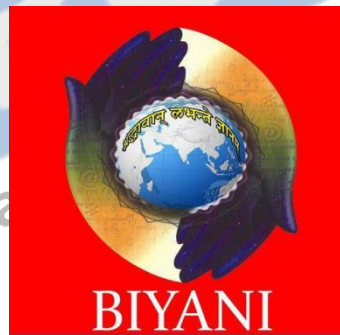


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Concept based notes  
**Under Graduation Program (B.A sem - 1)**  
**With**  
**Political Science**  
**(Paper I- Foundation of Political Science)**  
**(As per NEP 2020)**

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## **BA SEM I Political science**

### **Paper 1 (Foundation of Political Science)**

#### **Syllabus**

##### **Unit 1**

Traditional and Contemporary Perspective of Political Science, Behaviouralism and Post-Behaviouralism, Interdisciplinary Approach, Relation of Political Science with Other Social Science, Concept: Power, Authority, Legitimacy.

##### **Unit 2**

Constitutionalism, Democracy and Dictatorship, Unitary and federal govt., parliamentary and presidential govt., Political Parties, Pressure Groups

##### **UNIT 3**

Theories Of Representations, Rule Of Law And Organs Of Government And Their Functions, Political System, Political Development, Political Modernization, Political culture and socialization

##### **Unit 4**

Political Ideologies: Liberalism, Idealism, Marxism, Anarchism and Feminism.

## UNIT 1

### Short Questions :-

#### **Q.1 Define behaviouralism?**

**Ans.** Behaviouralism is an approach in political science that emerged in the 1930s in the United States. It represented a sharp break from previous approaches in emphasizing an objective, quantified approach to explain and predict political behavior.

#### **Q.2 Critically examines the main features of the modern political science in flow chart?**

**Ans.** A new movement was ushered in by a group of political scientists in America government and state as they felt that tremendous exploration had occurred in other social sciences like sociology, psychology anthropology etc. which when applied to the political issues could render new insights. They now collect data relating to actual political happenings. Statistical information coupled with the actual behaviours of men, individually and collectively, may help the political scientists in arriving at definite conclusions and predicting things correctly in political matters. The quantitative or who were not satisfied with the traditional approach to the analysis of statistical method, the systems approach or simulation approach in political science base their inquiry on scientific data and as such are known as modern or empirical.

#### **Q3 Explain characteristic of traditional political approach?**

1. Political theory is generally the creation on individual thinker based on his moral and intellectual position and when propounding his theory he is looking explain the events, phenomenon and the mysteries generally of mankind's political life.
2. A political theory attempts to provide explanations on questions relating to mankind, the societies he formed and history and historical events generally. It also suggests ways of resolving conflicts and sometimes even advocates revolutions. There are also often predictions made about the future.
3. Political theory thus is also sometimes not only providing explanations and predictions but also sometimes actively influencing and participating in historical events particularly when they propose political action of a particular kind and that line of action is widely adopted. The great positive liberal thinker Harold Laski had commented that the task of political theorists is not merely of description but also of prescription on what ought to be.
4. Political theory is also usually discipline based and thought he subject of study remains the same the theorist might be a philosopher, historian, economist, theologian or a sociologist etc.

#### **Q.4 Explain power, authority and legitimacy.**

**Ans.** Whereas authority denotes a specific position in an established government, the term legitimacy denotes a system of government—wherein government denotes "sphere of influence". An authority viewed as legitimate often has the right and justification to exercise power.

## **Long Questions:-**

### **Q. 1. Discuss the nature and scope of political science according to traditional and modern views**

Ans: Meaning Man is a social animal. He cannot live in isolation, because he is not self-sufficient and the natural instinct to survive compels him to live a collective life. According to Aristotle, this collective life necessitates a political mechanism of rules, regulations and leadership. An organized society needs some system to make and enforce rules for orderly behavior in society. This led to the evolution of a political system with elaborate governmental institutions & procedures in each society. Therefore, man is also a political animal. Political science is one of the oldest subjects of study of this political life of man.

#### **Nature**

Politics is not only a mere institution of governance but also a mechanism for achieving societal goals. Nature of Political Science is a social science concerned with the theory and practice of politics and the description and analysis of political systems and political behavior. It includes matters concerning the allocation and transfer of power in decision making, the roles and systems of governance including governments and international organizations, political behavior and public policies. Political science is thus a study of the state in the past, present and future of political organization, political processes and political functions of political institutions and political theories.

Political science has several sub fields, including: political theory, public policy, national politics, international relations , human rights, environment politics and comparative politics.

#### **Origin**

The antecedents of Western politics can trace their roots back to Greek thinkers Socrates, Plato (427–347 BC) and Aristotle (384–322 BC). The studies were philosophy oriented. Plato wrote The Republic and Aristotle wrote the Politics. Aristotle is known as the Father of Political Science. He is famous for his statement “Man is a political animal”. The word ‘ politics ‘ is derived from the Greek word ‘polis’, which means a city state.

Nature Of Political Science ,During the height of the Roman Empire, famous historians documented the rise of the Roman Republic, and the organization and histories of other nations, while statesmen like Julius Caesar, Cicero and others provided us with examples of the politics of the republic and Rome’s empire and wars. The study of politics during this age was oriented toward understanding history, understanding methods of governing, and describing the operation of governments. During the Middle Ages, the study of politics was widespread in the churches and courts. Saint Thomas Aquinas was an important political thinker of this period. During the Italian

Renaissance, Niccolo Machiavelli established the emphasis of modern political science on direct empirical observation of political institutions and actors. His famous book, “The Prince” is a guide to modern realist politics. Other famous men of this period were Thomas Hobbes John Locke &

Rousseau (Social contract theory). Important figures in American politics of this period were Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson.

In ancient India, the antecedents of politics can be traced back to the Rig Veda, Samhitas, Brahmanas, the Mahabharata and Buddhist Pali Canon. Chanakya (c.350-275 BC) was a political thinker in Takshashila.

He wrote the Arthashastra, a treatise on political thought, economics and social order, which can be considered a precursor to Machiavelli's The Prince. It discusses monetary and fiscal policies, welfare, international relations, and war strategies in detail, among other topics. Manusmriti, dated to about two centuries after the time of Chanakya is another important political treatise of ancient India. Definitions

1. From the traditional point of view we may define political science as "the study of the state and government in all their manifestations, aspects and relationships". In this sense, politics can be domestic, national, federal, municipal or international.

These early definitions of political science dealt generally with state and government.

a. J.W. Garner: "Political Science begins and ends with the state", "Politics is the study of State & Government".

## **Q.2 What do you understand by behaviourism? Critically evaluate its characteristics.**

**Ans:** Behaviouralism (or behavioralism) is an approach in political science that emerged in the 1930s in the United States. It represented a sharp break from previous approaches in emphasizing an objective, quantified approach to explain and

predict political behaviour. It is associated with the rise of the behavioural sciences, modeled after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism claims it can explain political behaviour from an unbiased, neutral point of view.

Behaviouralists seek to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals – rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries – and groups in different social settings and explain this behavior as it relates to the political system.

. From 1942 through the 1970s, behaviouralism gained support. It was probably Dwight Waldo who coined the term for the first time in a book called "Political Science in the United States" which was released in 1956. It was David Easton however who popularized the term. It was the site of discussion between traditionalist and new emerging approaches to political science. The origins of behaviouralism is often attributed to the work of University of Chicago professor Charles Merriam who in the 1920s and 1930s, emphasized the importance of examining political behaviour of individuals and groups rather than only considering how they abide by legal or formal rules.

Prior to the "behaviouralist revolution", political science being a science at all was disputed. Critics saw the study of politics as being primarily qualitative and normative, and claimed that it lacked a scientific method necessary to be deemed a

science. Behaviouralists used strict methodology and empirical research to validate their study as a social science. The behaviouralist approach was innovative because it changed the attitude of the purpose of inquiry. It moved toward research that was supported by verifiable facts. In the period of 1954-

63, Gabriel Almond spread behaviouralism to comparative politics by creation of a committee in SSRC. During its rise in popularity in the 1960s and '70s, behaviouralism challenged the realist and liberal approaches, which the behaviouralists called

"traditionalism", and other studies of political behaviour that was not based on fact.

To understand political behaviour, behaviouralism uses the following methods: sampling, interviewing, scoring and scaling and statistical analysis.

Behaviouralism studies how individuals behave in group positions realistically rather than how they should behave. For example, a study of the United States Congress might include a consideration of how members of Congress behave in their positions. The subject of interest is how Congress becomes an 'arena of actions' and the surrounding formal and informal spheres of power.

David Easton was the first to differentiate behaviouralism

from behaviourism in the 1950s (behaviourism is the term mostly associated with psychology). In the early 1940s, behaviourism itself was referred to as a behavioural science and later referred to as behaviourism. However, Easton sought to differentiate between the two disciplines.

Behavioralism was not a clearly defined movement for those who were thought to be behavioralists. It was more clearly definable by those who were opposed to it, because they were describing it in terms of the things within the newer trends that they found objectionable. So some would define behavioralism as an attempt to apply the methods of natural sciences to human behavior.

Others would define it as an excessive emphasis upon quantification. Others as individualistic reductionism. From the inside, the practitioners were of different minds as what it was that constituted behavioralism. And few of us were in agreement.

With this in mind, behaviouralism resisted a single

definition. Dwight Waldo emphasized that behaviouralism itself is unclear, calling it "complicated" and "obscure." Easton agreed, stating, "every man puts his own emphasis and thereby becomes his own behaviouralist" and attempts to completely define behaviouralism are fruitless. From the beginning, behaviouralism

was a political, not a scientific concept. Moreover, since behaviouralism is not a research tradition, but a political movement, definitions of behaviouralism follow what behaviouralists wanted. Therefore, most introductions to the subject emphasize value-free research. This is evidenced by Easton's eight "intellectual foundation stones" of behaviouralism.

1. Regularities - The generalization and explanation of regularities.
2. Commitment to Verification - The ability to verify ones generalizations.
3. Techniques - An experimental attitude toward techniques.
4. Quantification - Express results as numbers where possible or meaningful.
5. Values - Keeping ethical assessment and empirical explanations distinct.
6. Systemization - Considering the importance of theory in research.
7. Pure Science - Deferring to pure science rather than applied science.
8. Integration - Integrating social sciences and value.

The approach has come under fire from both conservatives and radicals for the purported value-neutrality. Conservatives see the distinction between values and facts as a way of undermining the possibility of political philosophy Neal Riemer believes behaviouralism dismisses "the task of ethical

recommendation" because behaviouralists believe "truth or falsity of values (democracy, equality, and freedom, etc.) cannot be established scientifically and are beyond the scope of legitimate

inquiry."

Christian Bay believed behaviouralism was a pseudopolitical science and that it did not represent "genuine" political

research. Bay objected to empirical consideration taking precedence over normative and moral examination of politics.

Behaviouralism initially represented a movement away from "naive empiricism", but as an approach has been criticized for "naive scientism". Additionally, radical critics believe that the separation of fact from value makes the empirical study of politics impossible.

### **Q. 3. Examine the factors responsible for the emergence of postbehaviorism.**

#### **Ans: Post-Behaviouralism Defined:**

Easton believed that in the thirties and forties the prevailing situation inspired him and some others to propound a doctrine which is called behaviouralism. Similarly, from the S. W. W. right up to the end of sixties new situation arose which could not be tackled by behaviouralism. Hence, there arose the need for a new ideology and this was post-behavioural revolution.

It has aptly been observed by Easton that if behaviouralism could be regarded as the product of dissatisfaction with traditional research, post-behaviouralism was itself a sign of mounting discontent with important aspects of the behavioural revolution. The purpose of post-behavioural revolution was to improve the acceptability and reliability of political understanding and explanation about the prevailing situation.

The post-behavioural revolution went out in search of new methods and techniques which would be able to explain the new problems and situation and make recommendations. The transition from behaviouralism to post-behaviouralism was not merely an eyewash or a showcase. The very subject matter of post-behaviouralism underwent remarkable changes as well as the methods of analysis.

Easton writes: "many post behaviouralists are turning from the problematic of methods to unsettling questions about the subject matter of research and from the quest for explanation to doubts about the uses of political knowledge.

Priorities for research are being reassessed without behavioural objectives necessarily being abandoned".

David Easton has said that political science is a subject which is enriched by continuous research and behaviouralism is a sub-subject in that continuous process. Again, post-behaviouralism is again a state of that continuity. It is linked with the earlier stage. Easton calls both behaviouralism and post-behavioural revolution as profoundly connected with each other. It is an evolutionary discipline. Post-behavioural revolution only denotes a "change in emphasis". But Easton avoids what would be the exact degree of emphasis.



## **Factors Contributing to Emergence:**

1. Several factors have contributed to the emergence of post-behaviouralism and one such factor is the change in interest of behaviouralists. Easton, in his article has said that, like the behaviouralists, the post-behaviouralists also took active interests in voting behaviour of individuals, formation of political opinion, activities of legislature and judiciary etc. But the range of interests expanded several times in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In the sixties and seventies new problems and issues arose in the U.S.A and in other parts of the globe. The outside issues created clear impact upon politics and economics of the USA. The behaviouralists could not keep themselves away from all these problems and issues and they began to respond academically to all these which resulted in the emergence of a new doctrine known as post-behaviouralism.

Some of the issues are the emergence of Cold War and its collapse, the rise of turbulent situation in the USA in the wake of Vietnam War, the breakup of former Soviet Union and the formation of a dozen independent republics in its place, premature collapse of communism in Soviet Union and eastern

European states, revolt of the black people against the whites, emergence of feminism, rapprochement between USA and Russia. All these political—and to some extent non-political—issues stirred American internal political condition.

2. The intellect and academic interests of a large number of political scientists were inspired by the new conditions and many of them were determined to face the situation. Sub-group and caucus were formed. From the history of the development of behaviouralism we came to know that American Political Science Association (APSA) took the leading part in propagating the doctrine of behaviouralism. In changed circumstances a sizeable section of the APSA readers and organisers fought vigorously to accommodate themselves to the new situation and they ardently desired to revise behaviouralism. This group formed a caucus. The caucus clearly announced that the purpose of political science would be to take steps for the alleviation of poverty and oppression, improvement of the living condition of common people and help the under-privileged and not to propagate doctrine or to indoctrinate general public.

The behaviouralism failed to achieve this objective and neobehaviouralists turned their attention to the above-noted objective. Not only the caucus, a large number of political scientists believed that political science must have noble objectives without which it cannot survive and flourish at all.

3. In the first few decades of the twentieth century Marxism made a strident appeal to a sizeable section of intellectual community and this created a panic in the minds of many Americans. They were in search of an alternative doctrine which could successfully combat Marxism.

The most opportune moment appeared with the onset of demise, or temporary collapse of Marxism in erstwhile Soviet Union and some other countries.

Behaviouralism, along with other liberal political doctrines, were vigorously advocated and that favourable atmosphere provided potentialities for the blossoming of behaviouralism which came to be known as -post- behaviouralism.

Easton observes: "With the dissolution of the USSR and the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe, the viability of Marxism as a philosophy and analytic approach has come into more serious question than ever before".

4. Though Marx and Engels throughout their life stridently advocated for the withering away of state the implementation of Marxism in Russia taught us a different lesson. In Russia and some other socialist states the state became so powerful that individuals and various organisations were forced to be perpetrated at the altar of the state. The behaviouralists of the seventies strongly felt the need to change it.

There must exist a state but not in the Marxian sense. The state is a useful actor, but the individuals must have precedence over it. The importance of the state declined. The post-behaviouralists were not also content with the term "state". Several new terms were circulated and some of them are political system, interest articulation, interest aggregation, elitism etc. "The result is that post-behaviouralism differs from behavioural stage in its general tone".

5. In the 1970s democracy, in the USA, came to be viewed with a new outlook. The behaviouralists started their analysis about voters' behaviour and people's interest on the issues about which decisions have been taken. But some political scientists began to analyse democracy in a new way and it is not enough to discuss the issues about which decisions have been taken.

But there are numerous issues on which no decisions have been taken. Even the executive organ of the government has not taken them seriously. A good and future oriented democracy badly needs the comprehension of all of them into its fold. There are many problems and issues which remain outside the purview of authority. The behaviouralists of the 1970s were not apathetic to them.

For future development of society and solution of peoples problems all of them should be properly dealt with. This approach changed the whole panorama of democracy, society and the outlook of political scientists. Docks were cleared for the arrival of a new political doctrine and it is post- behaviouralism.

6. Counter-cultural movement can be designated as another cause of the rise of post-behaviouralism. Counter-cultural movement found an important place in political science and this sizeably changed the mood of many. "In one sense" says Easton, "the counter-cultural movement achieved many of its goals. It brought about fundamental reorientations in worldwide

perceptions of important issues. Environmental pollution, poverty, sexual equality, feminist perspectives, freedom in forms of personal dress and appearance, the new so-called style or non-material issues came to the political fore-ground”.

The issues were popular and very catchy. Many top ranking political scientists could not overlook the importance of all these issues. They wanted to include them into their analyses and in this way post-behaviouralism earned the status of reality. In summary form, the post-behaviouralism can reasonably be called a consequence of the various burning issues that tormented the mind and actions of people.

#### **Q.4 why does he believe in post-behaviouralism has been clarified:**

1. According to Easton, the first credo is substance must be given priority over technique. There is immense utility and importance of sophisticated techniques shall be allowed to overshadow the substance or purpose of political science. That is why Easton has said, “Substance must precede technique”.

The importance and relevance of this credo has been stated by Easton in the following words: “For the aphorism of science that it is better to be wrong than vague, post-behaviouralism would substitute a new dictum that it is better to be vague than non-relevantly precise”.

2. Earlier behaviouralism was criticised on the ground that it aims at maintaining the status quo of the existing structure of society. But post-behaviouralism has turned away its attention from this perception. This new doctrine has no intention to proceed empirically to protect the conservativeness.

The purpose of post-behaviouralism is to accelerate the social change. Of course post-behaviouralism here will apply improved scientific methods. “To confine oneself exclusively to the description and analysis of facts in their broadest context. As a result empirical political science must lend its support to the maintenance of the very factual conditions it explores. It unwittingly purveys an ideology of social conservatism tempered by modest incremental change”.

3. Easton admits that behaviouralism committed a blunder by not giving any recognition to the brute realities of society. The result was that both the approach and conclusion of behaviouralism was characterised by unreality. Post-behaviouralism wants to rectify this blunder by giving proper recognition to the real situation which Easton calls “Brute reality”. “The task of post-behaviouralism is to break the barriers of silence that behavioural language necessarily has created and to help political science reach out to the real needs of mankind in a time of crisis”.

4. Behaviouralism paid excessive emphasis on scientific methods and value-free analysis and

this resulted in a biased view of political science. But for a proper and balanced analysis it is essential that both empirical and scientific research as well as value added analysis shall be combined together. Behaviouralists made a grave injustice to political science by keeping a way value judgment from its purview. Post- behaviouralism does not wish to repeat it.

5. Dealing with the credo of relevance Easton has placed before us an explosive issue—the exact role of the intellectuals. The duty of the intellectuals is to formulate principles and build up fabric of an academic discipline and while doing so they must “protect the human values of civilisation”. The failure to achieve this coveted goal will bring them at par with the technician and mechanics. But intellectuals and technicians are not of the same category. To protect the value of civilisation is the unique task and obligation of the intellectuals.

#### **4. What is the meaning of interdisciplinary approach ?Mention its main features.**

**Interdisciplinary** study allows for synthesis of ideas and **the** synthesis of **characteristics** from many disciplines. At the same time it addresses students' individual differences and helps to develop important, transferable skills.

Interdisciplinary approaches and problem-based learning have permeated all disciplines, with a growing realization that multiple literacies are necessary to fully understand a given subject. The current frameworks for both scientific literacy and information literacy discussed in this chapter embrace the trends of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary research in the sciences and have the capacity and elasticity to reflect the complexity of this collaborative research. Below are some examples of interdisciplinary coursework topics that undergraduate students may commonly encounter. A philosophy course that discusses ethics in agriculture as communicated through popular media, including the growing globalization of food, the role of technology in agricultural production, and the rights and responsibilities of consumers and producers (Barnhill, Budolfson, & Doggett, 2016).

An interdisciplinary approach and deals with analysis of sets of interacting entities and the interactions within those systems. Soil micromorphology has largely contributed to deciphering of palaeosoils and relict soils, but its potential is far from exhausted. Soil micromorphology is at present commonly applied in investigations of palaeosoils and relict soils. Palaeosoils are soils of obvious antiquity. Palaeosoils are very rarely preserved as complete and undisturbed profiles. Some discontinuities are easy to identify in the field, such as truncations, stone lines and the superimposition of allochthonous materials on pedogenic horizons. Soil micromorphology contributes only indirectly to dating of palaeosoil development. Soil micromorphology cannot replace radiometric dates and stratigraphic correlations, but the lifetime of a polyphase palaeosoil can be estimated from the number and nature of pedogenic phases detected.

The full understanding of the nature of rocky, airless bodies requires a highly interdisciplinary approach. Material is pulled from the majority of the physical sciences, including physics, astronomy, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, and more. The following concepts form the basis (although not the entirety) of what the reader will be expected to have some familiarity with upon starting this book. Basics are generally that which is covered in undergraduate physics,

astronomy, and geoscience classes. The additional reading and references list at the end of this chapter (and all chapters) provides additional reference sources for much of this basic information.

## **Interdisciplinary teaching**

**Interdisciplinary** is a method of educational instruction whereby a student learns about a single topic or issue from a variety of different viewpoints. For example, if a student is learning about tourism in the United States in an interdisciplinary way, they may learn about the revenue generated from tourism in an economics class, the most popular tourist sites in a geography class, historical tourism trends in a history course and effective advertising strategies for tourism agencies in a marketing class.

**Interdisciplinary** refers to the concept of learning a single subject from multiple perspectives. Proven to boost learning outcomes and enthusiasm around learning, interdisciplinary teaching allows students to think critically, identify their own prejudices, accept the unknown and respect ethical quandaries. It also enables students to understand insights from different disciplines, synthesize information surrounding a topic and, ultimately, offers a more complete understanding of an issue. Interdisciplinary teaching goes beyond multi-disciplinary or cross-disciplinary teaching, which only requires the consideration of different perspectives, and often requires collaboration between multiple educators to properly execute

## **UNIT 2**

### **What does constitutionalism mean?**

Constitutionalism is the act of specifying that a country should be governed by strict guidelines or the governing document. A constitution is a document that describes the specific guidelines and actions that must be followed in order to govern and run a country.

### **What is the difference between a pressure group and a political party?**

we will need to understand such terminology and the conceptual difference. So let's start with knowing what is a pressure group and a political party before we get into the difference between the pressure group and political party. Pressure groups are groups that are formed due to the common interest. They promote and defend the common interest. A **political party** may refer to a voluntary organised group of dedicated individuals with similar political ideology. They nominate the candidate, contest elections and win power over the government. It is commonly juxtaposed with **pressure groups** which imply a collection of like-minded people, who come together to promote and defend a common objective, by continuously striving to influence the decision of the government.

## **What is the difference between democracy vs Dictatorship?**

Democracy vs dictatorship is a topic that has been debated for centuries. While both forms of government have their pros and cons, it's important to understand the fundamental differences between the two. Democracy is a system of government where power is vested in the people, either directly or through elected representatives.

## **What are the three organs of government?**

- The Legislature, Executive and Judiciary are the three organs of the government. The functions of each are It forms laws and procedures, along with examining the administration and its resolutions. The chief function of the legislature is to enact laws. It is the basis for the functioning of the other two organs, the executive and the judiciary.

## **What powers do state governments have?**

- State governments have the sole power to legislate on such subjects as law and order, public health and sanitation, local government, betting and gambling, and taxation on agricultural income, entertainment, and alcoholic beverages. The items on the concurrent list include those on which both the union government and state governments

## **What type of government does India have?**

- India has a quasi-federal form of government, called "union" or "central" government, with elected officials at the union, state and local levels. At the national level, the head of government, the prime minister, is appointed by the president of India from the party or coalition that has the majority of seats in the Lok Sabha.

## **What is a parliamentary system?**

- In a parliamentary system, executive and the legislature are interdependent: the legislature controls the executive, and, in turn, is controlled by the executive. In this chapter we shall discuss the composition, structure and function of the executive organ of the government.

## **What is the main function of the legislature?**

- The chief function of the legislature is to enact laws. It is the basis for the functioning of the other two organs, the executive and the judiciary. It is also sometimes accorded the first place among the three organs because until and unless laws are enacted, there can be no implementation and application of laws.

## UNIT 3

### Short questions :-

#### **Q.1 Why political parties are essential for democracy?**

Ans: Political parties are essential institutions of democracy. By competing in elections parties offer citizens a choice in governance, and while in opposition they can hold governments accountable. When citizens join political parties, volunteer their time, donate money and vote for their leaders, they are exercising their basic democratic rights. Participation of citizens in political parties offers unique benefits, including opportunities to influence policy choices, choose and engage political leaders, and run for office. However, in some countries political parties do not respect the rights of citizens to participate and are not accountable to voters. NDI supports the development of vibrant, accountable and inclusive multiparty systems that offer citizens meaningful choices and opportunities for political participation. The Institute's work includes knowledge and resource sharing, and aims to expand the participation of marginalized groups including: women, youth, ethnic and racial minorities, persons with disabilities, and gender and sexual minorities. NDI's assistance reaches across party organizations.

Constitutionalism is a political philosophy based on the idea that government authority is derived from the people and should be limited by a constitution that clearly expresses what the government can and cannot do. The Magna Carta set an early precedent for English constitutionalism

#### **Q.2 Define and explain political modernization theory ?**

Ans: The political modernization is modernization in the political field. It is a manifestation of modernization phenomena. The political modernization theory is a theory on the political modernization phenomena. It is a field-based theory of the modernization theories. It roughly encompasses three sets of theories: classic political modernization theory, general political modernization theory, and political remarks of different modernization theories.

### **1. Classic Political Modernization Theory**

The classic political modernization theory, as an important branch of the classic modernization theory, came into being around the 1950s and 1960s. It is marked by the publication of several books by American political scientists, including *The Political System* (Easton 1953), *The Politics of Developing Areas* (Almond, Coleman 1960), *Political modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Ward, Rustow 1964), *The Politics of Modernization* (Apter 1965), *Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship* (Moore 1966), and *Political Order in Changing Society* (Huntington 1968). The political modernization study has produced numerous documents, but so far, the classic political modernization theory does not have a universally acknowledged, systematic exposition of its general theory.

Generally speaking, there are two origins of the classic political modernization theory: the study

and interpretation of political modernization by political scientists, and the study and interpretation of political modernization by modernization researchers in non-political fields (such as history and sociology). If we combine their research topics and ideas, we can extract the structure of classic political modernization theory, and summarize its general theory, including its definition, process, outcomes, dynamics, and models.

<b>Aspect</b>	<b>Basic content</b>
Definition	The classic political modernization is the political changes during the classic modernization process; it is the transition from political politics to modern politics and from autocratic politics to democratic politics
Process	The classic political modernization is a historical process, which includes the rationalization and secularization of political authorities, differentiation and specialization of political structure, democratization and institutionalization of political participation, high efficiency and justification of government management, etc.
Outcomes	The outcomes of classic political modernization are mainly the formation and diffusion of classic political modernity. The characteristics of modern politics are summarized into classic political modernity, including such characteristics as democratic, differentiated, high-efficiency, rule of law, bureaucratic, professional, secular, rational, popular, etc.

### **General theory of classic political modernization**

Dynamics	The classic political modernization is influenced by many factors such as economic, social, cultural, technological factors and international relations.
Models	The development paths and models of classic political modernization feature diversity and path dependence, and are influenced by historical, geographical, and objective conditions, as manifested in diversity of political modernization paths, political systems, and democracy patterns.

## **2. General Political Modernization Theory**

The general political modernization theory is a theoretical interpretation of the political



modernization phenomena from the 18th to the 21st century. It is the application of the second modernization theory in the political field and was first put forward by Chinese scholar He Chuanqi. The general political modernization theory includes the general theory, branch theories, and related theories. Our current knowledge of the second political modernization and integrated political modernization is limited. The general political modernization theory still has great development space.

First, the definition of political modernization.

The political modernization is a manifestation of modernization in the political field. Connotations of political modernization are as follows: political modernization refers to a type of frontier change and international competition in the political field since the industrial revolution in the 18th century, covering the formation, development, transformation, and international interaction of modern politics, the innovation, selection, propagation, and withdrawal of political elements, as well as the international political competition and national stratification in which countries endeavor to catch up with, reach, and keep up with the world advanced level.

Denotations of political modernization are as follows: political modernization includes the modernization of political behaviors, structures, systems and ideas, the modernization of political life, systems, and culture, the modernization of political participation, national governance, international politics, and political environment, the modernization of stage-specific, level-specific, and sector-specific politics, the interaction between modernization in politics and that in other fields, and the change of temporal and spatial distribution of political modernization.

Generally speaking, political modernization refers to the global frontiers of political changes as well as the action and process of reaching and keeping up with the global frontiers. It includes the two transitions from traditional politics to modern politics and from modern politics to post-modern politics, the justification and democratization of political power, the legalization and equalization of political participation, institutionalization and specialization of political systems, rationalization and high-efficiency development of political behaviors, etc.

Political modernization is the intersection of political changes and modernization. Obviously, not all political changes belong to political modernization. Generally speaking, political modernization refers to the political changes that are conducive to the rationalization and equalization of political participation, democratization and high efficiency of national governance, and freedom, emancipation, and all-round development of mankind.

Generally, political modernization comes from three sources, namely, inheritance, transition, and innovation. It poses different requirements in different periods of time and in different sub-fields. In a nutshell, the basic requirements of the first political modernization include democratization of politics, rationalization of power, bureaucratization of organization, and promotion of economic and social development; the basic requirements of the second political modernization include diversification of politics, knowledge-based power, network-based organization, and promotion of all-round development of mankind.

### **Basic requirements of political modernization**

Item	Requirements of the first political modernization	Requirements of the second political modernization
Time	About 1760 to 1970	About 1970 to 2100
Political participation	Equalization, legalization, rationalization	Pluralization, individualization, internationalization
National governance	Democratization, specialization, high efficiency	Servitization, network-based, transparent
International politics	Institutionalization, rationalization, specialization	Democratization, pluralization, ecologicalization
Political environment	Economic and social development	All-round development of mankind

Generally speaking, political development includes political progress and positive political adaptation, and political modernization is the intersection of political development, political transformation, international political interaction, and the change of international status.

Second,

### The process of political modernization

Political modernization is a long and complicated historical process. The track of political modernization from the 18th to the 21st century can be divided into two parts, and the two parts of political modernization have different connotations.

### Two general political modernizations

Item	The first political modernization	The second political modernization
Time	About 1760 to 1970	About 1970 to 2100
Political democracy	Parliamentary democracy, mass democracy, social democracy, centralized	Decentralized, plural, dialogue-based democracy, inclusive democracy, direct democracy, network-based democracy, consultative democracy

Political conflicts	Class- and power- based conflicts, strikes, and hostility between employers and employees	Reduction of conflicts that are based on class and wealth distribution, increase of conflicts that are based on ecological and technological risks
Political issues	Economy, class, wealth, rights, wars, political parties	Increase of issues on life, ecology, risks, safety, sexual concepts, and civil rights

Participation ways	Political party, vote, social movement, political organizations	Voters do not care about general voting, but care about issues that interest them
Political power	Secular authority, state authority, constitutional power, institutional power	Decline of government authority, decentralization of power, individualization, emancipation of man
Nature of politics	State sovereignty, power politics, class politics	Internationalization trend of political issues, service politics, civic politics
Form of politics	Collective, confrontational, centralized, class-related, violent	Individualized, non-confrontational, de-centralized, non-class-related, peaceful

The first political modernization is the transition process from traditional politics to the modern politics and from autocratic politics to democratic politics, as well as the accompanying profound changes. It includes the transition from feudal politics to public politics, from religious politics to secular politics, from family politics to civil politics, from aristocratic politics to class politics, from autocratic politics to legal politics, from agricultural politics to industrial politics, etc. Its characteristics include political differentiation, democratization, justification, bureaucratization, legalization, secularization, institutionalization, systematization, professionalization, popularization, rationalization, equalization, liberalization, specialization, class stratification, controlled by political party, civic, and organized.

The second political modernization is the transition process from modern politics to post-modern politics and from power politics to service politics as well as the accompanying profound changes. It includes the transition from state politics to international politics, from centralized politics to decentralized politics, from class

politics to civic politics, from elite politics to commoner politics, from material politics to ecological politics, from physical politics to cyber politics, from simple democracy to consultative democracy, from information control to information disclosure, from industrial politics to knowledge politics, etc. Its current characteristics include knowledge, pluralism, informatization, networking, individualization, greenization, ecologicalization, decentralization, dispersion, issue-orientation, internationalization, servitization, marketization, openness, transparency, and automation; there will be new development in the future.

If we say that the first political modernization is the primary political modernization and the transition from traditional politics to primary modern politics, then the second political modernization is advanced political modernization and the transition from primary modern politics to advanced modern politics; the coordinated development of the two political modernizations is integrated political modernization. In the 22nd century, there are bound to be new changes in political modernization.

Political modernization has different features in different sub-fields and political sectors.

The political modernization process has roughly 12 features: non-linear, reversible, diversified, predictable, path-dependence, multi-path, confrontational, systematic, stage-specific, global, complicated, and long-term.

The political modernization is a manifestation of modernization and follows the 10 basic principles of modernization.

Third, the outcomes of political modernization.

Since the 1950s, the outcomes and objectives of political modernization have been interrelated and the interrelationship is gradually reinforced.

The outcomes of political modernization generally include the formation of political modernity, uniqueness, diversity, and side effects, as well as the profound changes in political participation, national governance, international politics, and political environment.

The outcome of the first political modernization is the formation of the first political modernity, uniqueness, and diversity, manifesting such features as democratic, justified, bureaucratic, rule of law, centralized, secular, specialized, and high efficiency, with such side effects as political corruption.

The outcome of the second political modernization is the formation of the second modernity, uniqueness, and diversity, currently manifesting such features as pluralistic, personalized, green, network-based, decentralized, knowledge-intensive, information-intensive, international, service-based, and transparent, with such side effects as decline of political reputation.

The outcomes of political modernization involve profound changes in six aspects. They are as follows: the completion of the two political transformations, the legalization and equalization of political participation, the justification and institutionalization of political systems and political structures, the democratization and rationalization of political systems and political ideas, the

scientific and high-efficiency implementation of government administration and public policies, the institutionalization and democratization of international politics and international relations, etc. These changes occur in the fields of political participation, national governance, and international politics.

From the theoretical perspective, political modernization has three objectives. The first is to complete the first political modernization; the second is to complete the second political modernization; and the third is to improve national capability of international political interaction.

In terms of policy-making, there are three major objectives: to achieve legalization and equalization of political participation; to achieve democratization and high efficiency of national governance; and to realize the protection of civil rights and all-round development of mankind. These objectives can be further elaborated as they have rich connotations.

### **Explain the various theories of Representation.**

#### **Models of representation**

Models of representation refer to ways in which elected officials behave in representative democracies. There are three main types: delegate, trustee, and politico.

#### **Delegate model**

Main article: [Delegate model of representation](#)

A delegate is someone who is elected to represent and convey the views of others. The delegate model of representation suggests that representatives have little or no capacity to exercise their own judgement or preferences. They are merely elected to be the mouthpiece of their constituency and act only the way their constituents would want them to, regardless of their own opinion.

Joseph Tussman stated, "The essence of representation is the delegation or granting of authority. To authorize a representative is to grant another the right to act for oneself. Within the limits of the grant of authority one is, in fact, committing himself in advance to the decision or will of another".

#### **Trustee model**

Main article: [Trustee model of representation](#)

A trustee is someone who acts on behalf of others, using their knowledge, experience and intelligence upon a certain field. The trustee model contrasts with the delegate model as this time constituents "entrust" their elected representatives to represent them however they see fit, with autonomy to vote and behave in the best way for their constituents.

Edmund Burke, who formulated the model, stated in a speech, "You choose a member

indeed; but when you have chosen him he is not member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament...your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgement; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your own opinion".

### **Politico model**

The politico model came about when theorists recognised that representatives rarely consistently act as just a delegate or just a trustee when representing their constituents. It is a hybrid of the two models discussed above and involves representatives acting as delegates and trustees, depending on the issue.

### **Other models**

The **mandate model** views representatives as less independent actors. This came about after the emergence of modern political parties; now constituents rarely vote for a representative based on their personal qualities but more broadly, they vote for their party to be elected into government. A mandate is an order or instruction from a superior body therefore this model suggests representatives follow the party line and must carry out policies outlined during election campaigns

The **resemblance model** is less concerned about the way representatives are selected and more concerned whether they resemble the group they claim to represent. It is similar to descriptive representation, they argue that to represent a group of people such as the working class or women to its full potential you must be part of that social group yourself. Therefore, only people who have shared experiences and interests can fully identify with particular issues.

### **Types of representation**

An alternative way of considering types of representation is as follows:

#### **Substantive representation**

Under representative democracy, **substantive representation** (in contrast to descriptive representation) is the tendency of elected legislators to advocate on behalf of certain groups.

Conflicting theories and beliefs exist regarding why constituents vote for representatives. "Rather than choosing candidates on the basis of an informed view of the incumbents' voting records, voters, it is argued, rely primarily on the policy-free 'symbols' of party identification" Politicians, it would seem, have little to fear from a public that knows little about what laws their representatives support or oppose in the legislature.

#### **Descriptive representation**

Scholars have defined representation as "the making present in some sense of something which is nevertheless not present literally or in fact". Descriptive representation is the idea that a group elects an individual to represent them who in their own characteristics mirror some of the more frequent experiences and outward manifestations of the group. In this form of representation, representatives are in their own persons and lives in some sense typical of the

larger class of persons whom they represent. For example, certain ethnic groups or gender-based groups may want to elect a leader that shares these descriptive characteristics as they may be politically relevant. Disadvantaged groups may gain benefit from descriptive representation primarily in two ways:

1. When there is mistrust: This refers to a situation where communication between the group and its representatives has been inadequate. In these cases, descriptive representation promotes vertical communication between representatives and their group of constituents.
2. When interests are uncrystallized: In certain historical moments, citizen interests are not clearly defined. Either the issues have not been on the political agenda for long, or candidates have not taken public positions on them. In this case, the best way to have one's substantive interests represented is often to choose a descriptive representative whose characteristics match one's own.

Descriptive representation can be instituted by political parties independently where they set aside a certain number of party seats for particular groups. It can also be instituted through national electoral quotas either by reserving seats for office or candidate quotas for political parties.

Traditionally, quotas have been thought of as a way of providing adequate representation for previously disadvantaged groups such as women or oppressed ethnic groups. However, another way of conceptualizing quotas is to institute a maximum or ceiling quota for advantaged groups. This may improve the meritocracy of the system and improve the process of candidate selection

Empirically, quotas show mixed results. In Lesotho, quota-mandated female representation has had no effect or even

reduced several dimensions of women's engagement with local politics. In Argentina, quotas have mandated negative stereotypes about women politicians. Meanwhile, in India, women are more likely to win an election in a constituency that formerly had quotas, even when the quotas are removed, and women leaders provide public goods favoured by women constituents. Evidence also shows that caste-based quotas may not change stereotypes of how people view the oppressed caste group, it does change the social norms of interaction between caste groups.

### **Dyadic representation**

Dyadic representation refers to the degree to which and ways by which elected legislators represent the preferences or interests of the specific geographic constituencies from which they are elected. Candidates who run for legislative office in an individual constituency or as a member of a list of party candidates are especially motivated to provide dyadic representation. As Carey and Shugart (1995, 417) observe, they have "incentives to cultivate a personal vote" beyond whatever support their party label will produce. Personal vote seeking might arise from representing the public policy interests of the constituency (by way of either the delegate, responsible party, or trustee models noted above), providing it "pork barrel" goods, offering service to individual constituents as by helping them acquire government services, and symbolic actions.

The most abundant scientific scholarship on dyadic representation has been for the U.S. Congress and for policy representation of constituencies by the members of the Congress. Miller and Stokes (1963) presented the seminal research of this kind in an exploratory effort to account for when alternative models of policy representation arise. Their work has been emulated, replicated, and enlarged by a host of subsequent studies. The most advanced theoretical formulation in this body of

work, however, is by Hurley and Hill (2003) and by Hill, Jordan, and Hurley (2015) who present a theory that accounts well for when belief sharing representation, delegate representation, trustee representation, responsible party representation, and party elite led representation will arise.

### **Long Questions :-**

#### **Q. 1 Examine the relationship between power , authority ,and legitimacy .**

Ans: Introduction :- When previously considering power, you have perhaps not considered that it can be broken down in such a way. The way power is used or exists in all types of relationships is central to the understanding of politics – not just in government, perhaps even more importantly in family and friendship groups too. There are a number of competing views about what power actually is – is it something that a person can have? Something that can be physically used? Is it always used intentionally?

The most traditional view of power is that it is a form of control over a person – a way of forcing one person to obey another. This could otherwise be termed domination. Hobbes had argued that in a state of nature we would all have power over each other, meaning the most violent would win, in order to escape from this brutality we would have to accept and submit to a monarch. The King would have power over us, would dominate have the ability to force their will upon us and get us to do things we would not otherwise, but this is the price of order.

However this view of power as domination is very narrow, and runs into the problem that in our daily lives power is very commonly exercised through the acceptance and willing obedience of the public. New laws are passed every day, we generally accept them and abide by them (with a limited amount of British grumbling). This is because those in power are also in authority.

Those in power do not merely possess the ability to make us comply, but are also thought to have the right to do so. This is a really important distinction, and is the difference between power and authority.

Power = the ability to make us do something. Authority = the right to make us do something.

Legitimacy is the perception that power is exercised in a rightful, justified and acceptable manner. Although a person may have authority a whole system of government would be regarded as legitimate. Legitimacy is the basis of stable government, all governments seek legitimacy – how they achieve it and keep it is essential to the study of political regimes, and has been central to everything you have studied in Mod Studs.

So to summarise... Power, Authority and Legitimacy are the “golden triangle” that every



system of government or management seek. Power can be exerted by anyone, but unless that person is perceived as being in authority then they will face disobedience. Legitimacy can be seen as the way that a system of power can achieve authority by being seen as rightful.

- All politics is about power – achieving and maintaining it
  - **hobbes** – basic human urge is to seek ‘power afterpower’. Programmed – Dawkins’ selfish gene. Conservative viewpoint
- The ability to get someone to do something they otherwise wouldn’t do – ‘power to’.
- Distinguished with authority by power being the ability to do and authority right to do.
- Distinction from influence – ability to affect outcome even if not having actual final power to decide – influence is a minor form of power by affecting their actions without inciting force/fear – e.g. manipulation.
- **Lukes** sees power in three forms: decision-making, agenda setting and thought control.
- **Decision-making** – associated with liberal and pluralist perceptions focussing on who actually makes the decisions. **Boulding** argues decision-making influenced in three ways: the stick (coercion), the deal (mutual benefit through negotiation), and the kiss (sense of loyalty and commitment to individual, thus he has power).
- **Dahl** observed decision-making ‘Critique of the ruling elite model’ and found no single elite in charge, pluralist approach, everyone has a say. Different groups have a say on different aspects. Reality was an “example of a democratic system warts and all”.
- Elitist critiques argue this fails to understand unequal influence of key elites – real decisions made by a fixed elite
  - real power belongs to banks and military **C. Wright Mills**.
- Hobbes – physical or mechanical power whereby power is used against an individual’s will – individual is subservient to it, otherwise life would be nasty, brutish and short. Advocates strong, monarchical government.
- **Agenda setting** – **Bachrach Baratz** – idea of non-decision making. **Schattschneider** “some issues are organised into politics and others are organised out”.
- Links to influential parties who collectively agree or just block discussion – slight elitist theory.
- B and B and ‘mobilisation of bias’ yet individuals and pressure groups can change agendas, yet more likely to do

so on issues represented by well informed and articulate. Elite tend to dominate flow of information and media and so use this to their advantage. Look at the way demonstrations are portrayed in the media.

- Marxists would argue agenda setting is a facade for bourgeois dominance with parliamentary systems of government being “the executive committee of the bourgeoisie” (Marx).
- **Thought control** – previous two assume that people and groups are rational and capable of knowing their own mind. The ability to manipulate

human behaviour can be shaped some argue this is where the real power lies.

- Marxist ideas based on favouritism of state towards bourgeoisie and their power through economy and politics
  - **Gramsci** and bourgeois hegemony – bourgeoisie literally control popular culture and so control the way we think.
- Therefore we think life is only better with material goods so bourgeoisie benefit even more.
- **Vance Packard** – consumer based society and only think we're happy when we have material goods.
- New Left ideas and **Marcuse** – link to totalitarianism but with media, TUs, adverts, culture replacing brutal coercion manipulating needs.
- Difference between 'real' and 'felt' interests – **Engels** and false consciousness. Don't know what is in our real interest no longer rational.
- Liberals reject this – individuals are rational.

### **Authority**

- Generally distinguished from power through the means by which compliance and obedience are achieved
  - **Heywood** "authority is power cloaked in legitimacy". Authority a form of rightful power.
- Authority based on a perceived 'right to rule' (**Weber**) with amoral aspect.
- Weber linked authority to legitimacy – different approach from others stating that legitimacy gave power authority.
- Weber – authority is important irrespective of how it's achieved. As long as there is the perception that authority is legitimate it's fine.
- Authority seldom exercised in absence of power.
- Weber – traditional (respect for elders), charismatic (value opinions and words through their responsibility), legal- rational (respect for right of state – parliament's legal right to pass new laws).
- **Traditional** – sanctified by history and based upon 'immemorial custom'. Hierarchy – **Burke** – 'wisdom of the ancients'. Patriarchalism – links to hereditary systems. Less relevant today, although evident in one form in theocratic states – the resurgence of this type of authority can be seen as a response to the failure of other types in degenerative Western capitalism.
- **Charismatic** – based entirely upon the power of an individual's personality. Owes nothing to status, social position or office, yet can be used to promote the interests of society (**Rousseau** and Law Giver).
- Charismatic has an almost messianic quality – treated with suspicion – **Talmon** and criticism of Rousseau.
- **Legal-rational** – situation for most liberal democratic Western capitalist societies. Operates through a body of clearly defined rules – linked to formal powers of office not office holder. Less likely to be abused than other 2 as the limit of authority is defined.
- Arises out of a respect for the rule of law and is evident in the constitutional

framework of long-established states. Can be seen as de-personalising as there can be a relentless spread of bureaucracy e.g. civil service.

- **De jure authority** – authority in law. Authority from an office. Operates according to a set of rules. Closely linked to traditional/legal-rational. Related to being IN authority.
- **De facto** – authority in practice. Closely linked to charismatic. Authority by virtue of who they are – being ANauthority.

### **Relationship between power and authority**

- Authority is the legitimate exercise of power but debate as to whether this requires morality or PERCEPTION or rightfulness.
- Ruling by power alone eventually lead to unsustainable use of coercive resources – **Mao** – “all power stems from the barrel of a gun” and is the antithesis of authority.
- Can authority exist without power? Weberian sense of traditional and charismatic forms all exert influence without the need to persuade. Legal-rational based on office and power invested in the office thus need power. Also being ‘an authority’ doesn’t need recourse to power but can have influence.

### **Different views of authority**

- Liberals – authority instrumental, coming from below through the consent of the governed – social contract.
- Do not want too much state involvement therefore authority is limited, rational and purposeful leading to preference for legal-rational.
- Conservatives – comes from above from those with experience and wisdom. Benefits other but there are few limits leading to authoritarianism through charismatic.
- **Authority – justified?** Essential for maintenance of order. Enemy of freedom – Libertarian/Anarchist view. Marxists – authority manufactured to mask rule by the bourgeoisie.

Expectation to give unquestioning obedience is wrong as it threatens reason – **Mill** – intellectual diversity.

### **Legitimacy**

- To be in a position to exercise authority. Links to power and authority by transforming the former into the latter – turns naked power into authority.
- Moral right to rule – **Locke** and consent – social contract theory – we consent to be governed. If there is a formal constitutional basis, we can see legitimacy.
- **Hobbes** – social contract – dictatorship could have legitimacy as it is meant to protect the individual – the Leviathan state – legitimacy comes about by preventing people getting harmed – implied consent.
- For **Rousseau** the state is legitimate if it upholds the general will.

- Likes of **Weber** see a belief in legitimacy as important no matter how it is achieved.

### How do governments gain and maintain legitimacy?

- Social contract – tacit and formal agreement whereby state's legitimacy is based on protection of citizens (**Hobbes**) and promotion of rights and freedoms (**Locke**) and the common good (**Rousseau**).
- Locke challenged Hobbes as he believed a man could not give away more power over himself than he himself has. Tacit consent is given to the government by anyone who has "possession or enjoyment of any part of the dominion of any government".
- Popular compliance – populace have a belief in the right to rule which in a democracy is based around the exercise of legal-rational authority.
- Constitutionalism – **Beetham** – legitimacy operating under existing established principles thus power exercised

through the existing constitutional process if this adheres to the widely held beliefs and values of a society.

- Went against Weber's view as it ignores how legitimacy came about. Leaves the matter largely in the hands of the powerful, who may be able to manufacture righteousness by public relation campaigns. Power is legitimate if it fulfils 3 criteria:
  - 1. Power exercised according to certain rules.
  - 2. Rules justified in terms of ruler and ruled – marrying the shared belief between government and people (communitarianism).
  - 3. People must give consent – how much consent must people give to give something legitimacy?
- Active consent – seen through ballot box with a mandate given to exercise legitimacy – elections/referendums and strengthened by universal suffrage – **Mill**.
- Legitimation crisis – neo-Marxist **Habermas** – legitimacy of a political system could collapse because of the pressures created by democracy and capitalism. Democracy – voting becomes a means of consumerism. Capitalism – increased desire leads to recession – can't continually provide what people want – e.g. extensive welfare provision. Legitimation crisis created after government intervention and conflict of free-market.
- Social contract – **Giddens** – communitarianism – Etzioni – taking social contract and trying to improve civic engagement through modern political systems.
- **Ideological Hegemony** – Conventional image of liberal democracies is that they enjoy legitimacy because they respect individual liberty and are responsive to public opinion. Critics – democracy is little more than a facade concealing the domination of a "power elite".
- Ralph Milliband – liberal democracy is "capitalist democracy"
- there are biases which serve interests of private property and ensure the long term stability of capitalism.
- Marxists state that bourgeois ideology denotes sets of ideas which conceal the contradictions upon which class societies are based – ideology propagates falsehood, delusion and mystification. Ideology operates in interests of the ruling class.

- Modern Marxists – political competition does exist but this competition is unequal. Gramsci drew attention to the degree to which the class system was upheld not simply by unequal power but also what he called bourgeois hegemony.

### **Legitimacy in a dictatorship**

- **Weber** argues that traditional and charismatic authority can be legitimate if accepted by populace. Marx argued that a dictatorship of the proletariat would be legitimate as it was acting in the best interests of the masses; likewise dictators claim to uphold common good without popular approval. Traditional monarchs also claimed to be adhering to divine right as the best form of determining the common good.

#### **1. Evaluate the functions of Legislature .**

### **Legislature,**

lawmaking branch of a government. Before the advent of legislatures, the law was dictated by monarchs. Early European legislatures include the English Parliament and the Icelandic Althing (founded c. 930). Legislatures may be unicameral or bicameral (*see* bicameral system). Their powers may include passing laws, establishing the government's budget, confirming executive appointments, ratifying treaties, investigating the executive branch, impeaching and removing from office members of the executive and judiciary and redressing constituents' grievances. Members may be appointed or directly or indirectly elected; they may represent an entire population, particular groups, or territorial subdistricts. In presidential systems, the executive and legislative branches are clearly separated; in parliamentary systems, members of the executive branch are chosen from the legislative membership.

**Thing**, in medieval Scandinavia, the local, provincial, and, in Iceland, national assemblies of freemen that formed the fundamental unit of government and law. Meeting at fixed intervals, the *things*, in which democratic practices were influenced by male heads of households, legislated at all levels, elected royal nominees, and settled all legal questions. They were presided over by the local chieftain or by a law speaker (one unusually learned in the unrecorded law) and were dominated by the most influential members of the community. In Iceland the *things* ultimately led to the founding of the Althing, the Icelandic parliament. The rationale of representative government is that in large modern countries the people cannot all assemble, as they did in the marketplace of democratic Athens or Rome; and if, therefore, the people are to participate in government, they must select and elect a small number from among themselves to represent and to act for them. In modern polities with large populations, representation in some form is necessary if government is to be based on the consent of the governed. Elected representatives are also less likely to reflect the transitory political passions of the moment than are the people, and thus they provide greater stability and continuity of policy to a government.

Through the course of long historical evolution, various methods and devices have been developed in attempts to solve the many problems that have arisen in connection with representation. These problems include the qualifications of electors (*see* suffrage); the

apportionment of constituencies (*see* constituency); apportionment (electoral); the basis of election (*see* plurality system; proportional representation); methods of nominating candidates (*see* primary election); and means

of ascertaining the wishes of electors (*see* referendum and initiative). Because of the need to formulate systematically the demands of citizens, political parties have come to act as intermediaries between the citizens and their representatives. Political debate along party lines has thus become a characteristic feature of most representative systems of government.

In the 13th and 14th centuries the *things* in other countries gradually lost their prerogatives to bureaucratized courts and noble-clerical councils.

The term 'legislature' is a generic term meaning a body which legislates. The term 'Legg' means law and 'lature' the place and etymologically Legislature means a place for law-making. Another term, which is used as a synonym of Legislature, is 'Parliament.' This word stands derived from the French word 'Parley' which means to 'talk' or to discuss and deliberate.

In this way, we can say 'Parliament' means the place where deliberations are held. Combining the two views, we can say Legislature or Parliament is that branch of government which performs the function of lawmaking through deliberations.

The legislature is that organ of the government which passes the laws of the government. It is the agency which has the responsibility to formulate the will of the state and vest it with legal authority and force. In simple words, the legislature is that organ of the government which formulates laws. Legislature enjoys a very special and important in every democratic state. It is the assembly of the elected representatives of the people and represents national public opinion and power of the people.

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### **Functions of a Legislature:**

#### **1. Legislative or Law-making Functions:**

The first and foremost function of a legislature is to legislate i.e. to make laws. In ancient times, laws used to be either derived from customs, traditions and religious scriptures, or were issued by the kings as their commands. However, in the contemporary era of democracy, legislature is the chief source of law. It is the legislature which formulates the will of the state into laws and gives it a legal character. Legislature transforms the demands of the people into authoritative laws/statutes.

#### **2. Deliberative Functions:**

To deliberate upon matters of national importance, public issues, problems and needs is an important function of a modern legislature. Through this function, the legislature reflects the public opinion over various issues. The debates held in the legislature have a great educative value for the people.

### **3. Custodian of National Finances:**

A near universal rule is that “the legislature of the state is the custodian of national purse.” It holds the purse of the nation and controls the finances. No money can be raised or spent by the executive without the approval of the legislature. Each year the executive has to prepare and get passed from the legislature the budget for the coming financial year. In the budget, the executive has to place the account of the actual income and expenditure of the previous year and estimated income and expenditure for the New Year.

Not only the legislature passes the budget but also it alone can approve the imposition, or repeal or collection of any tax whatsoever. Further, the legislature maintains a control over all financial transactions and expenditures incurred by the executive.

### **4. Control over the Executive:**

A modern legislature has the power to exercise control over the executive. In a parliamentary system of government, like the one which is at work in India, for all its actions, decisions, and policies, the executive is collectively responsible before the legislature. It is accountable before the legislature. The legislature has the power to remove the executive by passing a vote of no-confidence or by rejecting a policy or budget or law of the executive.

The Prime Minister and all other ministers are essentially the members of the legislature. They are bound by the rules and procedures of the Parliament.

(b) In a Presidential form of government, like the one which is at work in the USA, the legislature exercises some checks over the executive. It can appoint investigation committees to probe the functioning of government departments. By the use of its power to legislate and pass the budget, the legislature exercises a fair amount of control over the executive. Thus, whether a political system has a parliamentary system or a presidential system, the legislature exercises a control over the executive.

### **5. Constituent Functions:**

In almost every state, it is the legislature which has the power to amend the constitution. For this purpose legislature has to pass special laws, called amendments, in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. In some states the requirement is that the legislature must pass the amendment with 2/3rd or 3/4th or an absolute majority of votes.



## **6. Electoral Functions:**

A legislature usually performs some electoral functions. The two houses of the Indian Parliament elect the Vice-President. All elected MPs and MLAs form the Electoral College which elects the President of India. In Switzerland, the Federal Legislature elects the members of the Federal Council (Executive) and the Federal Tribunal (Judiciary).

## **7. Judicial Functions:**

It is customary to give some judicial power to the legislature. Usually, the legislature is assigned to act as a court of impeachment i.e. as an investigating court for trying high public officials on charges of treason, misdemeanor and high crimes and remove them from office. In India, the Union Parliament can impeach the President. It has also the power to pass a resolution for the removal of Judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Court's on the ground of misbehavior or incapacity.

## **8. Ventilation of Grievances:**

A legislature acts as the highest forum for ventilation of public grievances against the executive. Besides representing every interest and shade of opinion, the legislature acts as the national forum for expressing public opinion, public grievances and public aspirations. Parliamentary debates and discussions throw a flood light over various issues of public importance.

## **9. Miscellaneous Functions:**

Some legislatures are assigned specific executive tasks. For example, the US Senate (Upper House of US Legislature) has the power to confirm or reject the major appointments made by the US President.

ill-considered measures in a haste, which can subsequently be a source of big harm to the national interests. The second chamber prevents or at least considerably limits such chances. It exercises a checking and modifying influence on the bill passed by the first house.

### **1. Second Chamber acts as a Revising Chamber:**

The legislative work in the modern welfare state has become highly complex and technical. It demands a deep and careful examination of all aspects of the measures which are to be enacted into laws. The second chamber performs the role of a reviser. "When deliberations have to be done, two heads are better than one."

### **2. Second Chamber Lessens the Burden of the First House:** The emergence of welfare

state has produced a manifold increase in the scope of law-making. A modern legislature has to pass a large number of laws. Under the circumstances, a legislature with a single chamber can fail to effectively pass all the legislative work. The second house is needed for sharing the legislative work.

### **3. Two Houses Better Represent Public Opinion:**

The two houses can together correctly act as the barometer of public opinion. A single house can grow out of tune and fail to keep in harmony with public opinion. The second house chosen at a different time can help the legislature in overcoming the above defect.

**4. Essential for giving Representation to Special Interests:** The second chamber provides a convenient means for giving representation to different classes and interests which need

5. Likewise, it enjoys the power to ratify or reject treaties made by the US President. In India, the

6. Rajya Sabha has been given the power to establish or eliminate any All India Service. Legislatures also perform the function of approving or rejecting or amending all the policies and plans made by the executive. In the US Constitution, the Congress (Legislature) enjoys the power to declare war.

7. Thus the legislative organs of the government play a very important and active role in the exercise of the sovereign power of the state. In fact legislature is the legal sovereign in the State. It has the power to transform any decision of the state into a law. Legislature is the chief source of law. It is the mirror of national public opinion and the symbol of the power of the people.

### **8. Types of Legislature: Bicameral and Unicameral Legislatures:**

A modern legislature is either Bicameral or Unicameral. Bicameralism means a legislature with two houses/chambers while unicameralism means a legislature with a single house/chamber. A large number of modern legislatures, particularly of big states, are bicameral i.e. legislatures with two houses (Bi = Two, Cameral = House).

However several states, mostly the small states and provinces of a federal system, have unicameral legislatures, i.e. legislatures with single houses. Where the legislature is bicameral, "the first house is usually called the lower house, and the second house is

called the upper house.

India, USA, UK, France, Russia, Switzerland, Australia and a large number of other states have bicameral legislature. 22 states of India have bicameral legislatures.

The unicameral legislatures are working in China, New Zealand, Zimbabwe, Turkey, Portugal and several other states. The state legislatures of all the Canadian and Swiss cantons (provisions) are unicameral. In India, 6 states and 2 Union Territories have unicameral legislatures...

### **Arguments in Favour of a Bi-cameral Or Arguments against a Unicameral Legislature:**

#### **9. Second Chamber is a Safeguard against the Despotism of a Single Chamber:**

The second chamber of a legislature is essential for preventing the first house from becoming arbitrary and despotic. A single chamber with all the legislative power can become corrupt and despotic. The second chamber is needed for keeping it away from being arbitrary and despotic.

#### **10. Second Chamber is essential for preventing Hasty and Ill-Considered Legislation:**

Second chamber prevents the passing of hasty and ill-considered legislation by a single chamber. With a view to satisfy mass passions and demands, the single chamber can commit the mistake of passing

representation. The lower chamber can consist of the elected representatives of the people as a whole, and the upper house can give representation to the minorities and special interests and groups like the Labour, women, scientists, artists, teachers, intellectuals, writers, chambers of commerce.

#### **11. Delay is Useful:**

The critics of the second chamber often argue that it is a source of delay in the passing of laws. Undoubtedly, the passing of laws by two houses leads to some delay. However, this delay is very useful. It helps the crystallisation of public opinion on all bills before they become laws. The existence of second chamber acts as a source of delay between the introduction and final adoption of a law and thus permits time for reflection and deliberation.

#### **12. Essential for a Federation:**

A bi-cameral legislature is considered essential for a federal system. In such a system, the lower house gives representation to the people of the state as a whole and the upper house gives

representation to the units of the federation.

### **13. Instrument for Utilising the Services of the Able and the Experienced**

#### **Persons:**

A second chamber makes it possible for the state to use the political and administrative ability of such people, who for certain reasons are not in a position, or are not quite willing to enter the lower house through elections. The second chamber can, as such, help the induction of experience and ability into the legislature.

### **14. Second Chamber is a Source of Stability:**

The second chamber can be given a longer and continuous term for securing stability. The lower house, being the representative of the people has to be given a shorter tenure. As against this, the second chamber can be given a longer tenure and a permanent or quasi- permanent character for ensuring some stability. It has been due to such a consideration that a member of Indian Rajya Sabha has six year tenure and this house has a quasi- permanent character—it is never dissolved as a whole and only 1/3rd of its members retires after every two years.

### **15. Historical Support:**

History supports the case in favour of bicameralism. The successful working of bicameral legislatures in various states of the world is an accepted fact. No major state, whatever its form of government, has been willing to dispense with the second chamber. “The experience of history has been, in favour of two chambers. It is not wise to disregard the lesson of history.”

On the basis of all these arguments, the supporters of bi-cameral legislature build a very strong case. They reject the case for unicameralism.

### **Arguments against Bicameral Legislature or Arguments in favour of Unicameral Legislature:**

The critics of bi-cameralism and supporters of uni-cameralism, however, reject the thesis that second chamber is essential. They oppose it as a superfluous chamber which always results into more disadvantages than advantages.

### **Q. 2 Explain Lucian pye's theory of Political development .**

Considerable confusion exists over the concept of political development, which is of recent origin in political science. The confusion is compounded because particular trends in the social sciences inhibited explicit concern about political, as distinct from economic, development. Ten

definitions of "political development" are analyzed in this article, and a final summary view of the essential dimensions of the concept is presented in which three broadly shared characteristics of political development are outlined: concern with equality, with the capacity of the political system, and with the differentiation or specialization of governmental organizations. These three characteristics are generally related to certain aspects of political development: equality to the political culture, the problems of capacity to authoritative governmental structures, and the question of differentiation to nonauthoritative structures. This suggests a final analysis that the problems of political development revolve around the relationship between the political culture, the authoritative structure, and the general political process.

### **Q.3 Explain the various theory of Representation.**

**Ans: Political representation** is the activity of making citizens "present" in public policy making processes when political actors act in the best interest of citizens. This definition of political representation is consistent with a wide variety of views on what representing implies and what the duties of representatives are. For example, representing may imply acting on the expressed wishes of citizens, but it may alternatively imply acting according to what the representatives themselves judge is in the best interests of citizens. And representatives may be viewed as individuals who have been authorized to act on the behalf of others, or may alternatively be viewed as those who will be held to account by those they are representing. Political representation can happen along different units such as social groups and area, and there are different types of representation such as substantive representation and descriptive representation.

Under the *accountability* view, a representative is an individual who will be held to account. Representatives are held accountable if citizens can judge whether the representative is acting in their best interest and sanction the representative according. The descriptive and symbolic views of political representation describe the ways in which political representatives "stand for" the people they represent. *Descriptive* representatives "stand for" to the extent that they resemble, in their descriptive characteristics (e.g. race, gender, class etc.), the people they represent. On the other hand, *symbolic* representatives "stand for" the people they represent as long as those people believe in or accept them as their representative. Pitkin argues that these views of political representation give an inadequate account of political representation because they lack an account both of how representatives "act for" the represented and the normative criteria for judging representative's actions. Hence Pitkin proposes a *substantive* view of representation. In this view of political representation, representation is defined as substantive "acting for", by representatives, the interests of the people they represent.

In contrast, Jane Mansbridge has identified four views of democratic political representation: promissory, anticipatory, surrogate and gyroscopic. Mansbridge argues that each of these views provides an account of both how democratic political representatives "act for" the people they represent and the normative criteria for assessing the actions of representatives. *Promissory* representation is a form of representation in which representatives are chosen and assessed based

on the promises they make to the people they represent during election campaigns. For Mansbridge, promissory representation, preoccupied with how representatives are chosen (authorized) and held to account through elections, is the traditional view of democratic political representation. Anticipatory, surrogate and gyroscopic representation, on the other hand, are more modern views that have emerged from the work of empirical political scientists. *Anticipatory* representatives take actions that they believe voters (the represented) will reward in the next election. *Surrogate* representation occurs when representatives "act for" the interest of people outside their constituencies. Finally, in *gyroscopic* representation, representatives use their own judgements to determine how and for what they should act for on behalf of the people they represent.

Under Rehfeld's general theory of representation, a person is considered a representative as long as the particular group she represents judges her as such. In any case of political representation, there are representatives, the represented, a selection agent, a relevant audience and rules by which the relevant judge whether or not a person is a representative. Representatives are those who are selected by a selection agent from a larger set of qualified individuals who are then judged to representatives by a relevant audience using particular rules of judgement. The rules by which a relevant audience judges whether or not a person is a representative can be either democratic or non-democratic. In a case where the selection agent, relevant audience and the represented are the same and the rules of judgment are democratic (e.g. elections), the familiar democratic case of political representation arises and where they are not, undemocratic cases arise.

## Unit 4

### Short Questions:-

**Q.1 Define Democracy with diagram**



**Democracy**, which derives from the Greek word demos, or people, is **defined**, basically, as government in which the supreme power is vested in the people. In some forms, **democracy** can be exercised directly by the people; in large societies, it is by the people through their elected agents.

**Q.2 Explain the meaning of democratic society**

Ans: A **DEMOCRACY IS** a society in which all adults have easily accessible, meaningful ways.

1. to participate in the decision-making processes of every organization that makes decisions or takes actions that affect them, and;
2. to hold other individuals, and those in these organizations who are responsible for making decisions and taking actions, fully accountable if their decisions or actions violate fundamental human rights, or are dishonest, unethical, unfair, secretive, inefficient, unrepresentative, unresponsive or irresponsible;

So that all organizations in the society are citizen-owned, citizen-controlled, and citizen-driven, and all individuals and organizations are held accountable for wrongdoing.

All children should also have easily accessible, meaningful, and effective ways to hold organizations accountable as set out in #2 above, but it is acceptable in a democracy to limit children's participation rights until they reach adulthood, mainly because psychological research has shown clearly that almost all children below a certain age do not have fully formed brains, and are not usually as capable of reasonable deliberation and discussion as adults.

The following participation and accountability measures need to be in place in every organization (both government and corporate, public and private) in any society to fulfill the definition set out above (and Democracy Watch's campaigns push governments and corporations to implement these measures):

1. a constitution that sets out the essential operating rules for the organization (or the country, province/state, and municipalities), including strong protection of fundamental human rights, and a clear separation between every government institution and any religious entity;
2. an election system for choosing representatives that is fair and results in a governing body that represents citizen votes accurately -- for details, go to the Voter Rights Campaign;
3. a direct decision-making process (initiative and referendum, for example) that allows citizens to initiate decisions and actions on issues that their representatives refuse to address for details, go to the Voter Rights Campaign;
4. strong requirements with no loopholes that apply to every organization (especially every government or government-funded institution, but also every corporate organization (especially large corporations -- for details, go to the Bank Accountability Campaign and the Corporate Responsibility Campaign), media, non-profit citizen group, and charitable social service agency) in the areas of:
  - o representativeness (elections, public consultation and direct decision-making processes that ensure true representation -- for details, go to the Voter Rights Campaign);
  - o openness (disclosure requirements and access-to-information laws that ensure transparency -- for details, go to the Open Government Campaign);
  - o honesty (including an honesty-in-politics law with an easily accessible complaint filing process -- for details, go to the Honesty in Politics Campaign);
  - o ethics (including ethics rules, and limits on donations and gifts of money, property and services and on other related ways of influencing decision-makers, and strict

regulations on lobbyists -- for details, go to the Government Ethics Campaign and the Money in Politics Campaign), and;

- spending rules (including strict waste-prevention measures), and responsiveness and responsibility in general operations (including publicly disclosed
- performance standards and regular performance reports -- for details, go to the Voter Rights Campaign) - AND these requirements must also apply to every individual in their relationships with other individuals and with regard to their overall individual responsibility;

### Q3. Evaluate feminism?

Ans: Feminist evaluation is based on feminist research, which in turn is based on feminist theory. Feminist evaluation theorists often list six basic tenets as the fundamental elements of a feminist evaluation: Feminist evaluation has as a central focus the gender inequities that lead to social injustice.



### Long Questions :-

#### Q.1 Explain the relevance of feminist movement in modern time.

Ans: **The Modern Women's Movement:-**

The women's movement strives to end discrimination and violence against women through legal, political, and social change. It is one of the most influential social movements in the modern western world and can be divided into two waves. The first began in Newfoundland in the 1890s and eventually brought about voting rights for women. The second has focused on ending gender inequalities in laws, politics, the workplace, and society in general. It gained strength after 1970, when the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (established by the Canadian government in 1967) released its report.

The modern women's movement has lobbied for, and brought about a variety of social reforms. Issues of concern have included: pay equity, pension benefits, affirmative action, day care, reproductive rights, domestic and sexual violence, sexism and sex-role stereotyping, matrimonial property rights, and women's representation in government. The movement encompasses many groups, which operate at the community and bureaucratic levels, including Status of Women councils, women's union groups, native women's groups, rural women's groups, and a Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

*The Royal Commission on the Status of Women*



In 1967, a national campaign launched by a coalition of 32 women's groups prompted the Canadian government to appoint a Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The commission was the first in Canadian history to be chaired by a woman, the CBC journalist Florence Bird. Its mandate was to "inquire into and report upon the status of women in Canada, and to recommend what steps might be taken by the Federal Government to ensure for women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society" (Report vii).

The commission held public hearings across the country, and 468 individuals and organizations submitted briefs. Six came from Newfoundland and Labrador, which focused largely on discrimination against women in the workforce. For example, the provincial minimum wage for women was 50 cents per hour, while men earned 70 cents. Married women also faced barriers. The St. John's Club of the Canadian Federation of University Women complained that Memorial University's Terms and Conditions of Employment required that "upon the marriage of a female teacher, her employment shall terminate" (qtd. in Pope 168).

Inadequate day care services were highlighted, as was a lack of educational opportunities for women, particularly in rural areas. It was also recommended that the province's Judicature Act be revised to allow women to serve on juries.

The commission found that women from across the country told similar stories, and concluded that they faced systemic discrimination and social injustice because of their sex. Its 1970 report made 167 recommendations aimed at giving Canadian women the same rights and benefits as men. It addressed such matters as family law, tax law, day care, equal pay for equal work, sex discrimination in hiring practices, and access of women to educational opportunities, pensions, maternity leave, and birth control.

The commission brought women's issues into the public consciousness, and provided an important platform for women's voices. It was a catalyst for the modern women's movement, which became a significant social force in the coming years. In every province, women's groups were formed to ensure that the commission's recommendations were implemented, and in general, to fight for gender equality.

### *The Modern Women's Movement in Newfoundland and Labrador*

The commission's report motivated many women in Newfoundland to redefine their place in society. Three events helped to kick-start the local movement.

The first was a national gathering of approximately 800 Canadian women, including a group from Newfoundland, at the Strategy for Change conference in Toronto. Held on 7-9 April 1972, the conference was convened by the National Ad Hoc Action Committee on the Status of Women to speed up government response to the commission's recommendations. It motivated women to organize and lobby for positive change in their home provinces, and culminated in the founding of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC).

A provincial gathering took place in St. John's later that month, when Judge Doris Ogilvie, one of the royal commissioners, spoke to the St. John's Business and Professional Women's Club.

The talk was attended by more than 200 women, and prompted some of those present to form the Newfoundland Status of Women's Council (NSWC). The Council held its first general meeting on 18 September 1972, and elected an executive. Its object was to pressure the provincial government to act on the commission's recommendations.

A third event occurred in June 1972, when the Social Action Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) invited the Canadian feminist filmmaker and activist Bonnie Kreps to St. John's. Kreps was a publicist for the women's movement, and introduced the concept of consciousness-raising groups to Newfoundland. These groups were already popular across North America. They brought together women from different backgrounds and ages to discuss and analyze their lives and uncover problems shared by all women in society.

### *Organizations*

During the 1970s and 1980s, women's groups sprang up across the province. No single organization spoke for the women's movement, which was in essence a loose amalgamation of community groups. But the NSWC made important early headway and helped pave the way for future similar groups. Early in its existence, the NSWC set up 'ginger groups' to study specific areas of concern identified by the commission and work towards solutions. The group that examined education, for example, presented a brief on sex education to the Provincial Task Force on Curriculum, and another on sex-stereotyping in school texts to Memorial University's Committee on Teacher Education.

In February 1973, the NSWC received a \$3,000 grant from the federal Department of the Secretary of State to open the province's first women's centre, located in downtown St. John's. It eventually found a permanent home on Military Road in 1977, after 20 NSWC members donated \$100 each for a down payment. Women's centres provide many services, including community education, lending libraries, meeting space, employment counseling, referrals to social service agencies and health-care programs, and confidential non-judgmental support for women in crisis. In the coming years, the NSWC expanded its services to include a 24-hour rape-crisis hotline, a rape-crisis center, counseling services for victims of domestic violence, and short- and long-term shelter for abused women and children.

Statuses of Women Councils were formed in other communities, and were based on, but autonomous from, the NSWC. They opened in Corner Brook (1973), Grand Falls (1975), Labrador West (1977), Happy Valley-Goose Bay (1979), Port-aux-Basques (1982), Gander (1983), and Bay St. George (1985). In 1984, the NSWC changed its name to the St. John's Status of Women Council in recognition of the regional nature of the councils. As of 2012, all eight councils are still operating, although there have been setbacks - in 1986, for example, the Grand Falls Council (known as the Central Newfoundland Status of Women Council) disbanded due to a shortage of volunteers; it was reestablished in 1999.

Regional councils gave women a united voice on local issues. In 1978, for example, the Corner

Brook council helped women squid jiggers organize and demand unemployment insurance. Although the jiggers paid into the insurance program, only two of the 250 women who applied for coverage that year were approved - and their first names were Georgie and Frankie. As a result of the protests, the government recognized all claims.

In March 1978, the province's native women formally assembled in Nain for the first time at the Northern Labrador Women's Conference. They discussed problems facing native women in society and identified ways to improve their social conditions. The Nain Women's Group formed in June of that year and became a significant social presence in the community by providing such services as a daycare centre, a shelter for battered women, and a thrift shop.

Other native women's groups were established later, at Sheshatshiu, Hopedale, North West River, Happy Valley-Goose Bay, Port Hope Simpson, and Davis Inlet. In 1983, the Labrador Native Women's Association was formed as an umbrella group for Innu, Inuit, and Southern Inuit of NunatuKavut women in northern and central Labrador; non-native women could join as associate members. It is still active, as of 2012.

Women became more active in the labour movement during the 1970s and 1980s. As their female membership increased, unions began to fight for such reforms as affirmative action, pay equity, day care, and equal pension plans for women workers. In 1976, the province's largest union, the Newfoundland Association of Public Employees (NAPE), formed a Women's Committee, which began holding annual women's conferences in 1977. By 1988, women accounted for half of NAPE's membership. The same year, the province agreed that women public servants should receive the same pay as men for the same work. Similar developments took place in other unions.

In 1981, a Women's Resource Centre opened on the Memorial University campus to provide information on a variety of topics, including health care, birth control, sexual assault, pregnancy, depression, drug use, and career planning. Two years later, students could minor in a new interdisciplinary Women's Studies program, an academic field which emerged in North America in the 1970s as a direct result of the women's movement. The program sought to expand students' understanding of women and gender in all aspects of society, including politics, the mass media, the arts, religion, science, sports, labour, and everyday interactions. Undergraduate major and graduate programmes followed.

The effects of the women's movement were also seen at the bureaucratic level. In 1980, the Newfoundland government created the Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women (PACSW). This is an arms-length body created to advise the government on status of women issues, and generally to raise awareness of such issues. It works with eight regional Status of Women Councils and other groups to advise government on how policy and legislation affect women. In 1985, the government created an internal agency known as the Women's Policy Office to coordinate its efforts to advance the status of women in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Lobbying efforts by women's groups have brought about significant policy change in the province. In 1972, for example, the province passed the Jury Duty Reform Act which allowed women to serve on juries. Though an important step forward, women could still opt out of jury duty if they wished. Women's groups thought that women should have the same obligations as men, so they could play an equal role in the justice system. This reform came years later, in the 1991 Jury Act.

In 1979, the legislature passed the Anti-Discrimination Human Rights Act, which changed the wording of several pieces of provincial legislation to protect the rights of women and other groups. Terms such as 'wife', 'widow', and 'mother' were replaced with gender-neutral words such as 'spouse' and 'parent'. The changes affected such legislation as the Civil Service Act, the Constabulary (Pensions) Act, the Interpretation Act, and the Workers' Compensation Act. A major victory came in July 1980, with the passage of the Matrimonial Property Act. The legislation recognized an equal division of property upon separation or divorce. It also guaranteed that widowed women and men would inherit the matrimonial home.

The women's movement also encouraged women to run for political office. In 1987, volunteers with community women's organizations and the Provincial Advisory Committee on the Status of Women started a campaign called the 52% Solution. It sent volunteers and prominent women politicians and activists across the island on a bus tour to encourage women to run for office. It reminded women that although they made up 52 per cent of the population, they only accounted for a small minority of government seats. In that year, only one of the House of Assembly's 52 seats were held by a woman (Progressive Conservative Lynn Verge). At the federal level, no Newfoundland and Labrador women were elected until 1993.

There were other initiatives. In 1997, the Women's Mentoring Program was established through the PACSW. It helped female candidates organize campaigns for election to government office and to health, education, and regional economic development boards. A Women's Network, active in the 1980s and 1990s, helped identify potential women candidates and encourage them to run for office.

Since the 1980s, women's representation has increased at all levels of government, but slowly. It has never come close to mirroring the number of women in the population. As of 2012, there have never been more than 10 female MHAs or two MPs serving at any one time. Increasing women's representation in government remains a major goal of many women's groups in the province.

Another major challenge is how to remain effective in a time of growing financial stringency. Mounting government debt and economic recessions in the 1990s and early 2000s prompted governments to decrease the amount of money spent on women's groups and programs.

Although the modern women's movement has made significant progress, its goals remain largely the same as in the 1970s and 1980s: end violence against women, achieve gender parity in politics, provide more opportunities for women in managerial and decision-making roles, and work towards financial equality in the workforce. The Women's Policy Office and

Provincial Advisory Council still operate at the bureaucratic level, while the eight Status of Women Councils are joined by various native women's groups, labour union committees, and other organizations at the community level.

## **1. Explain the meaning of liberalism. And write down its merits and demerits?**

**Liberalism**, political doctrine that takes protecting and enhancing the freedom of the individual to be the central problem of politics. Liberals typically believe that government is necessary to protect individuals from being harmed by others, but they also recognize that government itself can pose a threat to liberty. As the revolutionary American pamphleteer Thomas Paine expressed it in *Common Sense* (1776), government is at best “a necessary evil.” Laws, judges, and police are needed to secure the individual’s life and liberty, but their coercive power may also be turned against him. The problem, then, is to devise a system that gives government the power necessary to protect individual liberty but also prevents those who govern from abusing that power.

The problem is compounded when one asks whether this is all that government can or should do on behalf of individual freedom. Some liberals—the so-called neoclassical liberals, or libertarians—answer that it is. Since the late 19th century, however, most liberals have insisted that the powers of government can promote as well as protect the freedom of the individual. According to modern liberalism, the chief task of government is to remove obstacles that prevent individuals from living freely or from fully realizing their potential. Such obstacles include poverty, disease, discrimination, and ignorance. The disagreement among liberals over whether government should promote individual freedom rather than merely protect it is reflected to some extent in the different prevailing conceptions of liberalism in the United States and Europe since the late 20th century. In the United States liberalism is associated with the welfare-state policies of the New Deal program of the Democratic administration of Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt, whereas in Europe it is more commonly associated with a commitment to limited government and laissez-faire economic policies (*see below* Contemporary liberalism).

This article discusses the political foundations and history of liberalism from the 17th century to the present. Liberalism is derived from two related features of Western culture. The first is the West’s preoccupation with individuality, as compared to the emphasis in other civilizations on status, caste, and tradition. Throughout much of history, the individual has been submerged in and subordinate to his clan, tribe, ethnic group, or kingdom. Liberalism is the culmination of developments in Western society that produced a sense of the importance of human individuality, liberation of the individual from complete subservience to the group, and a relaxation of the tight hold of custom, law, and authority. In this respect, liberalism stands for the emancipation of the individual. *See also individualism.*

Liberalism also derives from the practice of adversariality in European political and economic life, a process in which institutionalized competition—such as the competition between different political parties in electoral contests, between prosecution and defense in adversary procedure, or between different producers in a market economy (*see* monopoly and competition)—generates a dynamic social order. Adversarial systems have always been precarious, however, and it took a long time for the belief in adversariality to emerge from the more traditional view, traceable at least to Plato, that the state should be an organic structure,

like a beehive, in which the different social classes cooperate by performing distinct yet complementary roles. The belief that competition is an essential part of a political system and that good government requires a vigorous opposition was still considered strange in most European countries in the early 19th century.

Underlying the liberal belief in adversariality is the conviction that human beings are essentially rational creatures capable of settling their political disputes through dialogue and compromise. This aspect of liberalism became particularly prominent in 20th-century projects aimed at eliminating war and resolving disagreements between states through organizations such as the League of Nations, the United Nations, and the International Court of Justice (World Court).

Liberalism has a close but sometimes uneasy relationship with democracy. At the center of democratic doctrine is the belief that governments derive their authority from popular election; liberalism, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with the scope of governmental activity. Liberals often have been wary of democracy, then, because of fears that it might generate a tyranny by the majority. One might briskly say, therefore, that democracy looks after majorities and liberalism after unpopular minorities.

Like other political doctrines, liberalism is highly sensitive to time and circumstance. Each country's liberalism is different, and it changes in each generation. The historical development of liberalism over recent centuries has been a movement from mistrust of the state's power on the ground that it tends to be misused, to a willingness to use the power of government to correct perceived inequities in the distribution of wealth resulting from economic competition—inequities that purportedly deprive some people of an equal opportunity to live freely. The expansion of governmental power and responsibility sought by liberals in the 20th century was clearly opposed to the contraction of government advocated by liberals a century earlier. In the 19th century liberals generally formed the party of business and the entrepreneurial middle class; for much of the 20th century they were more likely to work to restrict and regulate business in order to provide greater opportunities for labourers and consumers. In each case, however, the liberals' inspiration was the same: a hostility to concentrations of power that threaten the freedom of the individual and prevent him from realizing his full potential, along with a willingness to reexamine and reform social institutions in the light of new needs. This willingness is tempered by an aversion to sudden, cataclysmic change, which is what sets off the liberal from the radical. It is this very eagerness to welcome and encourage useful change, however, that distinguishes the liberal from the conservative, who believes that change is at least as likely to result in loss as in gain.

The answer to this depends on what you mean by radicalism and especially liberalism (which can have totally different meanings depending on the context). I will focus on the definition of liberalism that is most commonly used today in this answer.

Modern liberalism tends to focus on the constructive role of the state in protecting the environment, promoting economic opportunities for people, and preserving human rights. While most liberals accept that free enterprise and capitalism are to be promoted, they believe that there are some things that are best managed by the state, often because they are unprofitable for private business. Liberals also tend to promote government involvement to promote equal opportunity for minorities in ways that conservatives find inappropriate. Criticisms of liberalism often argue, in general, that it reflects too much optimism about what government is able to accomplish. They say that government programs are too expensive and often yield unintended consequences that actually worsen the social problems they were supposed to address. Many

critics also say that liberalism involves excessive government intervention in things best left to the private sector, and that it stifles the economy by restricting free enterprise.

Radicalism can also have many different meanings. Whether far-left or far-right, radicals argue that society is so deeply flawed that it must undergo a fundamental, revolutionary change. Criticism of radical positions might include the following. Many would argue that radicalism assumes the ability of people to overthrow natural human institutions, to make things anew in a way that is impossible. Others decry the violence that often accompanies radical movements. Still others would say that in a democracy, radicalism draws votes away from more realistic mainstream political movements. Finally, radicals alienate moderates, making it difficult to form the types of coalitions that make political action possible.

Again, it is important to note that the definitions of these words change with time and place. What is radical at one point in history, or in one society, is main stream in another.

### **Q. Explain the meaning of democratic socialism and its relevance?**

#### **Definition:**

In the simplest language democratic socialism means the blending of socialist and democratic methods together in order to build up an acceptable and viable political and economic structure. To put it in other words, to arrive at socialist goals through democratic means. It also denotes that as an ideology socialism is preferable to any other form such as capitalism or communism.

But though socialism is the supreme goal its realization is to some extent polemical because at different times different people suggest different methods for setting up a socialist society and in these methods priority is generally given to revolutionary methods, specifically the class struggle or armed conflict.

Because it is believed (by some) that only resort to armed struggle can bring about socialism.

But democratic socialism lays no importance to revolutionary tactics. So if socialism remains a coveted goal only alternative that remains before its supporters is peaceful and legal procedures which include parliamentary and democratic methods. Thus democratic socialism firmly stands on the conception that democratic methods (parliamentary, legal and constitutional) shall be the only methods for setting up a society based on the principles of socialism.

#### **Origin and Development:**

#### **Evils of Capitalism:**

Maturity of industrialism travelled along with the strengthening position of capitalism in the economic systems of Western European countries. Capitalism brought with it or facilitated the discovery of new scientific inventions and their implementation to practice. This helped the development of science and technology.

But capitalism, at the same time, created numerous problems or evils which appeared to be a curse for the majority people of the society. The rapid progress of capitalist economy replaced

the individual ownership and production system that prevailed in the pre-capitalist era. It destroyed the old cottage and small scale production system and in that place set up large scale production.

Naturally there was no scope of worker-manager relation and tension became the characteristic feature of the capitalist system of production. "The old middle classes of independent entrepreneurs were gradually replaced by the new middle classes of dependent managers, executives and lower echelons of the white collar salariat". In a word, capitalism produced tension and conflict ridden social, political and economic system.

### ***1. Capitalism Encouraged its Rise:***

From the history of Western political thought we come to know that in the medieval period rationalism, independent thought, penchant for ideology had no scope to thrive. But the advent and growth of capitalism provided potential fillip to these virtues and these virtues gradually strengthened the foundation of capitalism and stimulated its expansion. But it was found that subsequently capitalism was about to kill these virtues and this it did to serve its own purpose.

Ebenstein observes, "The same spirit of critical rationalism later turned against capitalism itself by refusing to accept private property in the means of production on the basis of unquestioning loyalty and mere legal authority". At the initial stages capitalism in various ways encouraged the individual liberty in economic and political fields. It supported a liberal system of education and economy.

It encouraged liberalism in political sphere. But when the progress of capitalism eroded all these people began to use the weapons provided by capitalism. People used these weapons in self-defense and unfortunately capitalism had nothing to do. Common men raised their arms against the growing miseries and impoverishment which they believed were the consequences of capitalism.

### **Nature of Democratic Socialism:**

1. Democratic socialism is not a complete departure from Marxian socialism. Democratic socialism cannot be treated as a complete departure from Marxian socialism. It attempts to compromise between Marxian socialism and the long cherished ideas and principles of democracy.

But this compromise cannot be regarded as a sacrifice of the basic tenets of Marxian socialism. Democratic socialism strictly adheres to the fundamental principles of Marxian socialism. Touse Bernard Crick's phrase "it is at least an equally authentic popular tradition of Marxism". It was created in the tradition and intellectual environment of Marxian socialism.

### **Methods of Democratic Socialism:**

1. Since democratic socialism falls in the category of evolutionary socialism it avoids in all probable ways the techniques of armed struggle or revolution. In its account force or coercion is associated with revolution and, therefore, it should not be used. There are many peaceful ways which can be applied for "reaching the goals of socialism. Moreover, coercion means the abduction of freedom of the individuals and such course of action is to be avoided at any cost.

2. The most important peaceful way is the reforms. The democratic socialists want to build up socialism within the main structure of capitalism and because of this they argue for



introducing reforms. They believe that if reforms are successfully implemented they can produce the results which revolutionary socialism promises to bring forth.

3. To proceed step by step is another method which has an important place in this form of socialism. This is also called gradualism. Gradualism cannot be separated from (in strict sense) reformism. Both rule out abrupt change. The implication of gradualism is it helps people to realize the importance of Capitalism created contradiction and this, in turn, forced people to criticize capitalism. A large number of men began to blame capitalism for all the evil effects of industrialism. In short, the role of capitalism worked as a Frankenstein monster.

## **2. *Democratic Socialism was thought more suitable:***

In the middle of the nineteenth century the birth of a new ideology, the Marxian socialism, created new hopes and aspiration in the minds of numerous men who were quite eager to save people from poverty and squalor of life. But the high hopes were destroyed by the support of armed revolution, class struggle and emergence of totalitarianism.

We have already noted that a large section of population practically had no faith in armed revolution and this firmly rooted disbelief led them to search an alternative way to set of socialist society and this was found in the structure of democratic methods. It was finally concluded that armed revolution could be a means of socialism but it was also a destroyer of democracy and constitutional government.

These people began to ponder over a compromise between democracy and Marxian socialism. After good deal of consideration they decided to set up a socialist society by applying democratic means. They also thought that totalitarianism could never be the alternative to capitalism. Capitalism, no doubt, created certain evils, but functioning of totalitarian system was more dangerous.

Democratic socialism promised to follow dogmas but at the same time it promised to be more pragmatic. It never gives to adhere to the dogmas without considering the practical situation. We find a relevant comment in Ebenstein's writing: "Democratic socialism cannot afford to follow dogmas for dogmas' sake but must prove pragmatically through actual accomplishments". socialism. It is the belief of the democratic socialists that socialism is not something which can be imposed upon the people; they must be prepared to accept it physically and mentally. The former means there shall exist a physical environment which is favourable to welcome socialism. People must also be mentally prepared.

4. Economic planning, introduced to streamline production and distribution in a planned way, is an important method of democratic socialism. The management of production and the distribution of produced commodities is performed through planning. Planning in democratic socialist state plays a very crucial role. Because of planning the management of economy proceeds in a definite and scientific way and this assures the attainment of promised goals, especially the proper distribution of wealth, and in this way the reduction of inequalities is possible.

The proponents of democratic socialism claim that one of the great curses of capitalism is the great inequality in income and wealth and this curse is the product of unplanned economy.

Democratic socialism wants to save the society from this curse and because of this reason it forcefully advocates the introduction of planning. By planning we mean to take decision in a scientific way and then to implement it decisively.

There is hardly any scope of intervention of imagination and orthodoxy in the field of economy. There is another aspect of planning in democratic socialism. Participation of people in planning activities at various stages is ascertained so that people of all walks of life can have first-hand knowledge about the performance of economy.

The technique of planning was first introduced by erstwhile Soviet Union in the thirties of the last century and later on it was emulated by other countries specially the countries professing socialism as their goals. After the Second World War the Labour Party government in U.K. introduced planning in some cases.

5. Along with planning the democratic socialism adopts a very pragmatic step and this is preparation of schemes and projects and to adopt a right way and right time for implementation of the schemes and projects. Needless to say that planning and this technique are closely related. Planning envisages of taking action in a calculated way so that unforeseen incidents cannot disrupt the functioning of the economy.

For the proper preparation of planning and its implementation schemes and projects are prepared in a calculated way so that the planners can reach the goals uninterruptedly. Future is reflected in the schemes and projects and this makes the functioning of economy smooth.

6. Mention has been made about the fact that democratic socialism is largely based on compromise. It accepts nothing as final and absolute. There is very little scope of dogmatism in democratic socialism. It tries to proceed in a balanced and calculated way. In our analysis of democratic socialism as a relative concept we have portrayed the nature of democratic socialism.

We have noted that this concept has not completely rejected either capitalism or socialism. It retains capitalist state minus its coercive nature and exploitative function. It, at the same time, accepts the socialism minus revolutionary methods. Ebenstein says, "All successful democratic government is a compromise between public control, efficiency and private initiative. It will take effort and thought to work it out". It attempts to avoid hasty judgment and undigested suggestions.

#### ***Based on Cluster of Values:***

A close analysis of the different principles of democratic socialism and various aspects of its functioning reveal that the whole doctrine (it is also called a political ideology) is based on certain cluster of values or principles and if these are taken away the whole fabric will be a hollow one. One such principle (or tenet as many call) is the concept asserts a strong and deep-rooted relationship among various sections and segments of people and social structure.

#### **Let us quote a lengthy passage from Crick's small book Socialism:**

"The theory is that the rise and fall and the cohesion of societies is best explained not by the experience and perpetuation of elites,... nor by the initiative and inventions of competitive

individuals,... but by the relationship to the ownership and control of the means of production of the primary producers of wealth—in an industrial society, the skilled manual worker.

The doctrine asserts the primacy and mutual dependence of the values of liberty, equality and fraternity and it draws on the theory to believe that greater equality will lead to more cooperation than competition, that this will, in turn, enhance fraternity and hence liberate from inhibition, restriction and exploitation both individual personality and the full productive potential of society". In this passage Bernard Crick has briefly stated the theoretical foundation "of democratic socialism.

### **These are the principles and basic tenets of the concept:**

1. Democratic socialism is a cohesive system or it purports to be one. It is claimed by the democratic socialists that a pervasive cooperation is built up in a socialist society on the basis of planning, participation and cohesion. It has been asserted that democratic socialism gives primacy to planning. Through it participation and decentralization are realized. Everyone gets full opportunity to take part in the economic and political affairs of the state.

There develops a strong feeling of cooperation among all people. Adherents of this doctrine assume that this process goes to ensure good relation among all sections of community, which other doctrines lack perceptively. Since sources of production and methods of distribution are owned by the society, people are not divided into owners and non-owners—and this is a great step towards unity and good relationship.

In capitalist state institutions are formed to further the interests and financial benefits of the capitalists. But in a democratic socialist state this process is abandoned. All the institutions and organizations are meant for the acceleration of the general interests of the body politic. When people are free from economic bondage goodwill and friendship find scope to flourish.

Suspicion and ill-feeling take back seat in the arena of social relationship. But cooperation and good relationship cannot be achieved in a society whose members are deprived of basic educational facilities and that is why it has been suggested that basic education must be available to all people. The goal, however, remains the same.

2. Democratic socialism is committed to more liberty. In our analysis of liberty we have elaborately discussed the positive and negative aspects of liberty. It is the positive nature that is predominant in political theory. It means that political scientists prefer positive to negative meaning. If so, for the proper realization of positive liberty the intervention of state is essential.

The most disadvantaged and the wretched individuals must be lifted from their ignoble condition and this can be done by the state. Democratic socialism says that the doors of liberty shall be opened to all and not too few. Only the socialist methods based on democratic principles can do this. Bourgeois concept of freedom revolves around the notion that non-interference of state is the best way to protect liberty.

But when this principle is implemented the result has been that very few persons get to reap the fruits of liberty. In the core area of democratic socialism lies the idea that society will be restructured in such a manner that everyone gets the opportunities to enjoy liberty and the

democratic and socialist methods are the only highways to reach this ambitious goal.

It is loudly claimed by the democratic socialists that allowance of scope to everyone for the enjoyment of liberty will finally open the way for overall participation in the processes of state. This we can call maximization of liberty. It is further asserted that a socialist and democratic structure of political system can ensure this.

When liberty in its full form is realized the participatory democracy finds its proper meaning and worth. Along with liberty, social justice receives better treatment in a democratic socialist society. We thus see that justice and liberty form a basic tenet of this doctrine.

3. Every democratic socialist claims that equality is a very important value or principle. In a socialist society based on democratic values and principles everyone will have the opportunity to enjoy equality. In other words, unjustified or unreasonable differences cannot be allowed to rule the society. Equality also means the absence of special privileges.

In a capitalist society the glaring economic differences among people vitiate the normal relations among them; these also deprive them to have an access to the opportunities created by the state. To establish equality is an important value of democratic socialism. Through of clear principles/decision the state proceeds continuously to realise the principles of equality.

It is the goal of democratic socialism to bring the chief sources of production under the authority of state and to give due share to labour. It is believed that only socialism can do this. There are, however, different versions of equality- based society. Some are of opinion egalitarian society is better than equal society. The democratic socialists are, of course, very alert about the drawbacks of equality. It does not mean sameness.

There is a suspicion as to its implementation. Equality in the allotment of opportunities cannot be made a reality because of the fact that there are practical difficulties. Many socialists do not agree with the Rawlsian theory of equality. There are also other notorious difficulties.

4. Fraternity is the final value of democratic socialism. Bernard Crick defines it in this way: "Fraternity is an attitude of mind and one associated with activity Fraternity is not radiating an abstract love of humanity, it arises from people actually working together towards common ends". Like other values (liberty and equality) fraternity is also closely related to democratic socialism.

Rather, it is an important part of socialism based on democracy. In the definition noted above we have said that when fraternity reigns in society all or majority people work together and there exists a common end. The agreement advanced by the democratic socialists is that when a society is free from all types of exploitation and the whole society is the owner of wealth, there emerges an atmosphere of fraternity, then people will develop the feeling of brotherhood. There will not be an artificial discrimination among people, all will work together.

Crick writes: "Fraternity must involve common tasks and activities and an exultant recognition of diversity of character. Fraternity constructive efforts and adoption implies individuality, not

sameness, but like socialist ethics in general it is also concerned with how individuals can work together and contribute to the common task of a reforming society". This is the broad meaning of fraternity.

People must work united and must contribute to the social progress unitedly. All must cherish a feeling of unity. There shall exist an atmosphere of harmony. The socialists assert that they strive relentlessly to create that situation. Fraternity will be fully realised when a society will be able to make for its citizens the following goal: "From each according to his ability to each according to his needs"

### **Democratic Socialism Assessed:**

1. Democratic socialism is better than collectivism and capitalism. Reviewing F. A. Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* Orwell said: "Capitalism leads to dole-queues the scramble for markets and war collectivism leads to concentration camps, leader-worship and war. There is no way out of this unless a planned economy can somehow be combined with freedom of intellect". Although Orwell does not directly refer to democratic socialism he indirectly refers to it and this is clear from his statement. Both collectivism and capitalism are associated with notorious difficulties.

They are the most powerful usurpers of individual freedom. Particularly collectivism does not give any recognition to freedom of the individuals. Personality cult, statism and unconditional obligation to state authority are the declared principles. Though capitalism openly promises to protect liberty and rights in practice all these are meant for elites or who are the owners of property. Naturally, the only alternative that remains is democratic socialism. Even Marxian socialism is treated by many as a variant of collectivism. Joad thinks it in that light. All liberals and democratic-minded people love both freedom and absence of exploitation. After the Second World War, particularly from the mid-fifties of the last century, it was being pondered over that an alternative to collectivism and capitalism must be found out.

In Britain political scientists, statesmen and politicians heavily leaned to the democratic form of socialism. It has been estimated (at least by Crick) that so far as freedom is concerned it is superior to capitalism and collectivism.

2. Democratic socialism is a contradiction in terms. Edward Burns draws our attention to another shortcoming of democratic socialism. In his estimate the concept is almost a contradiction in terms. Democracy and socialism are opposite terms and they can be achieved separately not combined.

If there is socialism the basic democratic values and principles are to be sacrificed and vice-versa. Peaceful coexistence between the two is just like a daydream. Socialism entails a drastic economic and political transformation of society and in that situation democratic lives, principles and values are completely disrupted.

Some socialists argue that this disruption is temporary and may be later on restored. But opponents of socialism do not agree with this. The disruption is, however, a fait accompli and restoration is quite uncertain. If so how can we say that both are attainable simultaneously?

3. In democratic socialism there is how much socialism and how much democracy is a matter

of great doubt and the concept is followed by a big question mark. Even strenuous efforts cannot remove this question mark. People may seriously try to get both but it is not possible in practice. In former Soviet Union, it is claimed by her supporters, there was socialism.

Even if it is admitted that (for the sake of argument) there was perfect socialism, we must say that (and our assessment is based on facts) there was hardly any democracy. People's participation in the governmental process was quite negligible, top party leaders, in reality, decided everything and the decisions were imposed upon the mass. This was the real picture.

4. Bureaucracy is all powerful. The authority of a democratic socialist state becomes increasingly dependent on bureaucracy. This is not a concocted charge, but a reflection of the real situation. Party leaders have no experience in administration. For smooth administration/management of state technical hands and persons having special knowledge are required and only bureaucracy can provide this. This results in an increasing dependence of party and different agencies upon the bureaucracy.

The bureaucratic administration of capitalist system finds its repetition in socialist states and, it is observed, democratic socialism is not an exception.

5. A socialist state based on democratic values, principles and structure is not free from the evils of class-divided society such as USA. (All the capitalist states are divided by classes). In other words, it becomes the victim of the evils of class society. In one form or other different classes are formed such as bureaucratic class, technicians' class, white collar workers' class.

These classes may not be in full conformity with the classes defined by Marx and subsequently explained and elaborated by Lenin (The Beginning). The simple fact is that even the so-called democratic socialist or simply socialist states are swallowed by classes and class divisions.

Once the classes appear and tend to dominate all the evils of class society surface. Several critics of former Soviet system have drawn our attention to this drawback. Though there are multiple reasons of the collapse of the Soviet system class conflict is regarded as one reason.

6. A very grave charge leveled against democratic socialism is since it is the product of capitalism; it is not possible for it to get rid of all evils, of capitalism. We have noted earlier that democratic socialism makes compromises with many of the values and principles (such as existence of state, institute of private property etc.) of capitalism. This type of compromise will notoriously affect democratic socialism.

It has been observed by Ralph Miliband that though the people of democratic socialist state get comparatively more liberty and rights these are less than the adequate quantity. This is due to the predominance (in some fields) of capitalist principle. Observers are of opinion that this is unavoidable.

A socialist society in order to be perfect must be built upon the ashes of capitalism which means that capitalism is to be destroyed at first and then socialism will be set up. In a democratic socialist state capitalist forces will be quite active and they will go on influencing the functioning of the state system in a clandestine way.

Miliband and many others support this view. So we can say that the very scheme to build up socialism in the capitalist structure is building a castle in the air. In such a system people will never have full control over the means of production and methods of distribution. Either the reactionary or capitalist forces will do the job. To sum up, democratic socialism cannot be the real prophylactic device to the ills of capitalism.

#### **Q, 4 Explain the basic characteristics of Political Modernization?**

**Ans: 1. Application of technology and mechanization:**

- This means in other words that the people give up their old ways of living, old methods of agriculture and travelling. Previously, the majority of the people in India used to live in villages in old ways in Kuccha houses and they used to cultivate their lands through ploughs and travel by means of bullock-carts.
- Now this has been given up entirely as the people now live in well-built houses, cultivate their fields through tractors and use other modern methods of agriculture (chemical fertilizers or manure, good seeds, irrigation system and harvesting through machines).
- Now the ordinary people prefer to travel by means of buses and trains but the more affluent section of the society i.e. the rich people prefer to travel by super-fast trains and aero planes. This means in other words that the people are using modern methods of technology and mechanization.

#### **2. Industrialization:**

- Previously the people used to spin cloths through spindles and live in traditional ways and use their old patterns of occupation and places of residence. When the industrialisation of a country takes place, the people give up their traditional rural and agricultural economy. Its place is taken over by industrialisation. New factories and mills continue to grow daily and use latest techniques.

#### **3. Urbanization:**

- When the industrialization of a country takes place, then the new centres of industries develop. Consequently, the people of villages particularly the labourers migrate in large number to these new centres in the cities with the hope that they will return to their villages after making enough money but well their livelihood in the villages and agriculture cannot bear so much burden.
- Moreover, it is very inconvenient to them to come and go daily from the villages to the cities as there is much rush in buses and trains and the traveling is very costly. So with the growing industrialisation of the country, the people in large number continue to migrate from the villages to cities and settle permanently there. This in return causes many problems in the cities, housing, and sanitation, improving methods of communication and acquiring more and more lands for manifold purposes.

#### **4. Rise in national and per capital Income:**

The agricultural economy alone cannot increase the national wealth and per capita income as it has to support the idle members of the society also. Therefore in order to raise the national and per capita income, the old economy based on agriculture has to be supplemented by industrial growth and its income because by exporting the industrial goods the country can make huge profits.

### **5. Increase in Literacy:**

Another prominent feature of modernisation is that all-out efforts are made by the Government and the society to wipe out illiteracy and strenuous efforts are made not only to send every child to school but the adults is also persuaded to learn three R's.

This education does not remain limited only to arts, science and commerce but also spreads to higher medical education, research, technology and crafts. Thus the avenues of higher education are made available to every person in all fields. So everybody runs after attaining higher education.

### **6. Political participation:**

When the best possible opportunities are offered to every person to attain higher education, the people become enlightened. Economic development and equal distribution of wealth enables everybody to share sometime from the pressing necessity of daily wants and devote it in political participation. Every voter begins to read newspaper and learn something about politics. The voter ultimately becomes enlightened and votes for that party which is likely to solve economic problems and take the country to further heights unattained so far.

Therefore the political participation is made possible in a democracy through political parties, interest groups, and various other organisations. They influence the government for the welfare of citizens and equal opportunities are made available in services to everybody irrespective of caste, colour, creed, religion, sex or such other considerations.

### **7. Development of Mass-Media techniques:**

The modernisation brings in its wake development of mass-media techniques. These mass-media techniques include newspapers, broadcasting, postal facilities, movies, road, rail and air services, electricity, and T.V. Through all these facilities, the citizens become enlightened and well-informed and these in turn enable the citizens to serve the state in a better way.

### **8. Social Mobility:**

When the modernisation of a country begins to take place, then the people go on migrating from the villages to cities in search of better amenities and jobs. The role of village Sarpanch becomes insignificant and is replaced in the cities by the role of the leaders of



various political parties and the Unions. As the people become conscious, so they rally round that leader, who is likely to deliver them goods.

### **9. Cultivation of national identity:**

When the modernisation of any country takes place, then the people begin to give up their narrow loyalties and parochial 'Considerations of caste, colour, sex or creed. Their interests become identified with 'he interests of the nation.

### **Modernizations does not necessarily mean discarding all traditional values and cultural or political heritage:**

Modernisation does not necessarily mean that the people may discard all their traditional values or cultural and political heritage. For example, the British are traditionally conservative but still they have retained their old institutions like kingship and House of Lords.

Though their powers have been sufficiently curtailed, yet they have been made useful institutions which could serve the growing needs of the society.

Therefore the British are considered as one of the most modern nations. Similar is the case with the Japanese, the French and the Germans.

We, in India are also doing the same. Without losing our cultural or political heritage, we are adopting latest technology and modern scientific techniques. Thus, we are marching towards modernization with a great speed.

## **1. Examine the relationship between power, authority, and legitimacy?**

Ans: Introduction: - When previously considering power, you have perhaps not considered that it can be broken down in such a way. The way power is used or exists in all types of relationships is central to the understanding of politics – not just in government, perhaps even more importantly in family and friendship groups too. There are a number of competing views about what power actually is – is it something that a person can have? Something that can be physically used? Is it always used intentionally?

The most traditional view of power is that it is a form of control over a person – a way of forcing one person to obey another. This could otherwise be termed domination. Hobbes had argued that in a state of nature we would all have power over each other, meaning the most violent would win, in order to escape from this brutality we would have to accept and submit to a monarch. The King would have power over us, would dominate have the ability to force their will upon us and get us to do things we would not otherwise, but this is the price of order.

However this view of power as domination is very narrow, and runs into the problem that in our daily lives power is very commonly exercised through the acceptance and willing obedience of the public. New laws are passed every day; we generally accept them and abide by them (with a limited amount of British grumbling). This is because those in power are also in authority.

Those in power do not merely possess the ability to make us comply, but are also thought to have the right to do so. This is a really important distinction, and is the difference between power and authority.

Power = the ability to make us do something. Authority = the right to make us do something. Legitimacy is the perception that power is exercised in a rightful, justified and acceptable manner. Although a person may have authority a whole system of government would be regarded as legitimate. Legitimacy is the basis of stable government, all governments seek legitimacy – how they achieve it and keep it is essential to the study of political regimes, and has been central to everything you have studied in Mod Studs.

So to summarize... Power, Authority and Legitimacy are the “golden triangle” that every system of government or management seek. Power can be exerted by anyone, but unless that person is perceived as being in authority then they will face disobedience. Legitimacy can be seen as the way that a system of power can achieve authority by being seen as rightful.

- All politics is about power – achieving and maintaining it
  - **Hobbes** – basic human urge is to seek ‘power after power’. Programmed – Dawkins’ selfish gene. Conservative viewpoint
- The ability to get someone to do something they otherwise wouldn’t do – ‘power to’.
- Distinguished with authority by power being the ability to do and authority right to do.
- Distinction from influence – ability to affect outcome even if not having actual final power to decide – influence is a minor form of power by affecting their actions without inciting force/fear – e.g. manipulation.
- **Lukes** sees power in three forms: decision-making, agenda setting and thought control.
- **Decision-making** – associated with liberal and pluralist perceptions focusing on who actually makes the decisions.
- **Boulding** argues decision-making influenced in three ways: the stick (coercion), the deal (mutual benefit through negotiation), and the kiss (sense of loyalty and commitment to individual, thus he has power).
- **Dahl** observed decision-making ‘Critique of the ruling elite model’ and found no single elite in charge, pluralist approach, everyone has a say. Different groups have a say on different aspects. Reality was an “example of democratic system warts and all”.
- Elitist critiques argue this fails to understand unequal influence of key elites – real decisions made by a fixed elite
  - Real power belongs to banks and military **Wright Mills**.
- Hobbes – physical or mechanical power whereby power is used against an individual’s will – individual is subservient to it, otherwise life would be nasty, brutish and short. Advocates strong, monarchical government.
- **Agenda setting** – **Bachrach Baratz** – idea of non-decision making. **Schattschneider** “some issues are organized into politics and others are organized out”.

- Links to influential parties who collectively agree or just block discussion – slight elitist theory.
- B and B and ‘mobilisation of bias’ yet individuals and pressure groups can change agendas, yet more likely to do so on issues represented by well informed and articulate. Elite tend to dominate flow of information and media and so use this to their advantage. Look at the way demonstrations are portrayed in the media.
  - Marxists would argue agenda setting is a facade for bourgeois dominance with parliamentary systems of government being “the executive committee of the bourgeoisie” (Marx).
  - **Thought control** – previous two assume that people and groups are rational and capable of knowing their own mind. The ability to manipulate human behavior can be shaped some argue this is where the real power lies.
  - Marxist ideas based on favoritism of state towards bourgeoisie and their power through economy and politics
    - **Gramsci** and bourgeois hegemony – bourgeoisie literally control popular culture and so control the way we think.
    - Therefore we think life is only better with material goods so bourgeoisie benefit even more.
  - **Vance Packard** – consumer based society and only think we’re happy when we have material goods.
  - New Left ideas and **Marcuse** – link to totalitarianism but with media, TUs, adverts, culture replacing brutal coercion manipulating needs.
  - Difference between ‘real’ and ‘felt’ interests – **Engels** and false consciousness. Don’t know what is in our real interest no longer rational.
  - Liberals reject this – individuals are rational.

### Authority

- Generally distinguished from power through the means by which compliance and obedience are achieved
  - **Heywood** “authority is power cloaked in legitimacy”. Authority a form of rightful power.
- Authority based on a perceived ‘right to rule’ (**Weber**) with amoral aspect.
- Weber linked authority to legitimacy – different approach from others stating that legitimacy gave power authority.
- Weber – authority is important irrespective of how it’s achieved. As long as there is the perception that authority is legitimate it’s fine.
- Authority seldom exercised in absence of power.
- Weber – traditional (respect for elders), charismatic (value opinions and words through their responsibility), legal- rational (respect for right of state – parliament’s legal right to pass new laws).
- **Traditional** – sanctified by history and based upon ‘immemorial custom’. Hierarchy – Burke – ‘wisdom of the ancients’. Patriarchalism – links to hereditary systems. Less relevant today, although evident in one form in theocratic states – the resurgence of this type of authority can be seen as a response to the failure of other

types indegenerative Western capitalism.

- **Charismatic** – based entirely upon the power of an individual's personality. Owes nothing to status, social position or office, yet can be used to promote the interests of society (**Rousseau** and Law Giver).
- Charismatic has an almost messianic quality – treated with suspicion – **Talmon** and criticism of Rousseau.
- **Legal-rational** – situation for most liberal democratic Western capitalist societies. Operates through a body of clearly defined rules – linked to formal powers of office not office holder. Less likely to be abused than other 2 as the limit of authority is defined.
- Arises out of a respect for the rule of law and is evident in the constitutional framework of long-established states. Can be seen as de-personalizing as there can be a relentless spread of bureaucracy e.g. civil service.
- **De jure authority** – authority in law. Authority from an office. Operates according to a set of rules. Closely linked to traditional/legal-rational. Related to being IN authority.
- **De facto** – authority in practice. Closely linked to charismatic. Authority by virtue of whom they are – being AN authority.

### Relationship between power and authority

- Authority is the legitimate exercise of power but debate as to whether this requires morality or PERCEPTION or rightfulness.
- Ruling by power alone eventually lead to unsustainable use of coercive resources – **Mao** – “all power stems from the barrel of a gun” and is the antithesis of authority.
- Can authority exist without power? Webern sense of traditional and charismatic forms all exert influence without the need to persuade. Legal-rational based on office and power invested in the office thus needs power. Also being ‘an authority’ doesn't need recourse to power but can have influence.

### Different views of authority

- Liberals – authority instrumental, coming from below through the consent of the governed – social contract.
- Do not want too much state involvement therefore authority is limited, rational and purposeful leading to preference for legal-rational.
- Conservatives – comes from above from those with experience and wisdom. Benefits other but there are few limits leading to authoritarianism through charismatic.
- **Authority – justified?** Essential for maintenance of order. Enemy of freedom – Libertarian/Anarchist view. Marxists – authority manufactured to mask rule by the bourgeoisie.

Expectation to give unquestioning obedience is wrong as it threatens reason – **Mill** – intellectual diversity.

### Legitimacy

- To be in a position to exercise authority. Links to power and authority by

- transforming the former into the latter – turns naked power into authority.
- Moral right to rule – **Locke** and consent – social contract theory – we consent to be governed. If there is a formal constitutional basis, we can see legitimacy.
  - **Hobbes** – social contract – dictatorship could have legitimacy as it is meant to protect the individual – the Leviathan state – legitimacy comes about by preventing people getting harmed – implied consent.
  - For **Rousseau** the state is legitimate if it upholds the general will.
  - Likes of **Weber** see a belief in legitimacy as important no matter how it is achieved.

### How do governments gain and maintain legitimacy?

- Social contract – tacit and formal agreement whereby state's legitimacy is based on protection of citizens (**Hobbes**) and promotion of rights and freedoms (**Locke**) and the common good (**Rousseau**).
- Locke challenged Hobbes as he believed a man could not give away more power over himself than he himself has. Tacit consent is given to the government by anyone who has "possession or enjoyment of any part of the dominions of any government".
- Popular compliance – populace have a belief in the right to rule which in a democracy is based around the exercise of legal-rational authority.
- Constitutionalism – **Beetham** – legitimacy operating under existing established principles thus power exercised through the existing constitutional process if this adheres to the widely held beliefs and values of a society.
- Went against Weber's view as it ignores how legitimacy came about. Leaves the matter largely in the hands of the powerful, which may be able to manufacture rightfulness by public relation campaigns. Power is legitimate if it fulfills 3 criteria:
  - 1. Power exercised according to certain rules.
  - 2. Rules justified in terms of ruler and ruled – marrying the shared belief between government and people (communitarianism).
  - 3. People must give consent – how much consent must people give to give something legitimacy?
- Active consent – seen through ballot box with a mandate given to exercise legitimacy – elections/referendums and strengthened by universal suffrage – **Mill**.
- Legitimation crisis – neo-Marxist **Habermas** – legitimacy of a political system could collapse because of the pressures created by democracy and capitalism. Democracy – voting becomes a means of consumerism. Capitalism – increased desire leads to recession – can't continually provide what people want – e.g. extensive welfare provision. Legitimation crisis created after government intervention and conflict of free-market.
- Social contract – **Giddens** – communitarianism – Etzioni – taking social contract and trying to improve civic engagement through modern political systems.
- **Ideological Hegemony** – Conventional image of liberal democracies is that they enjoy legitimacy because they respect individual liberty and are responsive to public opinion. Critics – democracy is little more than a facade concealing the domination of a "power elite".
- Ralph Milliband – liberal democracy is "capitalist democracy"

- there are biases which serve interests of private property and ensure the long term stability of capitalism.
- Marxists state that bourgeois ideology denotes sets of ideas which conceal the contradictions upon which class societies are based – ideology propagates falsehood, delusion and mystification. Ideology operates in interests of the ruling class.
- Modern Marxists – political competition does exist but this competition is unequal. Gramsci drew attention to the degree to which the class system was upheld not simply by unequal power but also what he called bourgeois hegemony.

**Legitimacy in a dictatorship**

- **Weber** argues that traditional and charismatic authority can be legitimate if accepted by populace. Marx argued that a dictatorship of the proletariat would be legitimate as it was acting in the best interests of the masses; likewise dictators claim to uphold common good without popular approval. Traditional monarchs also claimed to be adhering to divine right as the best form of determining the common good.

**Q.2 Define and explain political modernization theory?**

Ans: The political modernization is modernization in the political field. It is a manifestation of modernization phenomena. The political modernization theory is a theory on the political modernization phenomena. It is a field-based theory of the modernization theories. It roughly encompasses three sets of theories: classic political modernization theory, general political modernization theory, and political remarks of different modernization theories.

**Classic Political Modernization Theory**

The classic political modernization theory, as an important branch of the classic modernization theory, came into being around the 1950s and 1960s. It is marked by the publication of several books by American political scientists, including *The Political System* (Easton 1953), *The Politics of Developing Areas* (Almond, Coleman 1960), *Political modernization in Japan and Turkey* (Ward, Rustow 1964), *The Politics of Modernization* (Apter 1965), *Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship* (Moore 1966), and *Political Order in Changing Society* (Huntington 1968). The political modernization study has produced numerous documents, but so far, the classic political modernization theory does not have a universally acknowledged, systematic exposition of its general theory.

Generally speaking, there are two origins of the classic political modernization theory: the study and interpretation of political modernization by political scientists, and the study and interpretation of political modernization by modernization researchers in non-political fields (such as history and sociology). If we combine their research topics and ideas, we can extract the structure of classic political modernization theory, and summarize its general theory, including its definition, process, outcomes, dynamics, and models.

Aspect	Basic content
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Definition	The classic political modernization is the political changes during the classic modernization process; it is the transition from political politics to modern politics and from autocratic politics to democratic politics
Process	The classic political modernization is a historical process, which includes the rationalization and secularization of political authorities, differentiation and specialization of political structure, democratization and institutionalization of political participation, high efficiency and justification of government management, etc.
Outcomes	The outcomes of classic political modernization are mainly the formation and diffusion of classic political modernity. The characteristics of modern politics are summarized into classic political modernity, including such characteristics as democratic, differentiated, high-efficiency, rule of law, bureaucratic, professional, secular, rational, popular, etc.

### **General theory of classic political modernization**

Dynamics	The classic political modernization is influenced by many factors such as economic, social, cultural, technological factors and international relations.
Models	The development paths and models of classic political modernization feature diversity and path dependence, and are influenced by historical, geographical, and objective conditions, as manifested in diversity of political modernization paths, political systems, and democracy patterns.

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