

Normative Theories are called Prescriptive theories &  
 Empirical " " " Descriptive theories

## ⇒ POLITICAL THEORY : MEANING & APPROACHES

→ Evolution of Political Science as a discipline

- Political Science is one of the oldest disciplines having its origin in Ancient Greece. Aristotle is considered as the 'father of Political Science' & he called political science as master science. It is a Master Science i.e. the discipline that teaches statesmanship & it implies that Political Science is superior to all other disciplines. It deals with state & governance & those who are dealing with governance must have theoretical & practical understanding of governance.
- During the ancient times, it emerged as a sub-discipline of philosophy & its purpose was how to give the best possible life to people. It is often said that Political Philosophy is that discipline from where all other Applied Sciences take their direction.
- During Medieval times, the discipline was dominated by religion & Pol. Science became sub-discipline of Religion.
- In Modern times, it got its status as an autonomous discipline & the credit goes to Machiavelli who liberated Pol. Science from clutches of ethics & religion. He stated that Political actions should be evaluated on the basis of political standards. Political Science became the study of state as said by scholars like Granger, "Political Science begins & ends with state".
- Phase IV : Till WWII, the development in this discipline was primarily in Europe & after WWII, the focus shifted to US under patronage of APSA (American Political Science Association).

Under Behavioural revolution, the focus of the subject shifted from the study of State & Institutions to the study of Politics defined in terms of study of Power. Behavioural Political scientists also supported inter-disciplinary approach & thus inter-disciplinary nature of the subject emerged.

From 1960 onwards, it was realized that it is neither possible nor desirable to make Pol. Science as pure science. Hence, started post-behaviouralism & Post-Behaviouralists gave concept of Creative Theory.

In the contemporary times, parallelly we can see the growth of scientific, philosophical as well as analytical perspective like Post-modernism, critical school, Feminist School, Green Political Theory. Thus, the scope of the subject is becoming wider day by day. With feminists' demand i.e. Personal is Political, family has also become part of this discipline. Thus, Pol. Science is a dynamic discipline with expanding frontiers. Pol. Science represents wisdom of ages & the discipline has lot of utility in making our life better. It needs to be actively promoted by Universities & Research Inst.

Though some scholars appreciate the expanding frontiers of the discipline & the growing inter-disciplinary nature but some scholars are concerned as the subject is becoming too comprehensive & it is under the threat of losing its identity as suggested by Theda Skocpol 'Bring the State back' i.e. State should be treated as the central subject in this discipline.

→ Nature of the discipline

- There is a debate amongst Political scholars that whether the subject is philosophical / normative or empirical.
- The subject began as Political Philosophy though it

we look at the work of Machiavelli & Kautilya, it appears that they have understood this subject as applied in nature.

- Later on the Behavioural Political scholars started emphasizing on the scientific nature of the subject.
- Though Pol. science as a science remains a questionable issue & it was accepted that it was not possible to build scientific theory & endeavour to make this sub. science will narrow down its scope & it will compromise the purpose of the subject as the purpose is to look for the questions of good life as scholar Leo Strauss believe that the nature of the discipline is philosophical & it should remain so.

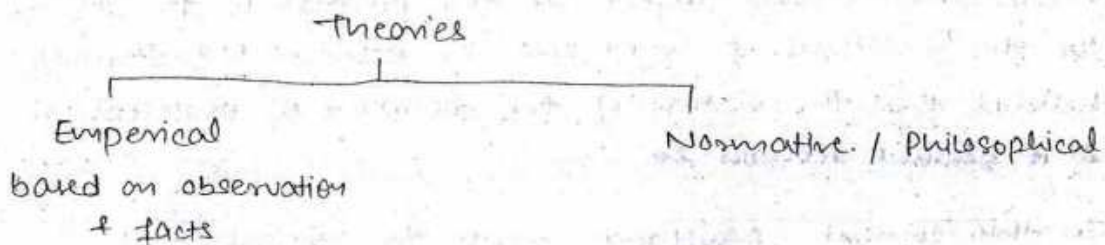
In this context, Maitland made the remark that, "when I look at the question paper titled 'Political Science', I am not troubled with the question but the title." It means that it is neither possible nor desirable to make Pol. Science as Science.

- Acc. to post-Modernist scholars like Foucault, 'Knowledge is Power' i.e. every theory is given from a particular perspective i.e. Political theories are discourses or they are interpretation. Thus, political theories can't be treated as science as every theory is just an interpretation from the perspective of a particular interest.
- Karl Mannheim has suggested that there is sociology of knowledge i.e. every knowledge has a social context.
- Derrida has suggested the deconstruction as an approach i.e. every theory needs to be deconstructed & its meaning is to be reconstructed.
- Scholars like Thomas Kuhn <sup>questioned</sup> the even the concept of Science & suggested that even scientific theories are paradigms.

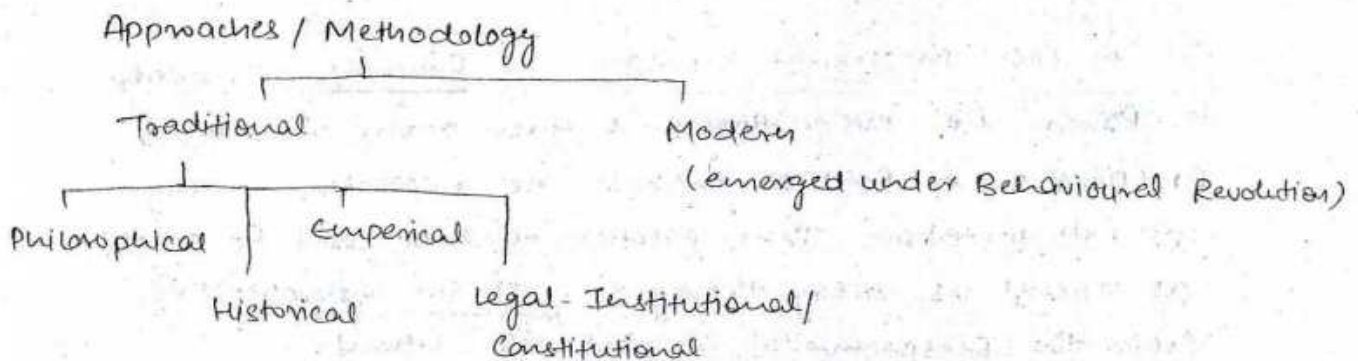
In the end, it can be said that it is more appropriate to consider Pol. Science as an Interpretative discipline.

It is also to be noted that Pol. Science is the most democratic discipline. because the concepts in this subject don't have a single meaning & scholars have expressed their positions from their point of view. Thus, Pol. Science is the most vibrant discipline.

### → Approaches in Political Science



Pol. Science not only deals with facts rather it deals with the analysis of values. Hence, logic / reason is to be applied to analyse the values.



### b) Philosophical Approach

- It is the oldest approach of Pol. Science started as a sub-discipline of philosophy. Socrates is known as the father of philosophy & in his Theory of Knowledge, he has distinguished b/w true knowledge & the knowledge which is assumed to be true & to understand the true knowledge, he has given the method of dialectic.

- On the basis of Socrates' Theory of knowledge, Plato developed 'Theory of Ideas' & he was the first person to deal with the study of Ideal State & he tried to understand the idea of Good governance. Thus, philosophical approach deals with Normative issues.
- Some of the key advocates of Philosophical approach are of Plato & Hegel & in contemporary times, scholars like Leo Strauss, Isaiah Berlin, & John Rawls has also supported this approach & acc to them, the purpose of Political enquiry is not only to describe or explain but also to suggest what should be done.
- Though the Philosophical approach suffers from these limitations:
  - It is highly subjective in nature, hence the work may be biased.
  - This approach is more concerned with what ought to be rather than what is & thus there is a danger that the work may get divorced from reality.
  - Purely philosophical theories are also called 'arm-chair theories'.
- The strengths of this approach:
  - As the subject has to deal with large no. of normative issues, we have to rely primarily on logic & reason as there is limited possibility of experimentation.
  - Philosophical approach is prescriptive & hence can play a role in improving our present way of life.

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## ii) Historical Approach

- It is one of the oldest approaches to study political. It is considered as the simplest & common sense based approach for understanding politics & building theories.

- Machiavelli is one of the strongest advocates of this approach & he believed that the laws of the politics have to be based on understanding of history.
- Acc. to Freeman, history is part politics & politics is present history.
- Acc. to Seeley, history has no roots without politics & politics have no fruits without history & it is said that if politics is the root, history is the shoot & vice versa.
- For long, international relations had been studied as diplomatic history. Laski is also the supporter of historical approach & acc. to him, "no political idea is ever intelligible save in the context of time." (Every idea has its roots in the history).
- Sebine, another major exponent of this approach & acc. to him this approach serves all the necessary qualities of a good approach & it is the most common sense based approach.
- Though historical approach has found huge favour, yet it suffers from following challenges:
  - history is too vast & hence collection of relevant data is a challenging task.
  - Political scholars have failed to look at history in unbiased & balanced manner. Understanding of history may be biased which may impact Political Inquiry. For eg: Machiavelli's understanding of history on the basis of which he advocated laws of politics as universal laws were based on the biased understanding of history.
  - Scholars like Marx & Hegel has committed historicism as they have used history for their political & ideological purposes. Hence, one has to be very careful w.r.t. interpretation of history.

- There are many politically relevant ideas which may not have any historical context like institution of Philosopher King or Communism. Hence it is not right to say that no political idea is ever intelligible save in the context of time.
- Scholars like Plamanatz has criticised making political ideas dependent on history & hence he has suggested that political ideas can be understood independently on the basis of reason.
- Edward Said in his work on Orientalism has shown that history writing has been a political project & Behaviouralist scholars like David Easton has criticised historians this approach for ignoring contemporary issues & thus responsible for decline of Pol Science as a discipline.

### ii) Empirical Approach

	Philosophical	vs.	Empirical
Study	Ideas		Facts
Method	Logic		Observation
	Prescriptive		Descriptive

- Empirical approach means explaining political phenomenon through observation. It is as old as philosophical approach & it is often treated as an opposition to philosophical approach.
- The empirical approach & its relevance has to be understood in the context of the debate started by Plato as he held that study of idea is superior to the study of matter or fact.
- For Plato, it is not possible to have perfect knowledge about material things as they are changing in nature.

as he considered material facts as the shadow of reality.

- Plato considered that the knowledge gained by mere observation isn't superior to the knowledge gained by the process of dialectic. Later on, Hegel also held that real is rational.
- On the other hand, there are many scholars who have rejected that idea is superior to material facts.
- Machiavelli is the exponent of empirical approach as he recommended that the prince should look at the things as they are rather than they ought to be. Though, empirical approach is also seen in Aristotle's theory of constitution & revolution (When we look at Plato's theory of Ideal State, it seems as if Plato has first observed the existing problems of Athens & then he has given the idea of Ideal State.)
- Hobbes has also focused on the experience in the State of Nature & John Locke also held that mind is Tabula Rasa i.e. blank slate. It means we are not born with ideas & there is no original imprint on human mind & observation is the source of knowledge.
- Empirical approach is descriptive in nature & this later led to the development of scientific approaches.

Scientific approach is more rigorous. It includes observation, verification, measurement & it is free from biases. i.e. value-free analysis

- limitation: Empirical approach alone may not be enough as <sup>understanding</sup> political phenomena is a complex task & this approach needs to be studied with other approaches & a sound approach should be prescriptive rather than only being descriptive.

#### iv) Legal Institutional Approach

- Traditionally, the study of constitutions have been an imp. area of enquiry in political studies & political scholars have focused on the study of laws & constitutions.
- Legal Institutional approach has dominated the field of traditional political science & comparative politics in particular. (Traditional comparative politics is known as Comparative Government).
- With time, it was recognised that the study of politics is different from study of laws as laws give us textual approach whereas politics require contextual approach.
- It is not sufficient to only know the constitutional provisions, it is more imp. to know the context in which these provisions operate as politics is more dynamic whereas laws are static.
- Institutional approach is quite near to legal constitutional approach & the focus is on the study of institutions. Legal-institutional approach was widely used till WW II as this approach was serving the purpose till that time as comparative scholars were dealing with western countries & the socio-economic & cultural factors in these western countries were same & thus it makes sense to make comparisons on the basis of constitution & institutions.
- However, this approach appeared inadequate when the focus shifted to third world countries as in these countries constitution existed but Constitutionalism was missing & thus it became imperative to study the socio-cultural aspects & thus behavioural scholars had suggested that it is inadequate if we study state as an institution & it is more appropriate to study politics rather than institutions.

[ Legal Institutional approach becomes the basis for development of structural functional approach. ]

## Modern / Behavioural Approaches

- Behaviouralism is described as a movement or revolution in the discipline of Pol. Science which started after WWI & in a big way after WW II.
- This movement is understood as an attempt to introduce scientific methodology to produce scientific theory i.e. it was an attempt to scientise the discipline. It was primarily an effort of American political scientists. Behavioural approaches were developed under the support of APSA.
- The <sup>set of</sup> factors which necessitated the change to develop scientific methodology are:
  - i) Situational factors
  - ii) Academic factors

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### i) Situational factors:

- In the <sup>post</sup> ~~1945~~ <sup>WW II</sup> academic conferences which were organised under UN to suggest the framework & the policies for the future in the sphere of politics & economics. In these conferences, political scholars were neglected because of the general impression that they have nothing to offer to deal with the contemporary issues as political scholars were busy in producing the history of Western Political Philosophy primarily from Plato to Marx.
- David Easton, a prominent advocate of scientific approaches, blamed political scholars for the decline of the subject & he was specially critical to those who supported historical approach like Sabine.
- Easton advocated that the need is to bring the subject near to scientific discipline & the need is to produce verifiable objective theories. It became necessary to remove the stigma of arm-chair theories.
- With the emergence of new states as a result of the process of decolonisation, it was found that

legal-institution approach is insufficient to understand the politics of 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries as socio-cultural analysis was also required & this resulted in the rejection of traditional approaches giving way to modern approaches.

## ii) Academic factor

The political work was too much influenced by philosophy & this work lacked sound empirical basis. It was suggested that the focus of research or political work should shift from normative issues to study of facts as suggested by Lord Bryce that we need facts, facts & facts.

Charles Merriam, known as Father of Behaviouralism, recommended the introduction of value-free, pure science based approach even in political science. He suggested that there is a need to study how people behave in politics, i.e. the need to study political behaviour rather than political institutions.

Scholars like Kathlean suggested to focus on the study of politics in terms of power.

- David Easton in his speech to APSA in 1967 titled 'Current Meaning of Behaviouralism' has outlined the key principles of behavioural approaches. These key principles are called 8 Intellectual Foundation Stones of Behaviouralism:

- i) Regularity
- ii) Verification
- iii) Purity of technique
- iv) Quantification
- v) Systematisation
- vi) Value neutrality
- vii) Integration
- viii) Pure Science

- Acc to Easton, Regularity is the basis of producing scientific

theories. Scientific theories are produced when regularity is observed in a phenomenon. Behaviouralists suggested that it is possible to find regularities in human behaviour or the political behaviour of the people. Thus, acc. to behaviouralist, theory building can be achieved in the political sphere too.

Traditionalists' view on this:

It is not possible to observe regularity in human behaviour as human behaviour is unpredictable & producing scientific theories on human behaviour is not possible as human behaviour can defy any law. Hence, the type of theories possible in the discipline of Natural Sciences are not possible in Social Sciences.

- The research work should meet the criterion of verification & only that knowledge can be accepted as scientific which can be verified.

Acc. to Traditionalists, giving primacy to verification will compromise the scope of the subject as the subject deals with Normative issues which are difficult to verify & thus in this subject, logic should have priority over verification.

- Purity of techniques: Behaviouralist adopted scientific techniques or the use of mathematical & statistical techniques.

Acc. to Traditionalists, by using scientific techniques, we will be compromising on the subject matter. The purity of technique should not be an imp. concern & technique should not become an end.

- Quantification: ⓑ has suggested that the result of the research should be quantified so that it becomes precise.

Acc. to ⊕, by quantifying, we will be compromising on the subject matter as there are very few things which can be quantified in this subject.

- Systematization: Acc. to Easton, Political work needs to be systematic i.e. it should follow definite steps.

Acc. to (A), it isn't possible to be very systematic in social sciences & the need is to be more analytical than systematic. Though efforts should be made to be systematic but it is not an absolute necessity.

- Value Neutrality: Acc. to Easton, political work should not be biased in favour of a particular value & the research should adopt value neutrality.

Acc. to (A), value-neutrality is neither possible nor desirable as explanation is not the sole aim of political scholars. More imp. for a political scholar is to prescribe or to suggest what ought to be. The responsibility of a NA Social Scientist is greater than that of Natural Scientist.

- Integration: (B) believes that the subject of Political Science should & borrow from disciplines like Sociology, Biology, Economy, Psychology & (B) believes in inter-disciplinary approach.

However, (A) believes that the subject should be more closer to philosophy, history & law.

- Pure Science: Acc. to (B), Pol. Science should aim to become pure science then only it will be able to gain the respect amongst other disciplines.

(A): Mad craze for science is not desirable as the subject can't be reduced to mere collection of facts. Too much of science will make the scope of the subject narrow.

\* → Criticism of Behaviouralism

i) Traditionalists.

ii) By scholars of Critical School

Critical scholars are critical of science & scholars like

Herbert Marcuse believe that Science kills critical reasoning & Science promotes value-neutrality. Hence we have neglected the importance of values in our lives. Under the influence of Science, the only thing that exists in the concrete form is accepted as real.

Acc. to Leo Strauss, value neutrality is the inability to distinguish b/w dirty & pure water.

iii) Marxists:

Marxist scholars believe that the value-neutrality project of ③ is itself contested as Behaviouralism is a subtle defence of liberal values.

Acc. to Marxist scholars, the work of ③ was the part of ideological propaganda of cold war & these scholars have focused on the analysis of socialist countries & they have produced laws like Iron Law of Oligarchy to criticise Socialist system. Acc. to Marxist, the modern approaches like system approach, structural functional approach are biased as they are treating the political system of Western Countries as ideal.

Acc. to Marxist, rejection of values will lead to status quo as values are needed to change the status quo & the values of equality, justice need to be debated.

iv) Thomas Kuhn

He has questioned the perspective of Science as he has suggested that even Natural Scientists work with certain assumptions which is based on the paradigm of that age & paradigm provides the framework for basic understanding. Hence, even the scientific theories are just paradigm or conceptual framework.

v) Karl Popper

He has suggested the idea of falsification as the

parameter of scientific work & acc. to him, if the work is open for critical evaluation, it can be treated as scientific work.

### → Achievement of Behaviouralists.

Pol. science as a subject was in the state of decline & ⑤ were able to arrest this decline. Behaviouralism led to the revival of discipline & this led to lot of research, rich collection of data specially in the field of electoral behaviour. The biggest contribution of ⑤ is the revival of the discipline of Comparative <sup>Govt &</sup> Politics.

Behavioural approaches were found very useful in understanding the politics of developing areas. For eg: Elitist & Pluralist scholars have investigated the reality of democracy in Western countries & the reality of Socialism in Communist State. Thus, Comparative politics became the major area of Behavioural research.

### → Post - Behaviouralism

#### \* Factors for its rise :

- Behaviouralism dominated, for a very short time, the methodology in Pol. science but soon enough the limitations of Behaviouralism were recognised as ⑤ were busy in producing scientific theories & their research was limited to few areas. The most successful area where behavioural approaches could be employed was on voting behaviour.
- ⑤ neglected the normative issues.
- 60's was the decade of new social movements i.e. the rise of feminist mov., environmental mov. mov. for rights of black & mov. for disarmament. The political work was not concerned with these issues & again the subject had nothing to offer to resolve the issues & political work appeared irrelevant.

- David Easton who gave the principles of Behaviouralism himself acknowledged that the political scholars sitting in ivory towers perfecting their techniques have overlooked the purpose for which technique is to be used & without giving any concern for normative issues like justice, equality, rights, liberty.
- Scholars like Ayerd Cobban blamed (B) as responsible for the decline of the subject.
- David Easton called for modification & he called for Post-Behaviouralism in his speech to APSA. in which he described Post-Behaviouralism as the credo of relevance & he gave the concept of Creative Theory.

Political work should not be limited to the description & explanation. The 2 Guiding principles of the Creative theory are: Action & Relevance.

Action: whatever work has been done, it has to be action-oriented & more than purity of technique focus should be on relevance of research.

- Easton has given the following features of Post-Behaviouralism:
  - i) It is not a break from Behaviouralism but modification & consolidation of "
  - ii) It is application of research towards solving human problems.
  - iii) Though technique is imp. but the aim of the research is more imp.
  - iv) It recognises the importance of values.
  - v) It makes political work socially relevant. It recognises that the responsibility of social sciences towards human civilisation.

vij) It believes that Pol. Science is extremely useful. It is action-oriented & future-oriented discipline.

- At present, Post-Behaviouralism is the most appropriate method of research in Pol. Science which is being used in most of the universities. Post-Behaviouralism has been able to address the crisis in the political theory as the work of Dworkin, Amartya Sen are based both on field work & they are normative too.

• Que: Is Post-Behaviouralism is rejection of Behaviouralism? Can we say Post-behaviouralism is coming near to Traditional approaches?

02-02-23 David Easton has clarified that post-behaviouralism is not the rejection of Behaviouralism rather it is taking the latter forward. We can say that if traditionalism is thesis, behaviouralism is anti-thesis & post-behaviouralism is synthesis.

- The assumptions in P.B. remain same as that of Behaviouralism. The only difference is that the technique can be compromised for the sake of relevance & secondly, there is no need to be value neutral as we are dealing with normative issues in the subject. P.B. has accepted that Pol. Science is applied science rather than pure science.
- Thus it can be said that P.B. is not coming near to Traditionalism but it is modifying the Behavioural approaches, bringing flexibility w.r.t. techniques.
- P.B. still believes that whenever possible scientific techniques to be adopted. However it focuses more on the relevance of the research rather than on the technique & thus P.B. is the most widely accepted method of research in Pol. Science in contemporary times.

## ⇒ COMPARATIVE POLITICS

- It is a sub-discipline of Pol. science & Comparative Politics means comparing the political systems of different types. The subject of C.P. is as old as political theory.
- Aristotle is regarded as the father of C.P. as he has compared no. of constitutions to give his theory of Constitution.
- Till WWI, C.P. is known as Traditional Comparative Politics or Comparative Govt & " " " " was never in scope as it included the study of Constitutions & Institutions & that too of Western world.
- Thus traditional C.P. was the study of Govt (Govt represents Institutions rather than politics.)  
(When we study socio-economic, cultural, psychological, formal & informal practices beyond constitution, we understand politics.)
- The traditional approaches were used in traditional C.P. dominated by legal-institutional approach.
- Thus, Comparative Govt. was the subject matter of traditional C.P. & no attention was given towards the study of formal & informal actors which influenced the working of Govt. Neither the study of political behaviour nor political processes is the subject matter of Comparative Govt.
- After WWI, emerged Modern C.P. or New C.P. Modern C.P. is ~~to~~ different from traditional C.P. as the focus of research shifted from Western to non-Western countries or decolonisation led to emergence of III world countries.
- It was realised that the study of constitutions alone will not give the comparative perspective & the need was realised to understand sociological, cultural & economic factors in these societies rather than just studying the Constitution.

• Behavioural Revolution made possible the study of modern C.P. as the former resulted in the emergence of Modern approaches like:

- System approach
- Structural-functional approach
- Political - Sociology approach etc.

\* → Limitations suffered by the traditional approaches which led to rise of Modern Approaches.

i) Ethno-centrism or Parochial

Acc. to (B), the focus of the traditional approaches was limited to the western world & there was no attempt & effort to understand the diff. ways of life, culture & society. Though it is true that non-western world didn't have the independent political systems because of colonialism but still there was lack of enthusiasm among the researchers to develop an understanding about non-western world.

ii) Traditional approaches are essentially non-comparative.

Acc. to (B), traditional works aren't truly comparative, the reason being except the difference in political institutions, there was nothing much to compare. The discipline has become comparative in true sense only when the study of non-western societies have been included & the focus is also given to socio-cultural factors.

iii) Acc. to (B), traditional approaches <sup>lack</sup> like scientific attitude & systemic perspective

→ Factors which led to rise of Modern Approaches

i) Rise of alternative political systems.

Alternative political systems arose even in the west.

Eg: Rise of Communism in Russia, Nazism in Germany & Fascism in Italy.

This required that the focus of enquiry should shift towards socio-cultural & economic conditions so as to understand the conditions which led to rise of such political systems.

## ii) Process of Decolonisation.

It led to emergence of large no. of states with lot of differences in their socio-cultural & political systems. Thus, it was realised that legal-institutional approach will not be sufficient.

Eg: 2 countries might have Parliamentary form of Govt but the nature of " Democracy can be very different. Eg: Parliamentary demo. in India can't be understood without understanding the caste, thus it increases the need for the new approaches.

The experiment of democracy failed in many III world countries & it has survived in India & this requires understanding of socio-cultural factors.

iii) Methodological movement was going on in the discipline of Pol. Science, known as Behavioural movement & it was an attempt to scienticise the discipline which was primarily the effort of American scholars. Thus, historical & intellectual forces were responsible for emergence of modern approaches.

## → Difference b/w Comparative Govt. & Comparative Politics

- stereotyped -  
images

Old	New WWII
Prescriptive	Descriptive
Empirical methods	Scientific methods
Focus on Political institutions	All formal & informal factors
Limited to Europe	Latin America, Africa, Asia also
Narrower	Broader - more useful

→ Utility of study of Comparative Govt. & C. Politics

i) It enables us to understand the similarities & differences b/w political systems.

It is not necessary that the political institutions having the same name perform similar kind of functions:

Eg: Head of State in India & USA is President but vast differences are found in their powers.

Thus we can't have the knowledge of real nature of any political system without its comparative study. So, it is necessary for students of Pol. Science to know the similarities & the differences found in different political systems & comparative Govt. & C. Politics help in understanding this.

ii) Knowledge regarding contextual elements of different political systems.

In some countries, Parliamentary system has led to stability while in others, it has failed. In some countries, pressure groups play imp. role while in others, they are passive. In some countries, monarchy still prevails. To understand these questions, it is important to study the contextual element of diff. political systems i.e. need is to study the history & socio-economic conditions.

iii) Theory generalisation became possible with C. Politics.

Some imp. generalisations which have been made after comparative studies are:

- whatever may be the forms of govt, power remains in the hands of elites.
- in the time of crisis, personal rule is more successful than collective leadership.
- liberal govt's have shorter lifespan than the authoritarian regimes.

- there is no guarantee that democratic political systems are more efficient than totalitarian regimes.

iv) Value-free study.

C. Politics is not concerned with particular value rather it is a value-free approach & it is more concerned about present rather than future. It examines the reality & tries to reach to the correct conclusions.

Note: Criticism of Behavioural Approaches also applies to the C. Politics as the latter is the outcome of Behavioural approaches.

→ Modern Approaches in C. Politics :

i) System Approach

ii) Structural-Functional approach

\* iii) Political - Sociology "

iv) Political - Economy "

not in synopsis { v) Political - Development "

vi) Political - Culture "

vii) Political - Modernisation "

08.02.2023

I) Systems Approach

• System Approach is the project of Behaviouralist.

• Given by David Easton

• Why System Approach is called as Status-Quoist?

What are its limitations?

- (B) suggested the need to bring the discipline of Pol Science near to scientific disciplines away from philosophy, history & law.

- (B) suggested the inter-disciplinary approach that we should borrow from Sociology, Biology, Psychology, Anthropology.

- Systematic perspective is taken from Biology & it is adopted by Sociologists like Talcott Parson & Robert Berton as they decided to study society as a system. (Rather than studying independent units like caste, class, ethnicity, study society as a system). & Pol Science borrowed it from Sociology to study political system.

→ Need for System Approach.

- It was realised that the study of Constitutions alone would not be adequate without understanding the system in which the Const. is placed as it was realised that instead of studying the constitutions alone, we have to study the interactions b/w the Const. & the environment in which it is placed.
- Scholars realised that it is imp. to see the interaction b/w various set of elements within the political system.

→ What is System?

David Easton has replaced the study of State with the study of political system as for (B) state is a legal term. It is a static concept & Political System is dynamic & it gives the idea of environment in which it is placed.

- It's a conceptual framework.
- Within system, there are set of elements which are in the state of interaction & elements have structured or patterned interaction.
- Elements will interact in a pattern & (B) want to study this pattern.

→ Components of System

- Environment: Elements which impact the political

system will constitute the environment of political system i.e. all the variables impacting political phenomenon.

- Boundary - denotes the limit of environment. Elements beyond the boundary don't impact the functioning of political system.

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- Systems are distinguished from one another not only on the basis of specific structures but also on the basis of specific functions.

- Acc. to Easton, political system performs the unique function i.e. authoritative allocation of values. (i.e. its decisions are binding on all). It means that the supreme decision-making body in a territory is the political system & values means things which are considered valuable i.e. material things i.e. things<sup>for</sup> which there will be competition. This requires the political system to introduce the principle of distribution which should be acceptable by the people as said by Robert Dahl, 'who gets what, when & how?'

### → Input - Output Model by Easton

- Acc. to Easton, political system operates as input-output mechanism & he has compared political system with a machine & its task is to convert the inputs into output.

- Acc. to Easton, inputs are of 2 types: Demand & support & output will be in the form of decisions & policies.

Demand is what people expect from the system & it can be of 4 types:

- allocation of goods & services i.e. food, clothing, edu
- regulation of behaviour i.e. Law & order, market rules
- demand for participation i.e. vote,
- demand for communication & info - RTI

Acc. to Easton, support can also be categorised in 4:

- material support : payment of taxes
- obedience support
- participatory support
- attention & respect support

- The political system will process these demands. Though every demand will not enter into the political system. Demand with substantial support will enter " " & it will be converted by political system into output in form of decisions & policies.

This process of converting input into output is called conversion process & this depends on the efficiency & ability of the political system.

- Acc. to Easton, every political system gets influenced by the environment in which it is placed & the output will interact with the environment & it re-enters into the system through feedback loop. Feedback is very imp. for the survival of political system.
- If the loop will not exist, the system will collapse. Thus, the system which is not able to adjust acc. to the environment will face difficulty & crisis.

→ Criticisms of Input-Output Model (Also System Approach)

i) Traditionalist scholars

Acc. to them, (B) have introduced unnecessary jargon & acc. to (A), similar functioning could have been explained through simpler terminology too.

ii) Marxist scholars

Acc. to them, this model is status-quoist as the model is based on understanding & working of political system of liberal democracies & the model can't explain political system of authoritarian regimes.

Acc to Marxists, this model is not suitable for understanding the political changes as it does not talk about the contradictions in political systems which may result into revolutions.

Marxists are also against the universality & neutrality of this model & as the model takes western political system as an ideal system. However, acc. to Marxists, this model does not give the correct explanation of the political system of Western countries as it assumes that " " in " " will operate smoothly not facing any problems.

Acc. to Marxists, anything which is not universal can't be accepted as scientific & this model is biased as it can't explain the functioning of:

- authoritarian political system
- political system of III world countries

as the input aspect is very limited in these systems.

(ii) Acc to the critics, it is very difficult to determine the boundary of the systems & it is not only difficult but impossible to define the boundary.

Thus, this model is primitive type of conceptual framework useful only in the initial level of research for collection & organisation of data but it can't provide deeper critical analysis. Though we can say that though system approach of Easton is not a solution to all the problems yet we can't ignore its importance as it does give an important tool of political analysis. It is a practical method of political analysis & it tries to prove that isolated study of any factor can never help to draw the right conclusion.

## II. Structural - Functional Approach by J.A. Almond & B. Powell

- Structural-functional approach is based on System Approach & it is considered as an improvement over Input - Output Model of Easton.
- The Input-Output Model does not deal with the structures (or institutions) & the functions within the political system.
- This approach was developed by Almond & Powell while studying the III world countries.

### Influences on Structural - Functional Approach

- a) It is based on the input - Output model of Political System given by Easton.
- b) It is also influenced by Structural - Functional approach developed by Anthropologists Malinowski & Redcliff Brown. (Acc to them, all societies perform similar functions but structures performing these functions may vary).
- c) To make their approach more comparative, they have also introduced the concept of political Development & Political Culture approach.
- d) Also inspired by Institutional Approach.
- e) This approach was developed to understand the politics of developing areas.

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- Almond & Powell wanted to develop a universal model of analysis which should help in understanding the political system of different countries. On the basis of the views of Brown & Malinowski, Almond & Powell have tried to provide 7 functions of a political system:  
4 input & 3 output functions as acc. to Brown & Malinowski, all societies hence perform some similar

essential functions. Societies differ from each other as in diff societies diff structures perform these functions. If society is more advanced then there will be specific structures however the societies which are not advance, functional specialisation will not be that prominent - single structure performing multiple functions.

- The structural-functional approach is considered as an improvement over institutional approach as under the influence of Behaviouralism, the focus has shifted from structures / institutions to functions.

The 4 input functions performed by a political system:

- i) Political Socialisation & Political Recruitment
- ii) " Communication
- iii) Interest articulation
- iv) " aggregation

The 3 output functions are:

- i) Rule making
- ii) Rule application
- iii) Rule adjudication

then - feedback.

#### - Political Socialisation & Pol Recruitment:

It is a process by which citizens acquire info about the political system, understand the values & norms of the system, develop their acquaintance with the pol. system of their country. Political socialisation is an essential function otherwise political system will not exist.

Pol. socialisation is important for Pol. Recruitment. Diff societies has diff structures which helps in Pol. Socialisation & Recruitment. The most common structures are:

- ✓ family
- ✓ neighbourhood
- ✓ educational institutions

It's a regular process which goes on continuously.

→ Political Communication: Socialisation is the process by which values & beliefs of people are formulated & incorporated into state's political culture. Thus, Pol. socialisation is the process by which Pol. culture is maintained & changed.

Degree of Pol. Socialisation increases in democratic state & decreases in authoritarian regimes. Though Pol. Socialisation is universal but it still varies in degree as it is fast in democratic states while slow in Totalitarian States.

### - Political Communication

Communication is provided by the govt to the citizens. Besides Govt other agencies also perform the function of providing the info about the functioning of political system. Pol. comm. belong to the sphere of mass media.

The nature of Pol. comm. is shaped by the stage of Pol. Development of that pol. system. Its openness depends on the nature of governance & the stage of Pol. Development

### - Interest Articulation

In the pol. system, it is performed by diff. interest & pressure groups. In advanced societies, associational & developmental pressure groups dominate while in traditional societies, communal pressure groups dominate - caste & religion based.

### - Interest Aggregation

It is the task of political parties. Political parties aggregate the interest of diff. pressure groups. Party system may vary from society to society as democratic political system will have competitive party systems & non-demo will have hegemonic party systems.

The function of converting demand into general policy alternative is called interest aggregation & without

aggregation of <sup>diff.</sup> interests, the suitable common policy can't be framed. The political parties frame out a general acceptable programme keeping in view the interest of diff. castes, communities & sections

#### - Rule making:

Rules are necessary to determine the relationship among individuals & without rule anarchy will prevail in the society. The 1st imp. function of every pol. system is rule making. New rules are framed to deal with the changing situations & needs. The Institutional approach views legislation as the only institution involved in law making. However, acc to structural functional approach, other institutions may also be involved in rule-making.

Eg: Judiciary also makes laws while interpreting it. & in few countries, army is also involved in rule-making.

#### - Rule Application

However good the rules may be, they will lose their utility if they are not properly implemented. Rule application is the domain of executive but there are some rule-execution functions which may be performed by legislature & judiciary.

#### - Rule adjudication

The rules may however be good or stringent but there remains the possibility of their breach. If the adequate mechanism to punish the violation of rules will not exist then each individual will violate the rules & will interpret the rules acc. to their own convenience.

Primarily, this function is performed by judiciary but it may also be performed by executive.

- Thus, acc to Almond & Powell, every political system has following characteristics:

- i) Every political system has certain structures out of which some perform more functions & in comparison to others.
- ii) There can be differences among the structures of diff. pol. systems but all pol. systems perform the similar function of converting input into output.
- iii) Some of the structures of a pol. system can perform multiple functions.

### Changes made by Almond & Powell in Input-Output Model

- Acc. to Almond & Powell, every political system has its own capacity to perform functions which keeps on growing with the growth of the need. Pol. system keeps on developing. Thus, this model is not static but dynamic as input-output model is criticized as status quoist.
- This model gives more detailed view about the functioning of pol. system than the input-output model of Easton.
- This model has also used the parameter of Political Culture. The type of Pol. Culture which will prevail will be based on the criteria of pol. Development.

Thus, this approach has given more parameters to compare the political systems in comparison to Input-Output Model of Easton & it has given a more dynamic view to better understand the political system.

### Criticisms of the Model:

- Acc. to Traditionalists, unnecessary jargons have complicated the understanding. Acc. to them, it is descriptive not prescriptive.

- Acc. to the critics, Almond & Powell have developed uniform tools for study of political systems of developed & developing countries whereas it isn't possible to study both with the same tools as the problems of developing countries are diff. from developed world. Thus, this approach isn't sufficient to understand diff. political systems.
- Acc. to the critics, it is a narrow approach & we can't understand a political system only through the study of their structures & functions as pol. system is a much wider concept & its scope & constituent elements are much wider.
- Marxists continue to believe that this model is biased in favour of liberal political systems as the criteria of pol. development is biased in favour of liberal democratic pol. system.
- Acc. to Marxists, this approach completely ignores the imp. factors such as materialistic interpretation of history, theory of surplus value, theory of class war & acc. to them, without making proper evaluation of these factors, we can't draw right conclusions.

Thus, it can be concluded that it is just a conceptual framework helpful at the preliminary level of analysis as for social sciences & for political enquiries, analytical perspectives are more imp. because they are prescriptive in nature.

### III: Political- Sociology Approach

- This approach is the outcome of Behavioural Revolution (this approach has become so dominant that it has become an independent discipline.)
- This approach is used to study the interaction b/w politics & society. To understand the political system, the need is to understand the society first.
- Political Sociology is one of the oldest approach. Aristotle, is known as the father of this approach. In his theory of Revolution, we can see one of the earliest work in political sociology where he tried to analyse the social conditions giving rise to revolution. Machiavelli has also used this approach. As acc. to him, the nature of society determines the form of govt. As acc. to him, if people are virtuous then Republican form of govt is preferable & if people are corrupt, monarchy is best.
- This approach was further developed by Karl Marx as acc. to him, we can't understand the nature of State without understanding mode of production & class relations & in his 'Communist Manifesto' he has suggested that State is an instrument of Capitalist class.
- Max Weber has considered bureaucracy as one of the most rational systems & he is a critic of Marx. The most imp. contribution of Weber is the study of Authority & Legitimacy. Acc. to Weber, the basis of authority is shaped by the nature of society. Acc. to him, Charismatic authority is the prominent basis of legitimacy in traditional societies while modern societies show legal-rational basis of authority.
- Later on, the elitist & the Pluralist scholars like Robert Michels, C. Wright Mills & Robert Dahl have further developed the school of Political Sociology & they have tried to utilise the scientific methods like field studies for collection of facts to support their arguments. I think

political- Sociology approach has been further developed under Behavioural Revolution.

- There is enormous literature on Indian Politics developed by Political- Sociologists where they have studied the impact of Caste, Religion, ethnicity on Indian politics. Some of the prominent scholars who have used this approach in Indian context are: Rajni Kothari, Christopher Jeffertot, Rudolph & Rudolph, Yogender Yadav- electoral behaviour
- This approach is further enriched by the Behavioural studies & scholars like David Easton has proposed that instead of institutional approach politics should be studied with systemic perspective as it has been felt that specially for the developing countries that the study of Constitutions will not be enough & it is necessary to understand the socio-cultural environment. This approach deals with the issues located at the interface of politics & society & thus this approach has become a prominent approach in Comparative politics.

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### Critical Evaluation of Political- Sociology Approach

- This approach is a useful tool of investigation in Comparative Politics for analysing the political systems of developing countries.
- It is not simply an approach, infact it has emerged as an hybrid discipline.
- There is greater enthusiasm among the sociologists towards this approach & similar enthusiasm does not exist among the political analysts as political scholars believe that this approach subordinates the study of politics to the study of society.
- It shows as if the political system lack autonomy & they just respond to sociological variables. It appears as if

Society is shaping the politics & politics don't have any influence on society.

- In many third world countries like India, state has played an active role in changing the society (State giving universal adult franchise, voting age ↓ to 18, triple talak, decriminalisation of homosexuality).
- For political analysts, there is a danger of discipline losing its identity as acc. to pol. scholars, focus should be more on state, institutions in the political system.
- Scholars like Theda Skocpol calls for bringing the state back in. It means political science as a subject should not get submerged in sociology & thus acc. to her, centrality needs to be given to the study of state. Acc. to her, it is true that society influences politics but it is also true that politics also shapes the society. The call to bring the state back has led to the renewal of interest in the study of institutions which has given rise of to a new approach i.e. Neo-Institutionalism.
- March & Olsen in their book 'Reinventing Government' has prescribed the theme of Neo-Institutionalism & the theme is that there is a vice-versa relation that prevails b/w state & politics & society.  
Eg: Under Narmic leadership, Indian society transformed into a modern society as state tried to induce the scientific temper in the society.
- Though it is true that institutions are shaped by the behaviour of the person occupying the institution but it is also true that the institutions constrain the behaviour of person as the formal & informal rules of the institution will limit the action of individual.  
Eg: Institution of speaker in India will definitely be shaped by the person occupying it but whoever occupies cannot ignore the formal rules & conventions.

- One of the prominent works in India from the perspective of Neo-Institutionalism is done by Pratap Bhanu Mehta & he has analysed Indian judiciary & <sup>how</sup> judiciary has perpetuated itself.

He has given a call to reboot the institutions - article -

#### IV: Political - Culture Approach by Sidney Verba & Gabriel Almond

- This method is also used by Structural-functional approach.
- Political culture is a sub-set of culture. Culture shows the values, norms, beliefs of the people & culture is transferred from one generation to another. Thus, culture can be a significant variable to compare the societies as culture is a long term phenomenon.

┌ Culture is the outcome of natural processes but  
political culture can be manufactured. ─┘

- Countries can have different political culture as in some countries people have closeness with the political systems while in others they may be indifferent & in some they may be alienated.
- This approach emerges in the works of Verba & Almond & they have talked about the political culture in their book 'Civic Culture'. The objective of their study is to find out which culture is the most appropriate for the functioning of democracy & their conclusion was civic culture.
- Almond & Verba have utilised the methodology of Ideal types (by Weber). Ideal type is a tool of conceptual analysis given by Weber for the study of the society & Weber has suggested that researchers should construct Ideal types i.e. Models. (It is a type of method used in Social Sciences. The models can

be used to compare the actual reality)

They have also utilised the framework of system approach.

- They have also used Input-Output approach of David Easton to classify political cultures.
- Utilising the methodology of Ideal types, they have developed certain Ideal types of pol. culture:
  - i) Parochial Pol. Culture
  - ii) Subject "
  - iii) Participant "
  - iv) Civic "

**Parochial Pol. System:** It denotes the attitude of people towards pol. system where people are not much connected to the pol. system. This culture can be explained through Input-Output Method & it can be said that in this culture, people neither influence the input nor the output.

Eg: Tribes in Andaman & Nicobar Islands have a peripheral position in the Indian political system. Thus, what prevails there is the Parochial pol. culture.

**Subject Pol. Culture:** It is based on the understanding on the difference b/w citizens & the subjects. The concept of citizens denotes the rights of citizens & they are supposed to be active participants while the concept of subjects is associated with duties & obligations.

In this culture, people don't have any impact on the input aspect as they are not empowered enough to influence the input. However, they may have some significance as far as the output is concerned as Subject Pol. Culture may be concerned about the responses of the people towards the policies & decisions. This type of culture is found in societies where democracy is in initial stages.

Eg: For long Pol. Culture of India at large <sup>was</sup> considered as subject pol. culture & still large no. of people exhibit subject Pol. Culture but at the same time, Pol. Culture in India is acquiring the features of Participant Pol. Culture & this is evident by the increasing voter turnout, assertion of rights by the civil societies.

**Participant Pol. Culture:** In this type of culture, people consider themselves actively associated with the pol. system where they are influencing both the input & output. This type of Pol. culture is associated with Western liberal democracies where the citizens have a strong sense of empowerment.

**Civil Pol. Culture:** Acc. to this approach, it is the most appropriate culture for the health of democracy. Acc. to this approach, though the participation of people is good but excessive participation has some inherent dangers as too much participation gives rise to demagogic leaders which is a threat to democracy. Thus, more than participation, it is the quality of participation which is more imp. Hence, Civic Pol. Culture will prevail when participant Pol. Culture is at the centre while some people have parochial & subject Pol. culture & this type of culture will be Civil Pol. culture which will lead to stable democracy.

#### - Critical Evaluation

- Acc. to the Protagonists of this approach, it has encouraged the Pol. Scientists to take up the study of Socio-cultural factors to give the Pol. culture of diff. countries. However, acc. to the critics, the concept of Pol. Culture & Civic Culture is biased against the masses. It also advocates status-quoism as it is based on disbelief in the capacity of the masses.

For Marxist scholars, this approach is tilted in favour of elites.

## V. Political-Economy Approach

- In Political-Economy approach, we study & compare the economic policies of the states & based on the economic policy, we try to understand the nature of state that whether the state is a welfare state, socialist state or a Neo-liberal state.
- Political-Economy as the tradition of study can be traced back to the work of Adam Smith & his book 'Wealth of the Nations' is considered as the 1st textbook in pol. economy. In his book, he criticised the Merchantalist policies & recommended Free Market Economy as acc. to him, free market economy will bring wealth & prosperity for all while merchantalist policies will only benefit the merchants.
- This approach is both quantitative & normative. It is normative as it is value-based as there are diff. schools of thought & there is no consensus that which one is superior. The two major schools within pol. economy-
  - a) Liberal / Classical School of Pol. Economy  
Father: Adam Smith
  - b) Marxist school of pol. economy
- Marxism is primarily a critique of the classical school of Pol. Economy of Adam Smith as acc. to Marx, the free <sup>market</sup> economy will bring wealth to few & poverty for the masses & Marx recommended the replacement of Capitalist mode of repro production with the Communist mode. There is continuity in the Marxist tradition as the scholars of Dependency School have analysed the phenomenon of Neo-Colonialism.

Another Marxist school i.e. Structural school shows the relative autonomy of the state.

- Later on, the third school of Political Economy emerged known as Welfare Economic school based on Keynes' ideas & it supports the welfare function of the state.

Another school i.e. Neo-Liberal School developed under Hayek & Nozick who suggested for the rolling back of the state.

The welfare economy approach again gained prominence in the works of scholars like Amartya Sen & Joseph Stiglitz.

- The limitation of this approach is that it only focuses on the economic sphere & it doesn't take into consideration the socio-cultural variables. Thus, this approach alone will not be sufficient to understand political systems of diff. states.

## VI. Political-Development Approach

- Western scholars have tried to develop diff. models to study & make comparisons b/w developed & developing countries & this approach is one such approach.
- Lucian Tye has given 3 parameters of pol.-development.
  - Equality
  - Capacity
  - Differentiation

Equality symbolises pol. equality i.e. equal rights being enjoyed by the people & acc. to Tye, democracy symbolises pol. equality.

Capacity: State's capacity to govern & enforce law & order.

Differentiation: Functional specialisation of the institutions will determine development of pol. system.

- Acc to Tye, these parameters can be used for the comparison of pol. systems of diff. states.
- Acc to S.P. Huntington has suggested the concept of political decay & acc to him, in many III world countries along with pol. development, pol. decay has been observed. - image -
- Riggs has given the concept of development trap & acc to him <sup>when</sup> there is a mismatch b/w the rate of development & 3 parameters suggested by Lucian Tye, it results in development trap.
- This approach has been criticised by Traditionalists & Marxists. Acc to Marxists, it is biased towards western liberal democracies & this approach does not offer a model that can be uniformly applicable to all the countries.

## VII. Political - Modernisation Approach

- As pol. development approach is criticised for being biased towards the western model of democracy, hence a politically neutral approach was proposed i.e. Political Modernisation.
- Acc to this approach, whatever may be the form of govt but what has become more imp. is the modernisation & acc to S.P. Huntington, the components of " are:
  - urbanisation
  - industrialisation
  - rationalisation
  - secularisation

It was proposed that states can be compared in terms of level of modernisation & this approach has broadened

the scope of comparative politics as even non-liberal democratic states can be compared.

- Acc. to Huntington, Pol. Modernization will lead to increase in pol. participation & thus ultimately it will lead to pol. development.
- Though, acc. to the critics, this approach can be linked to the thesis of end of ideology & acc. to Marxists, this approach ultimately aims towards expansion of capitalism. That's why, Marxist scholars don't consider this approach value-neutral as this approach suggests that institutions like IMF & WB should support pol. modernisation in developing countries & thus acc. to Marxist scholars, this approach is just the political agenda of the West.

## ⇒ STATE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

- Acc. to Gramer, "Political Science begins & ends with the state". Though state is a core concept in Pol. Science yet it has remained contested.
- Traditional Comparative Politics has focused on the study of Govt & Institutions & Constitutions for the study of State, while Behaviouralists shifted the focus from Const. to the processes for the study of State.
- Characteristics & changing nature of State can be analysed from 2 diff perspectives:
  - i) Liberal
  - ii) Marxist

### • Liberal Perspective

Acc. to this perspective, State is created by man to remove the inconveniences present in the state of Nature. For liberals, State is an instrument of utility & it's a neutral arbitrator b/w conflicting & competing interests.

### • Marxist perspective:

Marxists have challenged the neutrality of the state & they believe that state is executive committee of Bourgeoisie class.

Within the liberal countries, the model of *Laissez Faire* state or *Night-watchman* state was prevailing which was later replaced by *welfare state* which emphasized that state should make positive interventions in the economy on behalf of disadvantaged sections.

However, Marxist scholars have analysed the nature of welfare state in post-colonial societies from 2 perspectives:

- a) Instrumentalist (Milliband)
- b) Structuralist

Instrumentalists in their study said that managerial Revolution in a capitalist society is a myth & economic power has remained concentrated & the class which controls the economic power also controls the political power. While Structuralists have suggested that because of new historical developments like Universal Adult Franchise, Competitive party system, State in most of the situation appears neutral. Though State appears neutral but at the time of crisis, it will work in the interest of propertied class.

- The nature of State is also analysed by the elitist & Pluralist scholars.

Elitistic scholars have analysed the nature of distribution of power in US & held that US is ruled by power elites. Robert Michels suggested Oligarchy is the Iron Law. Robert Dahl applied Pluralist perspective & stated that States are polyarchy. Later he modified his view & called US a deformed polyarchy.

- Since 90's, the welfare states have shifted towards the ideology of Neo-liberalism or Market fundamentalism which signifies rolling back of the state.
- Since the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> cent., liberal states are oscillating b/w the idea of Night-watchman State & Welfare State.
- Since the onset of Global Financial Crisis in 2008, many Core States are themselves passing through the State of crisis i.e. Legitimation crisis. To quote Habermas "We are passing through a highly volatile phase in the evolution of world system & various conflicting trends are paradoxically appearing on the world stage."

## → State in Socialist Country

- Socialist economy is based on the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin & Mao. The 1st example of socialist economy was USSR & PRC.
- However, China has progressively shifted from a socialist economy towards state controlled market economy. With the collapse of Communism in USSR & Eastern European countries (3rd wave of democracy) - with this wave, socialist economies have shifted towards the market model.
- The nature of State in socialist economies can be analysed from 2 diff. perspectives:

### i) Marxist perspective:

Acc. to this perspective, States in Socialist Economy are actually people's democracy & acc. to them, State in Capitalist economy are the dictatorship of Bourgeoisie capitalist class while the State in Socialist economy is dictatorship of Proletariat.

### ii) Liberal perspective:

Acc. to this perspective, States in socialist economies are forms of totalitarianism.

- Socialist economies started with the hope that State in these economies will wither away. However, after the Communist Rev., very powerful States came into existence. In place of dictatorship of Proletariat, these States became the dictatorship of Communist Parties. Western scholars held that the situation is better in liberal democratic countries where the elite structure is fractured whereas in Communist States, monolithic elites exist as these States are based on single ideology.

Eg: The Constitution of China recognises the role of Communist Party in Chinese Rev. & China continues to be committed to the leadership of Communist Party.

In Communist States, Fundamental Duties are enforceable. In recent times, we have seen the tightening of the control of Communist party on society & on party by the leader.

- Acc. to western scholars, the end of Cold war was projected as the 3rd wave of democracy by Huntington. However, transition from authoritarian regimes to democracy has remained a far-fetched dream as many Communist states have gone towards the path of authoritarianism.

Eg: Russia, states of Central Asia, Eastern European states like Hungary, Belarus, China are showing authoritarian trends.

→ Nature of State in Developing societies. countries

- Developing countries are the post-colonial countries known as Global South or the 3rd world countries.
- These countries suffer from colonial legacy in administration & economy & most of these states are facing the problems of mass poverty & deprivation.
- The study of the pol. systems of developing societies has been the major area of research of modern Comparative Politics.
- Modern-Nation states in 3rd world countries is an imported institution rather than indigenously evolved. The reason why even after independence, most of these states suffer from governability crisis, the reason why there is excessive reliance on the use of force as in most of the states violent secessionist movements are going on & thus many states are failed states.
- Nature & changing trend of state in developing country can be discussed by utilising various methods which

have been developed under Behavioural Rev.

- Acc. to Pötel Political Development approach, the states in the developing countries can be called as Prismatic States. Acc. to S.P. Huntington, most of these states have witnessed pol. decay & in words of F.W. Riggs, these states are under Development trap.
- Gunnar Myrdal has given the concept of Soft state & acc. to him, India is also a soft state.
- The Neo-Marxist scholar of Dependency school have called these states as periphery & the ruling class in these states act as an instrument of Bourgeoisie of Core States.
- Hamza Alvi by using the Structural approach has called the states in Developing societies as over-developed states.
- The states in 3rd world countries are in a state of transition. Many countries adopted democracy but were not able to sustain it & got replaced with authoritarian regimes with the exception of India.
- Many post-colonial states also adopted the Communist model, though post 90's most of these countries have shifted towards the model of liberal democracy with the exception of China, Cuba, monarchies of Gulf & few states of Africa.
- Since 2008 crisis, there is a decline of liberal world order & there is rise in right wing leadership world over & the similar trend can be seen in the 3rd world countries.

## → Nature of State in advanced industrial societies

- The developed countries are known as advanced industrial States.

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- The common feature of advanced industrial societies is that they have been imperial powers in the past & they continue to have their dominance in the sphere of politics, economy & culture.
- Even after the formal end of colonisation, their dominance is still intact in all these spheres & the common name which has been used for these countries is Global North or OECD countries.
- In the Marxist terminology, they are called Core States & from Marxist point of view, the chain of wealth is still continuing from the Periphery to the Core.
- Till the end of Cold war, these countries were divided into 2 blocks: capitalists & socialists. The socialist economies could not sustain themselves & with the collapse of Soviet Union, the majority of socialist economies also adopted the western model of politics & economy. India has also seen the transition from import-substitution model to export-promotion model through LPG reforms. Thus, India also shifted towards capitalist model.

Most of the socialist economies are now the developing countries despite having a strong industrial base. (Eastern Europe countries)

- Since the end of cold war, the western <sup>development criterion:</sup> GDP, HDI, Sectors of Economy, regional equality, Infrastructure etc. |  
countries holding the dominant position in world affairs, however since 2008, there is a decline in the hegemony of west marked by rise of rest (BRICS, G-20). The centre of gravity of world politics or economics has started shifting from Atlantic to Asia Pacific. BRICS countries

have started challenging the dominance of advanced industrial states of the west especially in the sector of manufacturing & IT services. Since 2008 Global financial crisis, the advanced industrial western societies are not only facing economic but political crisis also as in these states there is rise of Neo-Rightist leaders & thus it can be said that even these states/societies are in a state of transition.

→ Eg: Euroscepticism in Europe

Overpopulation :  
Criteria

Malthus  
Riots  
Famines & Epidemics

## ⇒ POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION & PARTICIPATION

### 1. Party System / Political parties

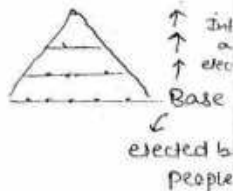
- The study of political parties has become an extremely specialised field in itself (Stasiology). Political parties perform the input function known as interest aggregation. Political parties have become the universal feature of politics around the world irrespective of the fact whether a country is democratic or not.
- Political parties can be analysed from 2 perspectives:
  - i) Normative
  - ii) Behavioural
- Acc. to Normative perspective, people sharing common ideology will come together for promotion of national interest while acc. to Behavioural approach, political parties are powerhouses & their purpose of formation is to come to power irrespective of ideology.
- In recent times, ideologies have lost relevance & the reason we have seen the rise of phrase 'catch all parties' i.e. the party which can accumulate the voice of many diff. ideologies.

### → Theories of Political Parties

- i) Lenin's theory
  - ii) Behavioural theory
- Lenin has given the theory of Communist party in his pamphlet 'What is to be done?'. Though Marx never accepted the idea of party system as acc. to Marx, party will create hierarchy which will go against the idea of equality. While Lenin believed workers are not capable of developing revolutionary consciousness of their own & hence political parties will act as Vanguard of Revolution.

- Acc. to Lenin, Communist parties will be diff. from trade unions as trade unions are part of Bourgeoisie system while Communist party will work for workers to bring workers into power as aim of the Communist party will be to throw the State.

- Acc. to Lenin, <sup>Communist</sup> political parties will be pyramidal in structure with cells of party at local level i.e. Communist Party will have top leadership at the centre level. Thus, Communist party will be broad at base & narrow at top. Thus, acc. to Lenin, Communist party will work on the principle of 'democratic centralism' i.e. the top leadership will be determined by the base. The base will communicate to the top leadership what the people want & top leadership will convert people's demands into workable programme of action.



- The Behavioural theory:

Robert Michels has given Iron law of Oligarchy. He has analysed the internal functioning of Socialist parties to examine the claims of the Marxists that socialist parties operate on diff. principle & he concluded that there is no difference in the internal functioning of socialist parties also as power remain concentrated at in the hands of top officials. Hence, he suggested that Oligarchy is the iron law & power will always remain in the hands of elites & masses will never shape any decision.

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Thus, irrespective of ideology, all parties operate in a similar fashion & all political parties are oligarchy.

Duverger's law: This law tells the relationship b/w the electoral system & the party system. Acc. to this law, if a country is having a simple majoritarian type of electoral system then two-party system will be there but if a country has proportional representation, then multi-party system will prevail.

→ Comparison of party systems b/w Western & Non-Western countries

• Though Western & Non-Western is a very broad concept & there are lot of internal differentiations. It is to be noted that pol parties don't operate in vacuum & they are influenced by socio-cultural factors.

• Features of Political parties in Western countries :-

- Western countries are mature democracies & political parties are also democratic as there is intra-party democracy. The political parties in these countries are more transparent & financially accountable & primarily they are working on ideological lines. Political parties in these countries are institutionalised & that's why they don't end with the death of leader.

• Features of political parties in Non-Western countries :-

Political parties in these States show paradoxical features. As parties are modern & bureaucratic in their organisation but traditional in functioning (Nepotism, feudalism prevails). Thus, political parties in these countries represent the feature of prismatic society. They lack intra-party democracy, controlled by dynasty, revolve around personality, lack transparency & financial accountability. & political parties are built on region, class, religion, caste rather than ideology.

Caste  
- Caste  
Community  
Prevails

character  
- Caliber  
- Capacity. Desired

## 2. Interest Pressure Groups

- These are called as invisible empires.
- The difference b/w political parties & pressure groups is that political parties contest for acquiring formal posts in govt offices.
- Though Pressure groups don't compete for formal posts yet they may influence Govt's decisions to a great extent.
- It can be said that PGs play the <sup>game</sup> ~~role~~ of hide & seek in political systems.
- If political parties perform the role of interest aggregation, PGs play the role of interest articulation.
- The study of Interest Pressure Groups is the main concern of political sociologists as they operate at the interface of politics & society.
- The Pluralist theory of democracy/power puts lot of emphasis on study of PGs as Robert Dahl on the basis of study of role of PGs in US prefers to call US as polyarchy. (There is no difference b/w interest & PGs except their terminology. The traditionalists prefer the terms PGs while Behaviouralists prefer Interest Group) as they wanted to develop the standard terminology in the subject of Pol. Science & acc. to them, when we use the terms PGs we are focusing on the technique employed by these groups & when we use the term 'Interest Group' we are emphasising on the purpose i.e. interest articulation. Acc. to (B), the term IGs is more appropriate than PGs as pressure as a technique is also employed by opposition political party. Hence, the term PGs may create ambiguity.)

## → Types of PG / IG

Gabriel Almond has classified IG in 4 types:

- i) Institutional IG
- ii) Non-associational IG
- iii) Associational IG
- iv) Anomic IG

**Institutional IG:** They are part of govt institutions.

Eg: Organisation of civil servants, military personnel

They are seen as the most powerful IG as they operate within the institution system & they are in the best possible situation to influence govt policies. They are more prominent in developing countries considering the fact that state in these countries is overdeveloped. In western countries, they may not be as powerful as the states in these countries are minimal / night watchman state. Though in reality, situation may vary.

Eg: US is a strong democracy yet military play a prominent role in its politics.

**Non-Associational IG:** These are community based IGs i.e. based on caste, religion, language. They are exclusive in nature & membership criteria is based on birth. They play greater role in prismatic societies.

Eg: Gujjar Mahasabha, Jat Mahasabha

**Associational IG:** Associational denotes the organisation based on purely on interest irrespective of caste, colour, creed, region, religion, language.

Eg: FICCI, IFFCO, Agricultural Unions, Trade Unions

They are more prominent in western countries though the trend is changing in non-western countries too under the forces of globalisation.

Anomic IG: When people come together for a cause i.e. some sort of collective behaviour which can't be put in any of the above 3 categories & hence it is characterised as anomic. Normally, this term is used for short-term association. Eg: People coming on road protesting against injustice.

This phenomenon is seen more in developing countries because of lack of institutionalisation of democracy.

Jean Blondel's classification of IG:

He has defined IG on the basis of membership & functions. B

Based on membership: Non-associational & Associational

" " functions: Protective IG & Developmental IG

Protective IG: When people are coming together for narrow interest

Developmental IG: Broader Interest

Eg. Environment, Human Rights Protection

- Blue book on PG -

### 3. Social Movements.

• Social movements are type of collective behaviour like political parties & pressure groups.

• The study of social movements is also the main concern of Political Sociologists.

• PG, political parties & social movements are interchangeable  
Eg: The Indian Freedom movement started as a social movement which led to emergence of INC - a political party.

Similarly, social movement against corruption led to emergence of AAP

- Out of the above 3, social movements are least institutionalised.
- Social movements are primarily a feature of left politics. In liberal discourse, scholars don't prefer to use the term 'social movement', they rather prefer 'resource mobilisation'.
- Social movement started in West as a reaction against the exploitation of the working class. Thus workers' movements were the earliest SMs. These movements are also called Old SMs.
- In West around 60's, the trend of New SMs started & these movements were more concerned with developmental issues & quality of life.  
eg: Issue of Environment, Human Rights, Civil Rights, Peace movements like disarmament & Nuke free world.
- In developing world, considering the prismatic nature of the society & state, Old & New SM are not entirely distinct & they are overlapping.  
eg: Environmental issues also include the issues of livelihood for the tribals & farmers.
- While Old SMs deal with the issue of bread & butter, New SM deal with the issue of quality of life i.e. right to clean environment. While Old SM are led by lower class, New SM are led by middle class.
- While Old SMs are materialistic, new SMs are post-materialistic. (Mental, spiritual well-being). The techniques used under Old SMs were primarily the protest, demonstration & objective of Old SMs are was to gain political & economic power while the objective of New SM is not to capture power but to raise the consciousness.

## ⇒ INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Que: To what extent it is appropriate to suggest that India has the tradition of political thinking?

Que: Why is the status of Indian Political Thought is contested?

- It is widely assumed that Indians lack political & strategic culture. It is assumed that India is not a place to look for political wisdom but only a place to look for spiritual wisdom. Indians have made huge progress towards the spiritual aspect of life though acc. to the western scholars, they have ignored material well-being.

Politics is this worldly whereas Indians have been more concerned about the other world i.e. World of God. Hence, in Western world, the status of Indian Political Thought is contested.

However, it is not correct to say that Indians lack political thinking. When West describes India empty of political wisdom, it reflects the ethno-centric attitude.

- Similarly, when West ignores Indian political thinking, it can be seen as the Western attempt to maintain its cultural, ideological hegemony.
- Acc. to Prof. V.R. Menka, the failure of the West to recognise Indian political thought can be because of the lack of understanding of Indian way of life by the people of the West as there is a big difference in the outlook of the West & East.
- West looked <sup>at</sup> the things on dichotomous lines as West has made the difference b/w man & society, politics & ethics while Indians have always looked at things in continuity as Indian thought does not separate man & society, politics & ethics, dharma & danda.

Thus, acc to Prof. Mehta, in order to understand Indian perspective on Politics & Statecraft it is necessary to first understand the Indian way of life.

- Acc to Prof. <sup>Jones</sup> Morris Johns, the neglect of Indian political thought has resulted in impoverishment of the West & it is unfortunate that people in East understand their reality through West. Orientalism i.e. biased study of history has estd. the hegemony of West even in academics. Western colonial masters kept on emphasising about the barbaric East & the necessity of 'Civilising Mission'. It is unfortunate that even after independence, we have failed to recognise the ancient Indian political wisdom found in Indian texts.
- Kautilya's Arthashastra is one of the best books on Statecraft. Other works like Manusmriti, Mahabharata, Ramayana all contain significant political wisdom. Besides, Hindu texts, the Buddhist & Jain texts also discuss the principles of Statecraft.
- Max Muller has acknowledged that nowhere in the world human mind has dealt with various questions of life in such depth as in case of India & India has been a source of enlightenment in the world.

→ Salient features of Indian Political Thought

- i) Continuity in Ancient & Modern Indian Political Thought
- ii) Continuity in the concept of Dharma & Danda
- iii) IPT is communitarian
- iv) Indian tradition has been pluralistic.
- v) " " " is cosmopolitan
- vi) " " " has taken a regressive view of history.  
(repetition of things)

## → Major Traditions in Ancient Indian Political Thought

Two major traditions in IPT are:

- a) Hinduism  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Dharmashastra - Manusmriti} \\ \text{Dandashastra - Arthashastra} \end{array} \right.$
- b) Buddhism (Rebel child of Hinduism)

- Acc. to Bhikhu Parekh, Indian tradition reflects continuity rather than change i.e. Hindu & Buddhist tradition does not differ much & there are lot of similarities b/w the two traditions as Buddhism also believes in the concept of Karma & Re-birth like Hinduism.
- Similarly, the two Hindu traditions - Dharmashastra & Dandashastra also don't differ much as both the texts revolve around 2 basic concepts: Dharma & Danda & it is believed that Dharma can't stand without Danda.
- In Dharmashastra, the central discussion is on Dharma & the discussion on Danda is peripheral while in Dandashastra, central discussion is on Danda while the discussion on Dharma is peripheral.

## → Salient ideas found in Manusmriti

- Manusmriti belongs to the tradition of Dharmashastra. It is a book of law. (Acc. to Indian tradition, Manu was the son of Brahma & Brahma is the creator of universe. Manu is seen as the first king & first law-giver.

The belief is that Brahma created Manu as there was 'Arajakta' means anarchy - 'Matsyaya'. Hence, people requested Brahma to save life on earth.)

→ Big fish eating small fish.

- Manu told what is the Dharma of diff. Varas. Acc. to Rig Veda, "Prithivim Dharmam Dhritam" meaning Dharma is that which will hold life on earth if there will be no Dharma - there will be 'Arajakta' which will lead to 'Pralaya'.

The source of Dharma:

The source of Dharma is Vedas or Shrutis. Shrutis contain Rta i.e. cosmic law which is the revealed knowledge, the knowledge revealed by Brahma to Rishis. Thus, the source of Dharma is Samritis & Manusmriti is seen as the source of Dharmashastra tradition.

Dharma is a law to govern human society & most well-known Dharmashastra is Manusmriti.

• Manusmriti contains following ideas related to Dharma:

i) Purusharthas

It means the four goals of life:

- Dharma
- Artha
- Kama
- Moksha

These 4 purusharthas show that Hindu tradition took life in comprehensive sense. They have neither ignored the material well being nor sensual pleasures nor spiritual emancipation.

ii) Concept of Ashramas

Ashramas denote different stages of life with specific goal for each stage. The 4 ashramas are:

- Brahmacharya
- Grihastha
- Vanaprastha
- Sanyasa

iii) Concept of Varnas

Manu identified 4 basic functions & he has divided society into 4 Varnas:

- Brahmins
- Kshatriya
- Vaishya
- Shudra

Varna system is the division of labour. Acc. to Manu, each Varna is to follow its Dharma. If Varna Dharma will not be followed, it will lead to Asajakta. The most imp. duty of king is to ensure that all Varnas should follow their Dharmas & to ensure this the king has the rod of Dha Danda.

#### iv) Concept of Sanskar

i.e. 16 essential rituals to be followed & these rituals are called sanskar. These rituals start from Garbhadhani sanskar & ends with Antyesthi.

- Manusmriti also discusses the origin of state & idea of kingship too.

#### Origin of State:

Manusmriti has given the quasi-contractual theory as State is a contract b/w man & God. As 'Asajakta' was prevailing, there was no state. In such a situation, people requested Brahma & Brahma created Manu. Manu is the 1st king & law-giver & it is the duty of all & the king to ensure that all are following their Dharma.

#### Idea of Kingship

Acc. to Manusmriti, king has divine personality.

#### In West

There is a difference in the idea of kingship in West & East. West believes in both divine personality & divine rights of the king. Indian thought - Manusmriti - believes only in divine personality

Divine rights - Absolute authority

But king is under Rajadharma



## → Thoughts of Kautilya

- Arthashastra belongs to the tradition of Dandashastra. It primarily deals with statecraft - how to govern. We can see the continuity b/w the tradition of Dharmashastra & Dandashastra.

## → The main ideas in Arthashastra:

- Prime issue discussed by Kautilya in Arthashastra is statecraft. The word 'Artha' means material well-being & acc. to Kautilya, the most imp. objective of the king is to secure the material well-being of his people.
- In ancient times, the land was the main source of securing material well-being. Hence, the main idea of Arthashastra is how to acquire land.
- Acc. to Kautilya, it is natural for the state to acquire land. The first land which is to be acquired is of the neighbour, hence acc. to Kautilya, neighbours are natural enemies. Hence, the relationship b/w the 2 neighbouring states will be the relation of war.
- Thus, Arthashastra deals with the art of war & Arthashastra can be considered as the first textbook on geopolitics. Thus, Arthashastra challenges the western view that India lacks strategic culture. Though it is unfortunate that the policy makers in India have overlooked the wisdom of Arthashastra.

## → Prominent Ideas of Arthashastra

- State of relations b/w 2 countries
- Mandala Siddhant
- Saptang Theory
- Shadgunya Neeti
- Four Upayas

Imp. f

i) State of Relations b/w 2 countries:

Acc. to Arthashastra, the relationship b/w the 2 neighbouring states are the relations of war & in general, relations b/w the states is the struggle for power. (Thus, Kautilya is realist).

Kautilya belongs to the school of Offensive Realism & for Kautilya 'Offense is the best Defense'.

ii) Mandal Siddhant

Acc. to Kautilya, king after its coronation should start the expedition to acquire land & king should have the desire to become ~~chak~~ Chakravartin Samrat & he has addressed the king as 'Vijigishu'.

Mandal Siddhant is based on the concept of geo-politics i.e. the science of capturing land. Acc. to Kautilya, it is the compulsion for the king to expand. Thus, neighbours became natural enemies as both will try to acquire the same piece of land.

As per Mandal Siddhant, enemy's neighbour becomes natural tensions.

Kautilya has mentioned about different kings in the forward direction i.e.

Acc. to Kautilya when king prepare expedition in one direction, he has to take care of the enemy, situated at the back & Kautilya has called enemy at back as 'Parashanigraha' & friend at the back is 'Akraudo'.

Kautilya has given the sequence of kings in backward direction too.

Kautilya has also talked about 2 other kings:

i) Udasina - Neutral

Acc. to Kautilya, if in the context of war a country projects neutrality then it has to give access of its territory to both the parties. Acc. to him, king should try to bring neutral towards his favour.

ii) Madhyama - Buffer state

Acc. to Kautilya, king should try to bring Madhyama towards its side.

iii) Types of war:

Kautilya has mentioned about 3 types of war:

- a) Parakram Yuddh - Direct war
- b) Koot yuddh - Guerrilla war
- c) Tushnim yuddh - Proxy war

iv) 4-Fold Policy:

- a) Sam - talks
- b) Dam - money
- c) Dand - Army
- d) Bhed - Divide

v) Shadgunya Niti

i.e. 6-fold policy

Acc. to Kautilya, the king can adopt following options to achieve their objectives depending on the situation:

a) Sandhi - Treaty

Acc. to Kautilya, if enemy is strong go for sandhi.

b) Vighra - Break the sandhi when you are strong

c) Aśana - stationing your forces near the enemy's territory

d) Yana - Doing military exercises near enemy's territory

e) Samas Hrya - Join hand with those who have similar objectives

f) Dvaid Bhava - Don't go for 2 front war at the same time.

## vi) Saptang Siddhant

It explains the 7 limbs of the state i.e. 7 elements of sovereignty.

Kautilya has taken a systematic view of the state & acc. to Kautilya, state is a system consisting of these 7 elements:

a) King - Nabhi of the state & plays the most imp. role.

- If king is strong & the other elements of sovereignty are weak, the strong king can convert the elements of weakness into the elements of strength. However, if other elements are strong & king is weak, it will lead to overall weakness & state will fail.
- Acc. to Kautilya, though king is central yet single wheel can't run the chariot & thus the king can't run the state alone. King requires the help of others & thus king should not be arrogant & should give adequate recognition to other elements as state is a system of inter-dependence & Kautilya also reminds the king that kingship is duty i.e. Dharma.

In Kautilya's words, "In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of king".

b) Amatyas - Senior ministers

Among amatyas, most imp. is the ambassador who will be the representative of the king & king should choose him very carefully. He should be a trusted person, well versed in shastras. He should be handsome & he has suggested that king should have at least 3 amatyas as

even if two conspires against the king, one will stay loyal to the king. Also, the king should have constant vigil on the Amatyas & king should keep testing their integrity from time to time.

c) Durg - Forts

Kautilya has emphasised a lot on the importance of forts & forts are symbol of capability of the state. Hence, king should construct forts on strategic location.

d) Janpats - Public Opinion.

The place where common man lives & is involved in various activities. In case of Janpats, Kautilya has suggested to use spies to remain in touch of public mood.

e) Bala - Military strength

Acc. to Kautilya, army should be comprised of Kshatriyas. Kautilya was not particular about Varna as acc. to Kautilya, if need arises other Varnas can be incorporated in the army.

f) Kosha - Treasury

It should be sufficient to the extent that not only the king is able to fulfill his routine obligations but also should be able to meet any sort of emergency i.e. war, famine etc.

g) Mitra - Allies

Acc. to Kautilya, friends only have symbolic importance as Mitras are the symbol of strength as everyone wants to be friend of strong. If king starts losing friend, it's a serious concern for the king.

## Relevance of Saptang Siddhant in Mandal Siddhant

Acc. to Kautilya, before starting expedition, king has to calculate <sup>not only</sup> the strength of his own but also the strength of his enemy i.e. 7 elements of determinants of power

- Kautilya's views on corruption
  - Comparison b/w Kautilya & Machiavelli
- } -image-

## → BUDDHIST SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

- pdf -

Ques: The advent of Buddhist tradition marks a departure from Dharmashastra as well as Arthashastra tradition of Indian Political thought. <sup>Ans:</sup> Advent of Buddhist tradition in Ancient India marks a departure from the prevailing rigidity of customs & social stagnation.

- Before Buddhist tradition, law was treated as something divinely ordained. It was Buddha who introduced the concept of legislation in Ancient India which implied that law could be made or modified for the welfare of the man.
- Buddha initiated a silent revolution in the religious sphere to fight against social injustice particularly in the sphere of caste & gender discrimination. Teachings of Buddha acquired relevance in the present day world conflicted with various forms of social injustice.
- B.R. Ambedkar Ambedkar said, " I prefer Buddhism because it gives three principles in combination which no other religion does as Buddhism teaches Prajna, Karuna & Samanta." (no supernatural deity)  
(compassion) (equality)
- & thus acc. to Ambedkar, this is what a man needs to live a good & happy life.
- Gandhi sought to revise Buddha's message of ahimsa as a weapon to fight against injustice & he declared " Buddha never rejected Hinduism but he has broadened its base & Buddha has given a new life & interpretation to Buddhism"

## ⇒ RAWL'S' CONCEPT OF DEMOCRATIC EQUALITY

- Acc. to Rawls, the concept of equality found in western countries is inadequate. It needs to be democratised which means making it pro-poor.
- Rawls has suggested the policies of affirmative action in favour of the least advantaged as acc. to Rawls, just by ensuring the equality before law & the equality of opportunity, it won't be possible that the large no. of people will be able to live a life of dignity. Thus, acc. to Rawls, affirmative action policies will match to our inherent conception of justice. & thus Rawls has justified the welfare state, policies of progressive taxation & the policies which will provide social security.
- Acc. to Rawls, natural inequality is neither just nor unjust. What is just or unjust is how the institutions deal with these facts. Acc. to Rawls, justice & injustice is a matter of social institutions & it is within the capacity of human being to change the social system based on the principle of 'Justice as Fairness'.
- Acc. to Rawls, there will be no peace if there is injustice in the society & acc. to him, society is like a chain where the weakest link is as imp. as the strongest & he is sure that a reasonable person will never disagree in offering each other fair terms of co-operation.
- Acc. to Rawls, rich will agree to these principles as this is the best possible way to maximise their advantages & poor will agree as it may make them better off rather than worse off.

• Thus, acc. to Rawls, difference principle is just as it isn't unfair to those who are talented & hard working & it is the best possible utilisation of their talent.  
will lead to

Also, society will have more resources to help poor & this will make poor better off rather than worse off.

## ⇒ SECURITY & SECURITY DILEMMA

- The most imp. concern of the discipline of International Politics is the security & IR theories can be recognised as security theories.
- Acc. to Hobbes, security of life is the most fundamental value & all other values like liberty, prosperity, are dependent on it.
- Though security is the core concept yet there are disagreements among scholars w.r.t. the following questions:
  - whose security is more imp? State or Human?
  - Security from what? From state or non-state?
- Security theories are broadly divided into 2 groups:
  - Instrumentalist theories : Liberalism, Realism, Marxism
  - Reflexivist / Reflectivist theories
    - ↳ Feminism, Social constructivist, Critical school & Copenhagen school
    - \* Imp
- Reflectivist theories focus on norms, values, culture as a means of acquiring security.

Security of whom?

Security from what?

	Security of	Security from	How
Realist	State	Other states	- Balance of Power, - Deterrence
Liberal theories	State & people	Protectionism, Anarchy, Suppression of democracy	- Collective Security, - Promotion of free trade - Security Community - Promote

Marxist	People (ensure their welfare)	Capitalists	Abolition of Capitalism
Feminists	Women	Patriarchy & Wars	End Patriarchy & bring women's perspective in IR.
Critical School (Neo-Marxist)	Humans	State & Capitalism	By ending territorial boundaries & creating moral boundaries
Social constructivist	Humans	the way we think	By changing the way we think i.e. by promoting communication

→ Copenhagen school by Barry Buzan

- He has given two ideas:

- i) Idea of Securitization

- ii) Multi-dimensional view of security

- The concept of Securitization is influenced by the Foucault's concept of discourse. Acc. to Buzan, security is a speech act i.e. how we speak about any issue. Acc. to Buzan, any issue can be an issue of security if the leaders & the people talk about the issue in a specific way

- Issues can get securitised & de-securitised depending on how we talk about it. When any issue get securitised, it starts getting lot of attention & other issues get sidelined.

Eg: Impression in India is that terrorism is the biggest security threat but report reveals that more no. of people lose their lives in road accident

Thus, the issue of terrorism is being securitised by the policy-makers in India.

- In most of the situations, the govt tries to divert the attention of the people from real issue. Thus, Susan that suggested that while considering the security concerns, the need is to focus on who is speaking & what they are speaking about.

### Multi-dimensional view of security

- Under this view of security, we have to look towards the issue of security in a comprehensive manner & he has given 5 pillars of security:
  - political
  - economic
  - socio-cultural
  - ecological
  - military

The Copenhagen School comes very near to the school of Social constructivist i.e. anarchy is a state of mind.

### → Security Dilemma

- Acc. to this concept, it is the state in the world system that is believed to provide security but it is the state itself who is threatening the security & this paradox of state system is called security dilemma.
- Acc. to the Post-Colonial scholars, more than security dilemma what prevails in the third world countries is insecurity dilemma as in these states internal threats are a bigger challenge than external threats.
- ∴ Acc. to Post-Colonial scholars, security dilemma is the narrative of the west.

## security Dilemma

Realists	B/w states	Balance of power
Liberals	exists	Complex interdependence
Social constructivists	in mind	change mind
Post - Colonial	Insecurity - dilemma - III world countries	
	Security Dilemma - West	

