagues in

Between Power and Plenty, and then Theda Skocpol and her colleagues in Bringing the State Back In, a group of younger scholars embarked upon a variety of studies of specific historical events in widely different places and across large spans of time. Historical Institutionalists are first interested in explaining an outcome (say, for example, why France and Britain have pursued such different styles of Industrial Policy or why some welfare states generate more popular support than others. In all three schools, institutions are important for politics because they structure political behavior.

G. Feminist Approaches to Understand Politics: (Refer to Feminism in Political ideology chapter)

5. BEHAVIOURALIST / BEHAVIOURAL MOVEMENT IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

The Behavioral movement in political science began in the 1950s and 1960s in the US. It was influenced by empiricism and positivism. Charles Merriam, the founder of Chicago School, was the pioneer of the Behavioural movement, and David B Truman, Heinz Eulau and David Easton were the prominent political scientists which contributed to the behavioural movement.

Empiricism

Logical Positivism

Behaviouralism

Behaviouralism emphasized on observation, empirical data, scientific technique and systematic analysis of all political phenomena. The movement agreed upon methodology based on natural science which is a value free and quantified approach to explain and predict political behaviour. It called for an end to normative political theory and focused on science of politics for the discipline to get legitimate scientific status. It provided the discipline with a professional and scientific identity.

The creed of Behaviouralism are as followings:

1. Political science should concern itself with the empirical phenomena i.e., with the behaviour of individual and political groups.
2. Political science should search rigorously for 'regularities' in political behaviour in order to facilitate prediction and explanation
3. The study of politics or political phenomena should be based on observation and data should be collected and arranged.
4. Data should be quantifiable in order to aid predicted capabilities.
5. Research should be theory-driven i.e., research should begin with a theory that yields empirical testable hypotheses.
6. Political science should opt for pure scientific research.

7. Values such as justice, democracy, equality and freedom cannot be scientifically established and thus be avoided unless they can somehow be made empirically testable. Political science should be value free.

Behaviouralism generated intense interest in scholars of social science primarily in the US and generally throughout the world. Many of these thought processes and arguments culminated in the famous eight intellectual foundation stones elaborated by David Easton.

David Easton's 8 major tenets of Behaviouralism are as followings:

1. Regularities
2. Verification
3. Techniques
4. Quantification
5. Value-free
6. Systemization
7. Pure science
8. Integration

The political inquiry based on above guidelines would be the most conducive and reliable theory. However, political philosophers, feminist and environmentalists criticised the behaviour movement. Leo Strauss had argued that the rise of Behaviouralism was a symptom of the crisis of political theory because it fails to accommodate normative issues like justice. Feminist argued that the operation of power and sexual, economic and political subjugation of women within the family cannot be studied with a lens of value -free technique.

6. Decline of Political Theory debate

In the 1950s and 1960s, there was the emergence of the Behavioural movements in social science pioneered by the Chicago schools and scholars like Charles Merriam, David Truman and David Easton. Unintended consequence of behavioural movement was *the decline of political theory (philosophy)*. **Sheldon Wolin in his masterpiece 'Politics and Vision'** accused behavioural political scientists for leaving innovation and adoption of mindless empiricism. In addition, **Carl Hempel and Karl Popper rejected the narrow inductive method of scientific inquiry, where proper inquiry can only be supported by clear scientific data.** It is difficult to find out due to dynamic human behaviour which is not patterned and systematic. They dismissed behavioural approaches based on facts as irrelevant. The heyday of behaviouralism short lived.

In addition, the contemporary global crisis, namely, nuclear weapons, inner- conflict, civil war, various movements, and environmental degradation, human rights issues, Vietnam war, and so on along with critique of scientific and value-free social science had initiated post-behavioural movement.

The critics like *Leo Strauss in this paper "What is political philosophy?"* argued that the rise of behaviourist led to the decline of *political theory due to its failure to accommodate normative theory*. Thomas Kuhn in his work "The Structure of Scientific Revolution " has argued that the significance of scientific method lies in its capacity of problem solving and crisis management, not in methodological sophistication. Even the exponent of behaviouralism agreed that the adherence to "pure science" was responsible for studying the social and political movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In 1969, the priest of behaviouralism, David Easton announced for post-behaviouralism or post- behaviour revolution in social science. This reflects a major shift from strict methodology to a greater concern and greater responsibilities within social science. Post-behaviouralist accepted plurality and diversity of approach to understand political phenomena.

David Easton categorically mentioned the duty of social scientists is to study all political phenomena in order to solve the problems and manage the crisis. He argued that the social scientist must be concerned with value, relevance and action while producing knowledge. Terence Ball argued that Behaviouralism succeeded in the short run because of successful self-promotion, but failed in the long run because of promises it could not meet. The basic problem of behaviouralism was that it tries to replace state with system. For instance, Rajni Kothari adopted a structuralist functionalist approach in Indian Politics(1970) and abandoned it later on. In the UK, Scholars like *Fredrich Hayek, Oakeshott, Karl Popper and Isaiah Berlin* dismissed behaviouralism. Liberals as well as postmodernists rejected the idea of inductive methods and revived political theory.

7. POST-BEHAVIOURALISM in social Science

The Behavioural movements in social science pioneered by the Chicago schools and scholars like Charles Merriam, David Truman and David Easton attracted severe criticism. The major developments in the 1960s and 1970s like the Vietnam war, the Civil Rights movement, student movements, feminist movement, urban riots and unemployment led to the emergence of large number of critics of behavioural approach. Because Behaviouralism had its own limitations and sooner it ended, the post- behaviouralism began. It rejects the creed of behaviouralism.

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significance of scientific method lies in its capacity of problem solving and crisis management, not in methodological sophistication. Even the exponent of behaviouralism agreed that the adherence to “pure science” was responsible for studying the social and political movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In 1969, David Easton was announced for post-behaviouralism or post-behaviour revolution in social science. This reflects a major shift from strict methodology to a greater concern and responsibilities of social science.

There were two slogans of post- behaviouralism

1. Relevance
2. Action

It represented no complete departure from behaviouralism rather to accommodate normative aspects of the discipline. It stood for consolidation and applying all these values for problem solving and crisis management. David Easton categorically mentioned that the contemporary world is facing several crises like nuclear weapons, inner- conflict, civil war, various movements, and environmental degradation. He said that the duty of social scientists is to study all these political phenomena in order to solve the problems and manage the crisis. He argued that the social scientist must be concerned with value, relevance and action while producing knowledge.

Resurgence of Political Theory

In the 1970s, the post-behavioral movement revived interest in political theory as a field of study and political inquiry. John Rawls' work '*A Theory of Justice*' (1971) generated new interest among philosophers to discuss the concept of justice. His work experienced a revitalization in terms of scholarship, research and debate on normative political theory like democracy, equality, rights, and freedom. Rawls was answered by many philosophers like Robert Nozick's '*Anarchy, State and Utopia*' (1974) and Ronald Dworkins' 'Taking Rights Seriously' (1977) renewed a debate of rights and justice.

Similarly neo-liberal philosophers like Milton Friedman work on 'Capitalism and Freedom' renewed debate on liberty and development. Milton along with Robert Nozick attacked Rawls' idea of justice and equality. Communitarian philosophers like Michal Walzer in his work '*Sphere of Justice*' (1983) and *Michal Sandle* work '*Liberalism and Its Limits of Justice*' (1982) have also criticized Rawls for his liberal views of justice. Sandals described John Rawls as 'deontological liberals'.

Feminist movement, especially radical feminism of the 1960s and 1970s initiated a new debate on the idea of freedom, equality and justice. They explained patriarchy as a major cause of male domination in the family which reflects in society, economy and politics. The environmental movement and Green philosophy of the 1980s and several conventions on environment, climate change and the idea of '**Global Justice**' renewed debate on political theory. Neo-liberals, Feminists, environmentalists, and Human Rights advocates rejected fact-based value free social science and initiated a new debate on inequality, rights, justice, liberty, democracy which had great influence on scholars and students of social science and it revived political theory.

Post-Colonialism and Postcolonial theory: Flourished in the conceptual formulation of Edward Said, Ranjeet Guha, Depesh Chakravarty, Franz Fanon, Chinua Achebe, Achille Mbembe, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha and Salman Rushdie. These scholars offered criticism of western understanding of history, culture, society, violence, development, and institutions.

The term "postcolonialism" can generally be understood as the multiple political, economic, cultural and philosophical responses to colonialism from its inauguration to the present day, and is somewhat broad and sprawling in scope. While "anti-colonialism" names specific movements of resistance to colonialism, postcolonialism refers to the wider, multifaceted effects and implications of colonial rule.

Postcolonialism frequently offers a challenge to colonialism, but does not constitute a single programme of resistance; indeed, it is considered consequently by some to be rather vague and panoptic in its ever more ambitious field of enquiry.

The term "postcolonialism" is a highly ambiguous one. In order to understand its meanings and implications it is first necessary to define the colonialism to which it evidently refers. Colonialism should be conceived as the conquest and subsequent control of another country, and involves both the subjugation of that country's native peoples and the administration of its government, economy and produce.

Postcolonialism claims the right of all people on this earth to the same material and cultural well-being. The reality, though, is that the world today is a world of inequality, and much of the difference falls across the broad division between people of the west and those of the non-west. This division between the rest and the west was made fairly absolute in the 19th century by the expansion of the European empires, as a result of which nine-tenths of the entire land surface of the globe was controlled by European, or European-derived, powers. Colonial and imperial rule was legitimized by anthropological theories which increasingly portrayed the peoples of the colonized world as inferior, childlike, or feminine, incapable of looking after themselves (despite having done so perfectly well for millennia) and requiring the paternal rule of the west for their own best interests (today they are deemed to require 'development').

For now, what is important is that postcolonialism involves first of all the argument that the nations of the three non-western continents (Africa, Asia, Latin America) are largely in a situation of subordination to Europe and North America, and in a position of economic inequality. Postcolonialism names a politics and philosophy of activism that contests that disparity, and so continues in a new way the anti-colonial struggles of the past. It asserts not just the right of African, Asian, and Latin American peoples to access resources and material well-being, but also the dynamic power of their cultures, cultures that are now intervening in and transforming the societies of the west.

In a comparable way, 'postcolonial theory involves a conceptual reorientation towards the perspectives of knowledge, as well as needs, developed outside the west. It is concerned with developing the driving ideas of a political practice morally committed to transforming the conditions of exploitation and poverty in which large sections of the world's population live out their daily lives.

Let see different theoretical understanding of Post-Coloniality:

1. **Orientalism:** Edward Said influential work 'Orientalism' critiques the way western scholars and artists constructed and represented the people of the east (Orient) and justified their way to rule and dominate people. 'Orientalism' refers to the eurocentric lens through which the East was often viewed and represented.
2. **Subaltern Studies:** Ranjeet Guha in India started a new school of historiography called 'Subaltern Studies'. He along with many writers like Depesh Chakravarty, Prtha Chaterjee and David Luden started writing history from the perspective of below. It focuses on larger history that has been ignored by the mainstream of history writers. It rejected notions produced by colonialism and its production of history.

Overall, in South Asia, the Subaltern Studies Group subsequently sought to reverse that wrong thinking and, in the process, wanted to give voice to the heretofore silent and invisible masses, the 'subalterns' of society whose history had never been written or, for that matter, acknowledged (Gayatri Spivak, a member of the group, nonetheless raised a key question in an essay that has become pivotal in postcolonial theory: 'Can the subaltern speak?')

3. **Hybridity:** Post-colonial scholars explore cultural hybridity. It refers to a blend of culture and identity due to colonial contact with the west. Frantz Fanon (1925-61), a psychiatrist from Martinique, studied the impact of French colonization on Algerians, and not too surprisingly concluded that torture has its effects on a personality, and that violence meted out by colonizers would only be reversed by violence in kind-an assumption of the agency that the colonizer had sought to deny the colonized. Bhabha generally valorizes

the hybrid space, however, since it suggests an agency that can be overlooked by well-meaning but patronizing decolonizers.

4. **Neo-Colonialism:** It refers to continuation of colonial political and economic structure of power even after independence.
5. **Post-Colonial Literature:** Post colonial literature explores experiences of colonized people and often challenges dominant narratives and representations of colonial history, art, culture and identity. Prominent scholars are Edward Said, Ranjeet Guha, Depesh Chakravarty, Franz Fanon, Chinua Achebe, Achille Mbembe, Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha and Salman Rushdie. These scholars offered criticism of western understanding of history, culture, society, violence, development, and institutions.

PLUTUS IAS

Previous year Questions

1. Normative Political Theory (Year: 2022, Marks:10)
2. Decline of Political Theory (Year: 2022, Marks: 10)
3. 'Credo of Relevance' in post-behavioralism advocates the importance of action science (Year:2022, Marks:15)
4. Eurocentrism is both the target and the motive force of post-colonial political theory. (Year: 2022, Marks: 15)
5. Examine the importance of behavioural approach in political theory. What led to its decline? (Year:2021- Marks:15)
6. Discuss the significance of a normative approach to Political theory. (Year-2020-Marks: 15)
7. Comment on resurgence of political theory. (Year:2019-Marks:10)
8. Comment on the decline of Political Theory. (Year2018-Marks: 10)
9. Comment on the post behavioural approach. (Year:2016-Marks:10)
10. Comment: ...Political theory is not an escape mechanism but an arduous calling'. (John Plamanetz). (Year:2014-Mark:10)
11. Discuss the differences between normative and empirical theories of politics. (Year:2012-Marks:12m)